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# The administration of the Illyrian provinces of the French Empire, 1809-1813

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE  
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE  
1809 - 1813

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Department of History  
and the  
Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies  
University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

by  
Frank J. Bundy  
August 1966

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Accepted for the faculty of the College of Graduate  
Studies of the University of Omaha, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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## PREFACE

The Illyrian Provinces are one of the most obscure and neglected areas of the Napoleonic Empire. Although they are mentioned by almost every work dealing with the period of the First Empire, few deal with them in depth. Because of this dearth of material, an attempt has been made in compiling the bibliography to include all those works pertinent to a study of the history of the Illyrian Provinces.

In order to deal with the history of the French administration of this region, it was necessary to examine in some detail the various administrative systems which preceded it. Many of the problems which the French were to face stemmed from these past systems; many of the reforms and attempted reforms were developed in the province of Dalmatia, for nearly four years part of the Kingdom of Italy. An account in depth of any one of the divisions of the administration was impossible due to the prohibition by the French government on copying or otherwise reproducing continuous runs of material in either the Archives Nationales or the Archives des Affaires étrangères. No attempt was made to give a detailed treatment of Military Croatia, fully a study in itself, because, except at the highest level of administration, the French did nothing to alter the organization and administration of the frontier regiments, leaving them a province apart.

In order to avoid ambiguity of sources in the text and bibliography, all unofficial collections of Napoleon's correspondence have been given, wherever possible, with the supplemental title which includes the name of the compiler, several of whom have published different collections of Napoleonic correspondence with similar titles. Due to the adoption of Slavic place-names upon the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia, many of the place-names used in this study have disappeared from the map. An attempt has been made to supply the modern name of all locations which have been referred to frequently in the text when the former name has been altered drastically. It should be noted that when the definite article has been used to describe the decrees of 25 December 1809 and 15 April 1811, this has been done to indicate that each of these decrees was the only one dealing with the Illyrian Provinces issued on that date. The majority of French terms have been translated into their nearest English equivalents, unless they are well-known. Finally, in all references to the Napoleonic Correspondance, Dernières lettres, Lettres inédites, etc., only the number of the item has been given to avoid confusion with other items appearing on the same page. Because of frequent reference to specific portions of the decrees of 25 December 1809 and 15 April 1811 and other lengthy decrees, references to these decrees have been by Title, Article, Section or Chapter rather than page number. The use of "p" for page has been dropped in accordance with recent usage.

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Ert J. Gum for his ideas, advice, assistance and encouragement in the search for materials and in the preparation of this thesis. I would also like to thank the faculty of the Department of History at the Municipal University of Omaha and Dr. A. Stanley Trickett, Chairman of the Department, all of whom have given me their time and help during the preparation of this thesis and during my undergraduate years.

Mrs. Arlene Lindholm, Miss Carol Stanley and the staffs of the Gene Eppley Library at the Municipal University of Omaha and the Love Memorial Library at the University of Nebraska have all given me their kind and patient help. In particular, I would like to express my appreciation for the assistance given me by Miss Ella Jane Dougherty, Interlibrary Loan Librarian at the Gene Eppley Library, who supplied me with many rare and crucially needed works.

My mother, Mrs. John H. Bundy, who typed much of the copy, and my mother-in-law, Mrs. M. D. Holling, who typed the final copy of the thesis, are particularly deserving of my thanks. Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my wife, Susan, for her patience and encouragement.

In conclusion, I can only add that the full responsibility for all errors in this work rest with me; I have made the final decision on all statements appearing in this thesis.

August 1966

Frank J. Bundy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE . . . . .	iii
INTRODUCTION. . . . .	1
Chapter	
I. DALMATIA: FORERUNNER OF THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES . . . . .	4
II. DANDOLO AND MARMONT: DALMATIA UNDER THE KINGDOM OF ITALY . . . . .	19
III. THE ORGANIZATION OF A COUNTRY AND ITS ADMINISTRATORS . . . . .	43
IV. FINANCES -- THE PLAGUE OF THE ADMINISTRATION . . . . .	65
V. REFORM AND FAILURE. . . . .	92
VI. COLLAPSE. . . . .	117
APPENDIX A. . . . .	131
APPENDIX B. . . . .	132
APPENDIX C. . . . .	135
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	136



## INTRODUCTION

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, French rule penetrated to the Balkans. There it brought the French Revolution, as preserved by Napoleon I, to the relatively backward lands of the eastern Adriatic. The first example of this occurred with the administration of the province of Dalmatia, part of the Kingdom of Italy, under the rule of an Enlightenment figure, Vincenzo Dandolo. His rule, and his reforms, were succeeded and continued by the creation of the Illyrian Provinces, an unharmonious conglomeration of former Venetian and Austrian territories, united under a General-Government, which formed that most atypical country of the French Empire.

In each of these creations, under the supervision of the French Emperor, a number of significant changes were imposed upon lands and peoples which were at that moment just emerging from the late Middle Ages. Dalmatia had been the most backward part of the larger territorial holdings of the Republic of Venice. Venetian rule was duplicated, in miniature, by the government of the Republic of Ragusa. The problems inherent in governing these two Balkan areas were transferred in 1809 to the French administrators of the Illyrian Provinces who sought to continue Dandolo's reforms,

less in the interest of the spirit of experimentation than in the interest of supporting the buffer zone of the Kingdom of Italy. Consequently, it is impossible to separate the two administrations. One was, in regard to reform, the continuation of the other. Dalmatia was nothing more than a forerunner of the later Illyrian Provinces. Both regions were in turn buffer zones for the Kingdom of Italy. Both were jumping off points for a Napoleonic penetration of the East. Both represented extensions of the Continental System along the coast of Europe. Both deprived Austria of territory. Both were badly in need of reform by the standards of Western Europe. Both had never enjoyed a uniform system of administration.<sup>1</sup>

Of the two administrations, Dandolo's was perhaps the more successful. Dalmatia was more compact, contained fewer diverse elements and experienced Napoleonic rule at a time when the power of Napoleon was still undiminished. The Illyrian Provinces, created in 1809, suffered as a result of the breakdown of the Napoleonic Empire. They were created at the moment when Napoleon had just passed the apex of his power. By September 1809, the Grand Army had been ground to pieces at Aspern, Essling and Wagram. Napoleon

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<sup>1</sup>Indeed, the Illyrian Provinces were not absolutely uniform. Under the French, Military Croatia, part of the old Austrian Military Frontier, remained apart from the Illyrian Provinces. Under the supervision of the Governor-General of the Illyrian Provinces and the Minister of War of the Empire of France, it was never integrated into the Illyrian Provinces, except for purposes of customs administration.

did not overwhelmingly defeat Austria. In the aftermath, Metternich, Napoleon's greatest diplomatic rival, rose to power. Russia, France's ally since 1807, began to grow cold. Even as he decreed a definitive form of government for the Illyrian Provinces, Napoleon was already planning the disastrous march to Moscow. The economic effects of the Continental System and the British blockade combined in strangling the economy of French-controlled Europe. French rule, with its tendency to seek to Gallicize all whom it touched, in theory a system which would have raised backward lands to the level of the rest of nineteenth century Europe, created deep-seated antagonisms in the lands upon which it was imposed. Given these overwhelming disadvantages, the Illyrian Provinces at birth faced a short and unhappy existence. Despite vast achievements and even vaster hopes, the immensity of their task and forces beyond their control or understanding crushed Dandolo's successors, the French administrators of the Illyrian Provinces.

## CHAPTER I

### DALMATIA: FORERUNNER OF THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES

France, for the first time, in 1797, became interested in the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea. In that year, French troops under the command of General Napoleon Bonaparte brought about the fall of the venerable Venetian Republic, until then master of that region. The Preliminaries of Loeben and the Treaty of Campo Formio assigned the lands known as Dalmatia, Istria, and the Mouths of the Cattaro (Boka Kotorska)<sup>1</sup> to the House of Habsburg. This situation, however, did not last long. The Treaty of Pressburg, in 1805, transferred the above mentioned territories to the Kingdom of Italy. Between 1806 and 1809, an Italian administration headed by Vincenzo Dandolo and General Auguste Marmont carried out a number of extensive changes and reforms which laid much of the groundwork for the Illyrian Provinces. Because this region experienced Venetian, Austrian, Italian, and finally French rule, and because it was the most extensive non-French area under Napoleonic control for the longest

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<sup>1</sup>In giving the names of cities and places, the name employed is the name used during the period under discussion. On the first occasion that such a place is mentioned, its modern equivalent is given in parenthesis.

period of time, it is fitting that any study of the problems which faced the Illyrian administration begin with Dalmatia.

Dalmatia and the islands along the Adriatic coast were the largest territory of the Venetian Republic until 1797. Venice, however, did not enjoy complete control of the entire coast. The Austrian province of Istria, with the ports of Trieste and Fiume (Rijeka), separated Dalmatia from the rest of Venetian territory. Farther down the coastline, the Republic of Ragusa separated the region of the Mouths of the Cattaro (Boka Kotorska) from the rest of Dalmatia.

Venetian control lacked uniformity. A governor (provveditore) ruled the land along the coast. During his three-year term of office, he was practically independent. His capital was at Zara (Zadar), one of the chief ports. For purposes of administration, counts governed the several districts into which the region had been divided for administrative purposes. Each count had as assistants a chancellor for judicial affairs and a chamberlain for financial affairs. These minor officials had very low fixed incomes which were supplemented by dues called gifts (regalie) on the revenue from taxes and customs duties. Since part of the regalie was reserved for the count and the governor, the minor officials frequently engaged in extortion to increase their incomes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Pisani, La Dalmatie de 1797 à 1815: Épisode des conquêtes napoléoniennes (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, Éditeurs, 1893), 2-3. (Hereafter cited as Pisani, Dalmatie). Unless otherwise cited, Chapter I is based on materials drawn from Part I of Pisani's work.

Dalmatians tolerated rampant misgovernment for two reasons. All classes welcomed Venetian protection from the neighboring Ottoman Empire, from which much of the land had been conquered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Venice also permitted a great deal of local autonomy. Each of the coastal ports had its own legislature, in which the nobles and the middle class struggled against each other for the protection of their time-honored rights. Both classes were united against the lower classes, who paid the bulk of the taxes. Thus, both Venice and the ruling classes had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.<sup>3</sup> The only governing official in the villages was the headman (capovilla or arambassa) who was both a civil and military official. Apart from the government, there existed parish fraternal organizations (scuole laiche) which had responsibility for the administration of charitable organizations.

In the interior, the administration had a wholly different character. On the coast the peasants were tenants of both the nobles and the middle class. In the interior they were tenants of the state itself. The land was divided into regiments, each regiment being composed of several families. Even there, however, no uniformity existed. In the regiments of Obrovać, Knin, Sinj, Klissa and Imoski, the chief official was a Venetian governor. In the Narenta (Naretva) and

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<sup>3</sup>Each community had its own distinct form of government, coinage and systems of weight and measurement. In commercial transactions, the Venetian pound, the Libbra sottile, was the only common standard unit of weight.

Vergorac (Vrgorac) regiments, the governors were drawn from the Nonkovich and Deskovich families, as a reward for distinguished military service in the wars with the Turks. The regimental system was designed to provide a warrior population which would fight to defend the frontier against enemies. During periods of peace, however, the territorial militia (pandours) carried on the duties of guarding the frontier, providing police protection, and escorting caravans coming from Ottoman soil to the quarantine posts (lazaretti) at Sebenico (Šibenik) and Spalato (Spalatro or Split).

Ragusa (Dubrovnik) was a small republic governed by a commercial aristocracy under a constitution modeled after that of Venice. A Grand Council, composed of all the nobles over the age of twenty-one, served as the supreme law court and legislature. A Senate (Pregadi), consisting of forty-five nobles over the age of forty, served as a court of appeal and the department of foreign affairs, and therefore was the heart of the government. The executive power rested in the hands of a Small Council (Minor consiglio) composed of seven men. A Rector, with a one-month term of office, presided over all the councils. "Greater" and "lesser" magistrates were responsible for all non-noble legal cases and administered the fiscal, health and commercial services.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 123-25. See also Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont, Mémoires du maréchal Marmont, duc de Raguse (Second edition, 9 vols.; Paris: Perrotin, Libraire-Éditeur, 1857), III, 113-14. (Hereafter cited as Marmont, Mémoires.) Marmont states that the Grand Council was an all-inclusive body, but says that a Council of Ten

Ragusa had emerged from the wreckage of the Byzantine Empire to become an early trading power in the Adriatic, but often had experienced a change of masters due to a lack of success in war. In self-defense and to promote good commercial relations, it paid tribute to the Ottoman Empire, the House of Habsburg, the Barbary States, Venice, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papacy. Its territory was limited to the coastline and the Sabioncello peninsula; its population consisted of approximately 38,000 inhabitants of all classes.<sup>5</sup> The nobility, as a class, held the controlling interest in all commercial ventures, upon which the Republic relied for its main source of wealth. The middle class consisted almost exclusively of shipowners and traders. The peasants were attached to the land and were wholly dependent upon the nobles, who owned the villages.<sup>6</sup>

Roman Catholicism was the established faith in Ragusa and was predominant in the rest of Dalmatia.<sup>7</sup> Although the

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and the Rector formed the government. Although he spent most of the years 1806-1810 in the region, his Mémoires is not noted for accuracy.

<sup>5</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 113.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 114, 116. Marmont notes that the nobility were split into two factions, the Salamanquais and the Sorbonnais, probably as a result of the wars between Charles V and Francis I in which a change took place in regard to the place where the nobility were educated, or on the basis of parties favoring the rival rulers. The middle class was also divided, into the fraternal brotherhoods of Saint Anthony and Saint Lazarus.

<sup>7</sup>Greek Orthodoxy, however, was the faith of the majority of the people in the Cattaro region. Venice tolerated it



population was small, the clergy was very numerous; in Dalmatia alone, there were 2,404 secular clergy and 885 regulars, most of whom belonged to either the Franciscan or Dominican orders. Zara, Spalato and Ragusa enjoyed the status of archbishoprics, divided into a total of twelve bishoprics. There were 221 Greek Orthodox priests, most of whom had their livings in and around Cattaro. The secular clergy suffered from an extremely low level of education. Therefore the Franciscans and Dominicans enjoyed a respect disproportionate to their numbers.

The majority of the people seldom attained more than a low educational level. The bishops, though authorized to establish secondary schools at their own expense, as for example, the College of Saint Lazarus at Trau (Trogir), seem not to have concerned themselves a great deal in this field. Primary education suffered also, being limited to instruction carried on by half-educated priests at several presbyteries. The existing schools had few pupils, for the people either had little appreciation for education, or could not afford to study abroad. A great need for lawyers and physicians existed and Dalmatian candidates could receive a certificate of qualification in these fields from

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because a compromise had been arranged whereby the Orthodox priests were required to perform their spiritual duties under the supervision of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The 1781 Venetian census for Dalmatia indicates that there were 212,385 Roman Catholics, 51,071 Orthodox, 218 Jews, and several Lutherans and Calvinists, the latter residing for the most part in the major ports. Pisani, Dalmatie, 7.

the University of Padua, upon presentation of testimonials of apprenticeship from two professional practitioners. This certificate restricted them to their home locality. Most Dalmatians who could afford to study abroad, however, rarely returned to their native land.

Health services in the entire region were extremely limited. The Venetians established several military hospitals in Dalmatia, supported by public funds. Venice did not support civilian hospitals or orphanages which were in the care of the fraternal organizations.<sup>8</sup> Ragusa had a health service which appears to have had the character of a sine-cure rather than that of an active agency of government. Able physicians rarely were found, and even then there was little they could do against frequent epidemics and deep-seated superstition among the lower classes.

Dalmatian agriculture was undeveloped. The peasantry was subject either to the rule of the state or nobility and lived in conditions which frequently resembled the Middle Ages. In many places the soil was extremely poor and marshy. Poor methods of cultivation led to small harvests. Nothing was done to improve the quality of the goats and sheep, the number of which was permitted to expand indefinitely, thereby crowding the grazing areas and causing erosion and great damage to forested areas. Grapes, olives and some grain were

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<sup>8</sup>Dalmatia suffered from a plethora of orphanages and hospitals since they were often built to rival similar pious works. Pisani, Dalmatie, 8.

the only agricultural products. Conditions were generally so poor that grain had to be imported from Habsburg and Ottoman lands, although the population density of Dalmatia was an average of seventeen people per square kilometer.<sup>9</sup>

Shipbuilding was the primary industry of the region, being carried on in the Lussin Islands at Trau and Curzola (Korčula). Weaving was limited to products for home consumption; tanning was an unknown art; and despite the abundance of materials, no attempt was ever made, under Venetian rule, to establish factories for soap or paper. Wine, plum brandy (slivovitz), and olive oil were the chief export products. In addition, Dalmatia sold livestock, most of which came from the Ottoman Empire, to Italy, her chief market.

Despite this situation, Dalmatia managed to export slightly more than she imported. The chief source of income was the carrying trade of the coastal ports of the Adriatic. At the end of the eighteenth century, Brazza (Brač) and the Lussin Islands had 80 and 200 vessels respectively. Between 1750 and 1799, Cattaro quadrupled the size of its merchant fleet. Ragusa, with some 360 ships, was one of the primary carriers for the entire Mediterranean.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 11, 13-15. Only one attempt to correct this situation had ever been made. In 1756 a progressive governor, Francesco Grimani, drew up a law calling for improved methods of cultivation, the introduction of new crops, and reforestation through the establishment of regular pastures and forest preserves. The law was never put into effect.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 13. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 115, gives the total amount of Ragusan ships as 274. Because Pisani gives

In contrast to this picture of relative backwardness, those areas of the Habsburg realm which were to become part of the Illyrian Provinces in 1809--Carinthia, Carniola, Istria and Villach--were prosperous. At the end of the century, these provinces were governed directly from Vienna and enjoyed a centralized administration. Most of the soil was fertile and there were huge tracts of virgin forest. Villach contained numerous copper and lead mines, although vast iron ore deposits remained virtually untouched. The mercury mines of Idria were the sole source of this mineral for the Habsburg Empire and were the most productive.<sup>11</sup> Austrian Croatia, often called the Military Frontier, was composed of lands which had been regained from the Turks in the wars prior to the eighteenth century. The land was divided on the basis of regiments. The peasantry was free, holding their land directly from the Emperor on the basis of military service. In normal times the land produced much grain; there was no

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no date for his figures, it may be concluded that this discrepancy may be the result of different classifications of vessels and war-time losses. Marmont indicated his figures are for the period of about 1808.

<sup>11</sup> Melitta Pivec-Stelè, La vie économique des Provinces illyriennes (1809-1813) (Vol. VI in the Institut d'études slaves de l'Université de Paris, Collection historique. Paris: Editions Bossard, 1930), 37, 42-43, 47-48. (Hereafter cited as Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique.) See also Francis Eterovich and Christopher Spalatin (eds.), Croatia: Land, People, Culture (1 vol. to date; Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1964- ), I, 169-70. (Hereafter cited as Eterovich and Spalatin, Croatia.) A brief portrait of the region is also to be found in Emile Haumant, La formation de la Yougoslavie (Vol. V of the Institut des études slaves de l'Université de Paris, Collection historique. Paris: Editions Bossard, 1930), 243-44.

industry, except for local consumption, and this was based solely on the domestic system.<sup>12</sup> The administration was in the hands of the military authorities.<sup>13</sup>

Venetian rule in Dalmatia came to an end in 1797 with the Preliminaries of Loeben and the Treaty of Campo Formio.<sup>14</sup> By these agreements, France took the Ionian Islands for herself and some parts of the terra firma for the puppet Cisalpine Republic. Austria received Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, the Mouths of the Cattaro and the bulk of Venetia.

The Austrian administration lasted from 1797 until 1806. It accomplished few reforms because of unsettled conditions in the region and the political maneuverings of various Austrian court factions. One group, led by the Chancellor, Baron Johan Thugut, favored centralization. The other major group favored separatism and was called the "Hungarian

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 265.

<sup>13</sup> For the most recent and complete history and administrative study of the Military Frontier under Austrian rule before the Napoleonic wars, see Gunther Erich Rothenberg, The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747 (Vol. 48 of the Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1960). Chapter X gives an extensive picture of conditions and government as they were in their final form before the coming of the French. See also Eterovich and Spalatin, Croatia, I, 171.

<sup>14</sup> Georges. Fr[édéric]. de Martens (ed.), Recueil des principaux traités. . . depuis 1761 jusqu'à présent (8 vols.; Göttingen: Chez Jean Chretien Dietrich, 1791-1801), VIII, 196-201, and VIII, 208-19. (Hereafter cited as Martens, Recueil des traités.) See also Napoleon I, Correspondance de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> (32 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1858-1869), II, Nos. 1743, 1744, 2303. (Hereafter cited as Napoleon, Correspondance.)

Party." Major-General Rukavina,<sup>15</sup> who occupied Dalmatia, was a member of the latter group and sought to advance its interests by administering the oath of allegiance to the Dalmatians as a deputy of the King of Hungary. He confirmed the status quo as it had existed under Venetian control. In addition he put down the civil strife which had broken out between local factions loyal to the Provincial Venetian government established by Bonaparte and those which favored Austrian rule.

The first regular governor, Count Peter Thurn, belonged to the party which favored centralization. He attempted to undo General Rukavina's work, and promptly lost the sympathies of the native ruling classes. Thurn sought to centralize the government of the province on the lines of the other Habsburg possessions. His first step was to establish a provisional government for the three new provinces of Istria, Dalmatia and Albania (Cattaro). To aid him, he created a Government Council to handle administrative, judicial and financial affairs.<sup>16</sup> An organizational decree of January 1, 1798 established a civilian form of government for the provinces and made the Leopoldine Code<sup>17</sup> the law of the

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<sup>15</sup> Rukavina was a native of the Military Frontier.

<sup>16</sup> This body was composed of three native members, all nobles, and three Austro-Italians.

<sup>17</sup> The Leopoldine Code was the civil code of the Austrian Empire and was in effect until 1918. It was based on the reforms carried out by the Emperor Leopold II when he was Grand Duke of Tuscany. His brother, Joseph II, adopted

land. This was followed by twenty-two other decrees which established many Austrian laws and lessened the distinction between the interior and the coast. Thurn further reorganized the militia, expanding its personnel and making it a more effective instrument of the state for the administration of justice on the local level, and for tax collection. The new administration also reformed the Church, eliminating many small dioceses, and reorganizing many of the parish fraternal organizations.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the Austrians began building several roads and created a postal service.

This regime, however, failed to accomplish a number of badly needed reforms. Thurn retained the Venetian tax structure and customs system. His failure to expand the privileges of the Orthodox population cost Austria much valuable support in the region around Cattaro, while his forceable reform of the Catholic Church cost him the support of the common people and ruling class as well. Centralization deprived the nobles and the middle class of their political power. Lack of funds prevented Thurn from carrying out legislation designed to create a compulsory system of primary education. Deeply discouraged, he resigned his post in July,

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and liberalized many of these reforms for his projected code of law. Joseph, however, died before the entire code had been completed. Leopold, who followed him on the throne, modified the project, eliminating most of its radical features. The Code was finally completed in 1811, nineteen years after Leopold's death.

<sup>18</sup> These reforms were carried out by force, with Papal approval, despite the opposition of the local clergy.

1799, and was replaced by a military government under the supreme authority of the Archduke Charles, commander of the Army and brother of Emperor Francis II.

Following the Treaty of Luneville in 1801, the Austrians again attempted a number of reforms under the administration of Count Peter Göess. Göess, who also favored a centralizing policy, reorganized the Council of Government and began a series of investigations which touched on religious, commercial and agricultural affairs. Almost all the projects resulting from these investigations remained dead letters, although this administration did see several achievements. The Count managed to obtain improvements in the hospitals and orphanages and took steps to improve hygiene, although he was unable to force the superstitious peasantry to submit to vaccination. He carried out a reform of the notoriously slow and corrupt judicial system, and introduced skilled and honest financial administrators. He also encouraged commerce and industry and forced the Church to equalize clerical salaries. Finally, under Göess's administration, some progress was made in education. In 1803, Bishop Stratico of Lesina opened a new seminary and the State opened a Gymnasium at Zara.

This period of administration came to an end in 1804, when the Austrian government issued a decree forbidding innovations. After this time, Dalmatia returned to the control of a military governor, General Thomas Brady, the former governor of Cattaro. Under his administration, which lasted



until the Treaty of Pressburg in 1805, the reforms had a military character. Brady improved the defense works and put the entire area on a war footing. He began, in addition, a number of roads, and by the time Napoleon acquired the region for the Kingdom of Italy, a number of short routes had been completed.<sup>19</sup>

During this period, Dalmatia and the other eastern Adriatic territories were not fully integrated into the Habsburg Empire. The definitive decree of organization was not proclaimed until 5 October 1805, one month after the Treaty of Pressburg. The land was to have been divided into administrative units called circles (Kreise), with a governor-general and a six-member Council of Government in control of a highly centralized administration located at Zara. The plan called for a further reorganization of the parish fraternal organizations for the better administration of relief, improved educational facilities for the clergy and a better system of record-keeping. It also called for the opening of elementary schools in the major islands and in the major cities, as well as the creation of agricultural, literary and scientific academies. Unfortunately, due to the war, Brady postponed most of the projects. It remained, therefore, for the French to carry out reform projects, some

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<sup>19</sup>The roads were largely the result of the work of Francesco Zavoreo, formerly a captain in the Venetian engineers, who became the director of public works under Thurn. Austrian reluctance to use forced labor and a lack of funds hindered work, which was begun as early as 1797. Pisani, Dalmatie, 90-91.

different from those envisioned by the Austrian administrators, others only extensions of those already begun.

## CHAPTER II

### DANDOLO AND MARMONT:

#### DALMATIA UNDER THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

The Treaty of Pressburg, 26 December 1806,<sup>1</sup> gave Napoleon all of the former Venetian possessions, which he added to the Kingdom of Italy on 1 May 1806.<sup>2</sup> In doing this, Napoleon gave Italy a buffer against Austria, which deprived Austria of several possible outlets to the Adriatic. This arrangement also gave him a foothold in the Balkans from which he could move to support or attack the Ottoman

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<sup>1</sup>Georges Frédéric de Martens (ed.), Supplément au Recueil des principaux traités . . . depuis 1761 jusqu'à présent (7 vols.; Göttingen: Chez Henri Dietrich, 1802-1812), IV, 212-20. (Hereafter cited as Martens, Supplément.) See also Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 71, 203-12. This is the date that France ratified the treaty. Austria did not ratify it until 1 January 1806.

<sup>2</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 84, 378-82. Imperial decree dated 30 March 1806. See also Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10047. Napoleon to Prince Eugene Beauharnais, 1 April 1806. It should however, be noted that Napoleon, when he informed Eugene of the signature of the Treaty, told him that Venice and its territories which had been ceded to Austria by the Treaty of Campo Formio were now part of the Kingdom of Italy and authorized him to make a public announcement to this effect. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XI, No. 9619. Napoleon to Eugene, 27 December 1805.

Empire, or move against Russia, which was then occupying Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>3</sup>

During the interim period between the signing of the treaty and the formal union of Dalmatia with Italy, Prince Eugene Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, served as Governor-General of all the Venetian territories.<sup>4</sup> On 29 January 1806, Eugene issued a decree which established a provisional government for the Venetian territories, all nine of which received a civil governor who was to apply the laws of the Kingdom of Italy to the new acquisitions.<sup>5</sup> General Gabriel Molitor then began to occupy the Dalmatian coast,<sup>6</sup> but the delays caused by the weather and the necessity of gaining permission to cross Ottoman soil enabled the Russians and

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of Napoleon's motives regarding the annexation of Dalmatia, see Pisani, Dalmatie, 146. See also Édouard Driault, La politique orientale de Napoléon: Sebastiani et Gardane (1806-1808) (Paris: Félix Alcan, Editeur, 1904), 212 and Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, Nos. 9929, 1032. "Exposition of the Situation of the Empire," 5 March 1806; Napoleon to Sultan Selim, 20 June 1806.

<sup>4</sup> Eugene de Beauharnais, prince d'Eichstätt, Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du prince Eugène (10 vols.; Paris: Michel Levy Freres, Libraires-Editeurs, (1858-60), II, 26. (Hereafter cited as Eugene, Mémoires.) Eugene was appointed to this post by an Imperial decree of 19 January 1806. This decree does not appear in the Bulletin des lois.

<sup>5</sup> Eugene, Mémoires, 29-30. The territories were Istria, Dalmatia, Dogado, Padua, Vincenza, Verona, Belluno, Treviso, and Friuli.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 72. Eugene to Napoleon, 15 February 1806.

their Montenegrin allies to occupy Cattaro.<sup>7</sup> This action forced the king of Italy to undertake a campaign to recover this territory. Cattaro, however, did not come into French hands until after the Treaty of Tilsit, 7 July 1807.<sup>8</sup> In the course of the campaign, the French established a protectorate over the Republic of Ragusa.<sup>9</sup> On 31 January 1808, General Auguste de Marmont, the General-in-Chief of the Army of Dalmatia, formally annexed the Republic to the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Philip, Marquis Ghislieri, The Austrian commissioner yielded to the pressure of Admiral Siniavin of the Russian Navy, who occupied the Cattaro region on the pretext that the French had failed to occupy the territory in the time called for in the treaty. Ghislieri was a native of Italy who, upon his return in 1808, was arrested and imprisoned on orders from Napoleon. See Ibid., IV, 16-22 and Eugene to Napoleon, 1 February 1808 and Napoleon's order of 16 February 1808, 55-56.

<sup>8</sup> For an objective account of the foregoing events, see Pisani, Dalmatie, Part II, Chapters II and VI which are based on Eugene's and Marmont's Mémoires, Napoleon's Correspondance and other records.

<sup>9</sup> Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 18197, Napoleon to Eugene, 9 May 1806, ordered the Viceroy to have Ragusa occupied by General Jacques de Lauriston. Subsequently, Lauriston entered Ragusa and was besieged by Russian and Montenegrin forces and had to be rescued by Molitor. Marmont, who commanded the 1st corps of the Army of Italy, was ordered to support Molitor. His forces were immediately named the Army of Dalmatia. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, Nos. 10461, 10462. Eugene and Marmont, 7 July 1806.

<sup>10</sup> Marmont, Mémoires, III, 301-02, notes that technically Ragusa was independent after Lauriston occupied it on 26 May 1806, but that control was exercised through the French diplomatic representative. Marmont dismissed the Regusan Senate because it refused to order Ragusan ships to fly the Italian flag and had intrigued with the Pasha of

From January until May, 1806, General Molitor acted as Provisional Governor of Dalmatia as Eugene's deputy. His short-lived regime followed the pattern of administration laid down by the Austrians. His only achievement was to demand reports on the former administration from the reorganized Council of Government.<sup>11</sup>

The true beginning of Napoleonic reforms in this region dates from an Organic Decree of 23 April 1806, which established a semi-autonomous status for the former Venetian territories on the east coast of the Adriatic. Napoleon revived the old Venetian title of provveditore and gave Dalmatia a vague form of government that did not correspond to the rest of Italy.<sup>12</sup> Despite the opposition of Eugene, Napoleon

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Bosnia. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 117-19, 156-57, and 161. General Clausel to Marmont, 7 January 1808; Napoleon to Marmont, 10 February 1808. Napoleon approved this action by rewarding Marmont with the title, duc de Raguse. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 163-64. Eugene to Marmont, 28 March 1808.

<sup>11</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 151.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. This decree does not appear in the Bulletin des lois, nor is it mentioned in Eugene's Mémoires. Istria subsequently became a department of Italy. The Mouths of the Cattaro, when they were surrendered, became a military district of Dalmatia, which retained its former status of province. See Eugene Tarlé, Le Blocus continental et le royaume d'Italie: La situation économique de l'Italie sous Napoléon Ier, d'après les documents inédits (New edition; Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1931), 37. (Hereafter cited as Tarlé, Blocus.) Although Istria was more closely united to Italy than was Dalmatia, it too was governed by a provveditore. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10350. Napoleon to Eugene, 11 June 1806.

nominated a former member of the Venetian revolutionary party, Vincenzo Dandolo, to fill this post.<sup>13</sup>

Dandolo, an ardent reformer, assumed from the lack of instructions that his powers were to be equal to those of the former Venetian official.<sup>14</sup> This concept, in addition to his pride, soon brought him into conflict with the officers of the French army in Dalmatia, especially General Marmont.<sup>15</sup> The two men who were to be most responsible for the reforms in Dalmatia were rivals from their first meeting.

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<sup>13</sup> La Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel, 20 May 1806, 691. (Hereafter cited as Moniteur.) Eugene gained a poor opinion of Dandolo because he would only agree to serve the regime on Venetian territory. See Eugene, Mémoires, II, 36-37. Eugene to Napoleon, 29 December 1805. Napoleon, however, felt that he would prove useful in restoring order in Dalmatia. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, Nos. 10136, 10269. Napoleon to Eugene 25 April 1806, 24 May 1806.

<sup>14</sup> Napoleon first authorized Eugene to appoint a provveditore for Dalmatia on 7 April 1806. In this letter, he stated that this official was to have all the powers which the former Venetian officials had exercised, and that he was to correspond directly with the Viceroy and the Italian ministers. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10321. On 11 June 1806, Napoleon, while authorizing Eugene to appoint a provveditore for Istria, defined these powers to be the supervision of the civilian administration, i.e., the administration of justice, religious affairs, national domains, finances and revenues, commerce, and navigation. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10350.

<sup>15</sup> The origins of this rivalry seem to have been over a question of precedence. When Marmont arrived at Zara, the capital of Dalmatia, in mid-July, 1806, a question arose over who should pay the first visit to the other. Napoleon decided that Dandolo was in error and asked Eugene to make apologies for him to Marmont. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XIII, No. 10628 and Eugene, Mémoires, II, 113. Napoleon to Eugene, 9 August 1806. Eugene forced the two men to make a truce and ordered Dandolo to pay a visit to Marmont's headquarters

Dandolo arrived at Zara on 3 July 1806,<sup>16</sup> and immediately set to work. Three days after his arrival, he issued a proclamation in which he announced his intention of reorganizing the entire administration and called on the clergy, the leaders of the common people, for their support.<sup>17</sup> The first major reform followed on 12 July. Dandolo replaced the Council of Government with a Government Commission based on widely delegated authority.<sup>18</sup> On the same day, the Regio Dalmate-Kraglski Dalmatin (Royal Dalmatian), the first Dalmatian newspaper appeared.<sup>19</sup> Shortly afterwards, Dandolo announced that he intended to make a tour of the entire

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at Spalato, which he did in the winter of 1806-07. Marmont then retained this mark of respect by visiting Dandolo at Zara in the spring of 1807. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 384-85. Pisani, Dalmatie, 193, notes that relations between the two men continued to be strained and to a certain extent, limited the effectiveness of the regime.

<sup>16</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 195.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. Dandolo at first made great use of the clergy and religious ceremonies. For example, on 17 July 1806, to celebrate the relief of Ragusa, he ordered all the officials of the administration to assemble at the cathedral the next day at noon for a service of thanksgiving. Moniteur, 11 August 1806, 1013.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 196. The Commission had five separate departments: administration, justice, education, finances, and accounts. It also had two inspectorates, for military and police affairs. Several of the members had served on the Council of Government. The personnel was largely Dalmatian and Italian, with several officials imported from Venice.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 197. It was the official newspaper of the regime and appeared in a bilingual edition, Italian and Slovene.



province and ordered several prominent native officials to draw up a series of reports on the administration.<sup>20</sup>

The Governor used these reports as the basis for a widespread change in administrative procedures which swept away almost every vestige of Venetian and Austrian rule. He divided the province into four districts, over which he placed delegates, officials having the same powers as French or Italian prefects of departments.<sup>21</sup> Local autonomy disappeared as mayors were appointed for every town.

Partially because of his personal rivalry with Marmont, and partially because he desired to assert the civilian power over the military, Dandolo reorganized and re-equipped the militia, renamed the Forza territoriale, which

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 196. Moniteur, 6 October 1806, 1223, reported that he left Zara on or about 6 September accompanied by several military and civil officials.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 204. A prefect (préfet) was the chief official of the largest French territorial administrative division, the department (département). He was assisted in his duties by a prefectural council (conseil de préfecture) and a general departmental council (conseil général de département). He was responsible only to the central government. His duties were to oversee taxation, public works, public roads, the demands of communities in his locality, and disputes involving the national domain. Under him, in each departmental division (arrondissement) there was a sub-prefect (sous-préfet) and a conseil d'arrondissement to supervise taxation. Beneath him, mayors (maires) were placed in charge of all municipalities with more than 2,500 inhabitants. They were assisted by assistants (adjoints) and police commissioners (commissaires de police) to handle all matters of local government. See Bulletin des lois III série, I (an VIII), No. 13, 1-3. Arrêté of 5 February 1799.

he tried to make into a Dalmatian army.<sup>22</sup> However, pay raises, new uniforms and military prestige failed to make this force loyal to the regime. In a rebellion in 1807, many of the militiamen either refused to act or openly joined the rebels.<sup>23</sup> As a result, Dandolo reduced the budget of the Forza and relied more heavily upon the gendarmerie attached to the Army of Dalmatia.<sup>24</sup> In the same year, the Governor abandoned the representative legislative body, the Grand Council, because of a lack of trust in its members and the fact that it was too advanced an institution for such a backward land.<sup>25</sup>

Although the organic decree of 28 April 1806 made the Code Napoléon the law of the land, Dandolo's powers enabled him to modify it in part to meet local conditions. Soon after he took up his post, the Governor presented

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 204-06. Dandolo did not officially inform Marmont of this reform until 1 January 1807, when the new force formally came into being. He requested that the militia receive the same respect as a military unit. Marmont, in his Mémoires, makes no mention of this.

<sup>23</sup> This rebellion broke out because of attempts to conscript Dalmatians for service in the Armies of Italy and Dalmatia.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 206. There were, however, few gendarmes serving with the Army of Dalmatia. Napoleon ordered that as of 1 March 1808, there were supposed to be a total of thirty of these special forces serving with the French troops of this army and none with the Italian. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XVI, No. 13474. No figures for the Army of Dalmatia are available for 1807.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 208. This assembly met for the first time on 2 November 1806. See Moniteur, 27 November 1806, 1469.

Napoleon with a recommended legal program designed to meet the special needs of a country in which, for example, the bride-price and matriarchy were fixed institutions.<sup>26</sup> Napoleon, however, rejected most of his suggestions, and, on 4 September 1806, issued four decrees which established a system of justice and public works for Dalmatia, but cost the regime much of its popularity by antagonizing every element of the population. The first decree abolished all distinctions between the nobility and the middle class.<sup>27</sup> The second decree marked Napoleon's only effort at agrarian reform in Dalmatia as part of the Kingdom of Italy. It abrogated the Grimani law of 1756<sup>28</sup> which declared the lands of the interior to be inalienable from the State.<sup>29</sup> This irritated the peasantry, because it was never put into effect. In addition, the decree established a commission of public works, under the presidency of the governor; this was carried out and by 1809 some projects had been completed.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 212. There is some dispute as to the date upon which Dandolo submitted his project. Pisani gives the month of October, but says that Napoleon's 4 September 1806 decrees (see note 27) were issued in reply to it.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 214. This decree is not given in the Bulletin des Lois but is summarized in Moniteur, 28 September 1806, 1193.

<sup>28</sup>Supra, 11, note 9.

<sup>29</sup>Moniteur, 28 September 1806, 1193. See also Pisani, Dalmatie, 214.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid. The commission was to be composed of engineers and landowners. The projects which were to be drawn

The third decree, which made the Concordat the ecclesiastical law of the land, never was put into effect. To keep the support of the clergy, Dandolo prevented its publication, and apparently was never called to account for doing so.<sup>31</sup>

The fourth decree was, from the standpoint of administration, the most important. This decree established an entirely new judicial system for Dalmatia, in accordance with Italian procedure. Each moderate-sized town received a justice of the peace. Three courts of primary jurisdiction were set up, at Zara, Spalato and Cattaro. Zara was the site of the court of appeal, while a chamber of commerce was created at Spalato. In addition, the decree authorized the Dalmatian authorities to modify the organization of the courts as it saw fit.<sup>32</sup> Dandolo was successful in reducing the severity of punishments, in reorganizing the court system to meet local needs, and, in cases where local law

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up were to deal with draining marshes, continuing the road from Zara and Knin to the frontier at Sinj and Imoski, building a new road to run the entire length of the littoral, and building a new road to facilitate communications between Dalmatia and Bosnia. Each project had to be accompanied by an estimate of expenses and a legal provision stating which parts of this amount were to be charged to the communes and to individuals.

<sup>31</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 215.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. This decree is summarized in Moniteur, 28 September 1806, 1193.

conflicted with the Code, issued rescripts to achieve a settlement.<sup>33</sup>

On the whole, Dandolo's financial administration was highly successful. He kept receipts ahead of expenditures by strictly enforcing the old Venetian tax laws and increased the customs revenues by encouraging the expansion of salt production, thereby stimulating trade.<sup>34</sup> In October, 1806, Eugene issued a decree which fixed the value of the monies which were permitted to circulate in the Venetian departments and the province of Dalmatia, in order to counteract the effects caused by inflated Austrian currency.<sup>35</sup> To decrease expenditures, Dandolo ordered a revision of all pensions granted by the Austrian and Venetian authorities. Many were discontinued or decreased.<sup>36</sup> Despite these measures, Dalmatia

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 213. The Code Civil was applied to the Venetian territories in accordance with an Imperial decree of 10 February 1806. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 73, 260. Eugene adopted it for Italy by a decree of 17 June 1806. On 8 September 1806, he adopted the Code pénal. Both Codes went into effect throughout the Kingdom of Italy on 14 October 1807. See Moniteur, 6 October 1807, 1079.

<sup>34</sup>Dandolo was responsible only for civil expenditures. Pisani, Dalmatie, 218-26 contains a brief account of Dandolo's administration of the finances, and a discussion of the salt industry.

<sup>35</sup>Moniteur, 24 October 1806, 1293. Pisani, Dalmatie, 149-51, notes that in the aftermath of the 1805 campaign, the Austrians left behind in Dalmatia a great number of copper coins of small value and much paper currency, called Bancozettel, both of which were greatly inflated.

<sup>36</sup>This was done in accordance with an act of Eugene of 18 September 1806, which applied to all former Venetian territory. Moniteur, 28 September 1806, 1194.

never achieved great prosperity under the Kingdom of Italy. Late in 1808, Eugene reported to Napoleon that between the years 1807-1808, Italy had sent about 30,000,000 francs in gold (or its equivalent) to Dalmatia.<sup>37</sup>

The country was so backward that the budget could never have supported the various public works which were needed to bring prosperity. She had few roads or bridges and extensive marshes dotted the landscape. In the face of this, the administration set out to accomplish as much as possible. As early as June 1806, Eugene ordered work to begin on a dam on the Kerka (Krka) River at Knin. Unfortunately, the funds for this project were diverted to Marmont's road projects.<sup>38</sup> All the administration managed to accomplish was to build a few roads in the islands.<sup>39</sup>

Commerce and industry showed no significant development during this period. Despite a number of attempts, the only successful commercial venture was in exporting salt to Italy and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>40</sup> Trade by sea almost ceased, for the British and Russians controlled the Adriatic.<sup>41</sup> The

<sup>37</sup>Eugene, Mémoires, IV, 241. Eugene to Napoleon 14 November 1808. This letter does not indicate how much of this money was reserved for military expenditures.

<sup>38</sup>Infra, 36-37.

<sup>39</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 248.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 218-26.

<sup>41</sup>The Moniteur for the years 1806-1809, gives numerous accounts of British and Russian attacks on merchant vessels. Russian-British cooperation ceased after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. For an account of Russian operations

bulk of the people were too poor to purchase the products of the few factories which were established.<sup>42</sup> On 27 January 1807, Dandolo presented a project to Napoleon which called for the establishment of a trade route across Dalmatia, connecting Hungary and Italy. Nothing ever came of this and no negotiations, it seems, were undertaken.<sup>43</sup>

Dandolo, who was a physiocrat, undertook an extensive reform of agriculture. Shortly after his arrival in Dalmatia, he purchased the vast lands belonging to a Marquis Manfredin for the state and converted them into a royal nursery.<sup>44</sup> This was followed by a forest law of 16 November 1806, providing stiff penalties for damage done to forested areas.<sup>45</sup> The Governor also limited the exportation of wood for fuel and construction purposes and established an inspectorate of forests and agriculture. The chief inspector was ordered to create small nursery areas in each community to further

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during this period, see Marmont, Mémoires, III, Book X. One of the best summaries of British operations during this period is in Piers Mackesy, The War in the Mediterranean, 1803-1810 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), 219-22. There was no Dalmatian naval force, outside the Dalmatian Squadron of the Italian Navy.

<sup>42</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 249. During this period, attempts were made to establish several cloth mills, forges and a soap factory. Most of these projects failed.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 251. Pisani claims that Dandolo contributed to the failure of such projects by failing to give them his full support. He notes that the Governor was a physiocrat and points out that in his annual report for 1808, he stated that commerce was the ruin of agriculture.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 252-53.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 253.

reforestation. However, much of the progress in this area was undone by the Austrian invasion of 1809, in which most of the small trees were destroyed.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to reforestation, Dandolo also tried to improve the breed of local sheep and even donated 100 of his prize rams to interested breeders.<sup>47</sup> He was also instrumental in introducing the cultivation of potatoes as a staple crop; prizes were distributed for the best yields.<sup>48</sup> Presumably on his advice, Eugene issued a decree on 16 October 1807, permitting the free cultivation of all kinds of tobacco in Dalmatia and "Albania" (Cattaro).<sup>49</sup> Finally, Dandolo even distributed free advice on agriculture in a series of articles which appeared in the Regio Dalmate in the autumn of 1808.<sup>50</sup>

The Governor also carried out far-reaching reforms in religious affairs. These, however, failed to endear the Napoleonic regime to the Dalmatians and probably hurt more than they helped. At first, Dandolo, who recognized the loyalty of the people to the Church, sought to win over the clergy.<sup>51</sup> Part of this program consisted of preventing the publication of the 4 September 1806 decree which established

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 254-55. See also Tarlé, Blocus, 292.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 255. <sup>49</sup>Moniteur, 15 November 1807, 1193.

<sup>50</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 255. <sup>51</sup>Supra, 24.



the Concordat in Dalmatia. However, in 1807, he decided that a reform was needed in the Church, and on 11 April of that year, submitted a project on this subject to Napoleon.<sup>52</sup> Dandolo proceeded to reduce the number of dioceses and the salaries of the hierarchy. The civil administration assumed control of all Church property. The seminaries received the bulk of the funds saved by these measures. To the clergy, this appeared to be a return of the policies of the Austrian regime. The reduction of theological courses in the seminaries in favor of such secular ones as agricultural methods, the prohibition of the use of the native language, and the rigid enforcement of secular control aggravated the situation. Nevertheless, this reform resulted in improved conditions among the rural cures and the improved financial resources of the seminaries.<sup>53</sup>

Dandolo further estranged the Catholics by persuading Napoleon to create a separate bishopric for the Orthodox. A decree of 17 September 1808, not only created a bishopric, but also a monastic chapter and seminary. In addition, the decree called for the assembly, in the following November,

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<sup>52</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 229.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 229-33. Pisani notes that despite the obvious advantages of such a reform, the majority of the people, and many of the rural clergy, sided with the hierarchy. Only after completing this reform did Dandolo administer the oath of loyalty to the Emperor and King. See Moniteur, 29 May 1808, 588, which also notes that the hierarchy had been reduced to two archbishops (Nona and Zara) and ten bishops, excluding the bishop of Cattaro.

of a synod of forty members at Zara, under the presidency of Dandolo.<sup>54</sup> The synod met on 30 November 1808 for its first session, at which a plan of organization of the Orthodox Church in Dalmatia was worked out.<sup>55</sup> At the second session, the principal administrative officials of the Church were appointed.<sup>56</sup>

Religion also was the subject which aggravated the split between Dandolo and Marmont. The General, whether to increase his prestige or to gain the confidence of the clergy, accepted the position of patron of the Franciscans. Dandolo denounced his rival to Eugene, who forced Marmont to give up his patronage of the Franciscans under the accusation that he had usurped a power of the Emperor.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Moniteur, 24 September 1808, 1058. The bishop and the chapter and seminary each received an annual endowment of 15,000 francs, half of which was supplied by a levy of Orthodox Dalmatians, half by the Treasury of the Kingdom of Italy. See also Pisani, Dalmatie, 237, who notes that Dandolo favored this as early as 1806, but that Napoleon delayed issuing the decree because the only facilities for educating Orthodox priests were on Austrian or Ottoman soil. Even then, the first bishop was not installed until 1810.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 26 December 1808, 1401; 31 December 1808, 1427.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 7 January 1809, 22; 29 January 1809, 111.

<sup>57</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 121-22, 185-89. Marmont to Napoleon, 3 January 1809. Eugene, Mémoires, IV, 175-76, denies that the entire affair took place. It seems plausible, however, that Marmont would have accepted such a position. The Franciscans were highly respected by the natives, and it was upon native labor that Marmont relied for the later roads, so that he may have been seeking to insure good will towards the regime.

Perhaps the brightest spot in Dandolo's career in Dalmatia is his advancement of public education. In 1806, a report on education indicated that only one institution, a private collège at Traù, was still in operation.<sup>58</sup> After some preliminary legislation, the Governor issued an organic decree on 22 June 1807. By this law he created a lycée at Zara, seven gymnasiums, twenty elementary schools for boys and twelve for girls, and called for the establishment of eight schools of arts and crafts, which were never organized.<sup>59</sup>

Dandolo also undertook a reform of the orphanages and hospitals, but, wherever his surveillance was not present, no progress was made.<sup>60</sup> To gain support for a vaccination program, he enlisted the support of the entire civil service, the physicians, and even the police. Early in 1808, the Governor announced that as many as 24,000 people had been vaccinated.<sup>61</sup> In addition, the administration issued a great

<sup>58</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 238.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 240-41. The lycée was designed to have courses for the education of lawyers and physicians. The gymnasiums were to provide an intermediate level of education. No religious instruction was given in any of the schools. However, every school opened was subject to much clerical criticism and suffered from a lack of both students, despite scholarships, and professors.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 243.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 246-47. No documentary authority exists to support this. The first reports of vaccination in Italy do not occur until 1809. See Moniteur, 17 April 1809, 423.

number of circulars in a public health campaign to eliminate such hazards as unclean wells and waste pits. These efforts, however, failed to make much of an impression on the people, who persisted in their customary ways.<sup>62</sup>

Although Dandolo was responsible for the introduction of most of the Napoleonic reforms, credit for one of the most lasting of them must be given to his rival, General Marmont, who arrived in Dalmatia shortly after Dandolo.<sup>63</sup> Marmont noted that the lack of roads hindered operations, communication and trade. He therefore developed a project to continue the roads begun under the Austrians.<sup>64</sup> Marmont soon realized that the demands of length and time required a more extensive labor force.<sup>65</sup> In February 1807, the General met Dandolo at Zara and they were temporarily reconciled. The Governor was won over to the road project and gave Marmont 900 excavators, 30 masons and the services of the militia.<sup>66</sup> The army furnished a large number of men, who were added to the force of 12,000 natives raised by a corvée.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 247.

<sup>63</sup>Supra, 21, note 9; 23.

<sup>64</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 42-45. The first roads were begun in 1806. The first to be completed was the road connecting Zara and Spalato. The early roads were completed wholly by the troops at his disposal. For a description of the poor condition of Dalmatian roads, before Marmont, see Eugene, Mémoires, II, 254-55. Eugene to Napoleon, 26 April 1806.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 61.

<sup>66</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 269.

<sup>67</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 62-63. Marmont states that the labor service gave the natives a chance to earn extra

Marmont then persuaded the civil administration to assume responsibility for the upkeep of the roads and to operate a postal service, manned by the militia.<sup>68</sup> Most of the roads were financed, at this time, by the sale of captured merchandise, voluntary subscriptions, and some funds from the central administration, and therefore cost the civil administration little money.<sup>69</sup>

Because Dalmatia was a province of Italy, there were technically no independent military forces. The naval defense of Dalmatia was the responsibility of the Dalmatian Squadron of the Royal Italian navy. This force consisted of the frigates Adria and Aquila and the brigs Pollux and Orien, and several other smaller vessels.<sup>70</sup> Marmont's force, the Army of Dalmatia, was originally the First Corps (Friuli)

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money and termed the corvée a means of self-improvement, which taught them the value of labor. The levy of men was divided into two groups, each of which worked fifteen days, under the direction of army engineers and officers. To encourage speed, the workers were allowed to leave the project early if they completed their section ahead of schedule. The soldiers, it seems, sixty-six, were rewarded for their labor by placing the name of their regiment on a marker designating which section of the road they had helped to build. Pisani, Dalmatie, 270, notes that the roads were fifteen to twenty feet wide and had a stone surface and retaining walls.

<sup>68</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 271. For a description of the roads built at this time, see Moniteur, 1 August 1807, 824. The road connecting Spalato and Segna was named the Chemin-Marmont. Another bore the name Chemin-Steffaneo, to honor the Austrian minister who was responsible for the construction of the first modern road in Dalmatia.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 9921. Napoleon to Eugene, 3 March 1806.

of the Army of Italy, with its headquarters at Udine.<sup>71</sup> On 7 July 1806, when Marmont was ordered to Dalmatia, the First Corps was renamed the Army of Dalmatia.<sup>72</sup> Until 1809, the Army of Dalmatia received its funds from the Army of Italy and remained under the supreme command of Prince Eugene. In addition to the road projects, this force was largely occupied with the siege of Cattaro and the fortification of Zara as a vast entrenched camp, intended to distract an invading force of greater size and thereby give the Army of Italy additional time to prepare to meet the advance.<sup>73</sup> Throughout its history, the Army of Dalmatia remained primarily a French unit. Napoleon ordered that as of 1 March

<sup>71</sup>Napoleon I, Unpublished Correspondence of Napoleon I, Preserved in the War Archives (Edited by Ernest Picard and Louis Tuetey. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. 3 vols. to date; New York: Duffield and Co., 1913), I, 246. Unsigned note dated 23 December 1805. This corps consisted of two divisions, one of them under the command of General Gabriel Molitor, which subsequently was named the Dalmatian Division when Molitor proceeded to occupy that territory. Eugene was informed of this decision on 11 February 1806. See Eugene, Mémoires, II, 66. Napoleon to Eugene, 11, February 1806.

<sup>72</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, Nos. 10461, 10462. Napoleon to Eugene; Napoleon to Marmont, 7 July 1806. It retained this title until April, 1809, when it became the 11th corps of the Grand Army. See also Eugene, Mémoires, IV, 297.

<sup>73</sup>This project figured in much of the military correspondence between Eugene and Napoleon and fortifications continued up to the campaign of 1809. Napoleon first mentioned the project as early as April 1806. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10117. Napoleon to Eugene, 21 April 1806.

1808, it consist of 21,130 French troops and 2,900 Italian troops.<sup>74</sup>

Despite the preponderance of French and Italian troops, native Dalmatians also saw service. Early in 1806, Napoleon authorized Eugene to form a battalion of Dalmatian troops, noting that Venice formerly recruited some of her finest troops from this region.<sup>75</sup> Shortly afterwards, noting that French troops were being exposed to capture in the Dalmatian islands, he recommended raising several companies of native troops to replace them.<sup>76</sup> Eugene followed this advice by decreeing the creation of a Royal Dalmatian Legion (Légion-Royale-Dalmatienne), composed of four battalions.<sup>77</sup> In July, 1806, Eugene ordered the organization of this unit,

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., XVI, No. 13474 and Eugene, Mémoires, IV, 45. Napoleon to Eugene, 20 January 1806.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., XII, No. 1399. Napoleon to Eugene, 2 March 1806.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., XII, No. 10716 and Eugene, Mémoires, II, 264. Napoleon to Eugene, 30 April 1806.

<sup>77</sup> Moniteur, 29 June 1806, 843. See also Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10295 and Eugene, Mémoires, II, 412-13. This unit was placed under the command of an Italian colonel and half of its officer corps was to be drawn from either the Italian or French army. The uniforms were Italian, but all the troops were to be native Dalmatians. The same decree provided for the formation of a Royal Istrian Battalion (Bataillon-Royal-d'Istrie) organized on the same principle. This force, which was formed at Parenzo (Poreč) was evacuated to Italy in February, 1809, in accordance with Napoleon's orders to evacuate that province in case of an approaching war with Austria. See Eugene, Mémoires, IV, 339, 347-48. Eugene to Napoleon, 14 February 1809, Napoleon to Eugene, 20 February 1809.

as well as the Royal Istrian Battalion.<sup>78</sup> The Dalmatian Legion, as part of the Army of Dalmatia, was intended for service in the islands,<sup>79</sup> but does not seem always to have been used for that purpose.<sup>80</sup>

Apprehension on the part of Eugene and Marmont of war with Austria led, in 1808, to the creation of another military force composed of native Dalmatians. In the fall of 1808, Marmont felt the need of a force to ensure the security of the towns which he was garrisoning and to provide support for the Army of Dalmatia which, according to

<sup>78</sup> Moniteur, 19 July 1806, 921. The Dalmatian Legion was to be composed of 2,700 men, the Istrian Battalion of 660. These troops were to be obtained by voluntary enlistment, or, failing that, conscription, both of which were to be based on the population of the communes. The length of service was to have been for five years in time of peace.

<sup>79</sup> Marmont, Mémoires, III, 84-85. Eugene to Marmont, 24 September 1806.

<sup>80</sup> Eugene seems to have used the Legion as a recruiting ground for the regular Dalmatian battalion of the Army of Dalmatia. In December, he wrote Marmont to organize this unit from soldiers forming part of the Legion. See Eugene, Mémoires, III, 457. Eugene to Marmont, 27 December 1807. As the war with Austria approached, Marmont used some of the troops of this unit to garrison points on the land. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 131. There seems to have been strong opposition to service in the Legion. In May 1807, Eugene wrote to Marmont urging him to discuss the lack of enlistments with Dandolo. In this letter he noted that at this date, there were only thirty-seven or thirty-eight men in the Legion, including officers. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 105-06. Eugene to Marmont, 24 May 1807. This letter indicates that a report in the Moniteur of 12 August 1806, 1015 is nothing more than propaganda. This issue contains a report that on 3 August 1806, Eugene reviewed the 1st Battalion of the Dalmatian Legion at Milan.



operational plans, was to fall back on Zara.<sup>81</sup> In order to have garrison troops to supplement his forces in case of a retreat or an advance, he formed a National Guard,<sup>82</sup> composed of townsmen and led by young men from the best families.<sup>83</sup>

Early in April 1809, the long anticipated war with Austria began. The Habsburg forces moved against Napoleon's lands and allies in a series of widely dispersed movements. On 10 April, they invaded Italy, only to be forced to retreat in a week. In Dalmatia, Marmont, who had taken up a position on the frontier, fought a series of battles against the forces of General Knesevitch in order to join up with the Grand Army. In his wake, Austrian troops poured into Dalmatia and occupied most of the province. Their arrival brought the civil administration of Dalmatia, and Dandolo's career there, to an end. For a few short months, the Austrians

<sup>81</sup>These orders were changed early in 1809, at which time Napoleon ordered Eugene to issue instructions providing for Marmont's forces to join the Grand Army, leaving behind a strong force to garrison the major cities of Dalmatia.

<sup>82</sup>The National Guard was a municipal militia, composed of men between the ages of twenty and sixty, used for the maintenance of internal order, and the defense of the frontiers and coasts. The officers were required to furnish their own uniforms and equipment. The men wore a military-type uniform, but received their arms from the government. When serving on military duty, the National Guard received the pay of troops of the line. For the duties and organization of this force under the Empire, see Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 59, 2-4 and No. 60, 6-9.

<sup>83</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 131, 132. Marmont also made a levy of 1,000 pandours, militia, for the escort and upkeep of 2,000 transport horses.

again held the province and undid many of the reforms which he had worked to introduce. The resulting chaos was to add to the problems which his successor, Marmont, and his administrators, were to face in the government of the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> For accounts of the 1809 campaign as it affected Dalmatia, see Marmont, Mémoires, III, Books XI and XII and Pisani, Dalmatie, Part II, Chapter II. For an account of the campaign as it affected Italy, see Eugene, Mémoires, IV, Book XII; V and VI, Books XV and XVI.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ORGANIZATION OF A COUNTRY AND ITS ADMINISTRATORS

The Illyrian Provinces, destined to be Napoleon's last major territorial creation, were born in the aftermath of the campaign of 1809, on 14 October. On the same day that Prince John of Liechtenstein signed the Treaty of Vienna (Schönbrunn), which ceded all of Austria's Adriatic coast and her southernmost provinces to France,<sup>1</sup> Napoleon issued a decree which combined these territories with Dalmatia to form a new territorial subdivision of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Martens, Supplément, V, 210-17.

<sup>2</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XI (1810), No. 246, 159. The decree lists the territories of Villach, Carniola, Austrian Istria, Fiume, Trieste and that part of Croatia lying on the right bank of the Save River. No mention is made of Italian Istria or the territories ceded by Bavaria. Of the Napoleonic holdings, only Dalmatia is mentioned, and presumably thereby, Ragusa and Cattaro.

Napoleon, through Count Antonio Aldini, the representative of the Kingdom of Italy at Paris, formally told Eugene of his decision to transfer Istria and Dalmatia to the Illyrian Provinces. On 4 January 1810, Eugene wrote to Napoleon that he had received this information, reminding the Emperor that he had made an exception of ex-Venetian Istria, which was now a full department, integrated into the Kingdom of Italy. He further noted that Istria was the major source of salt for home consumption and the sole source of wood for the shipyards at Venice. The Viceroy closed this letter with a request for orders concerning this for the Senate of Italy. See Eugene, Mémoires, VI, 275-76. Eugene

Napoleon's motives for doing this were twofold, and even, perhaps, threefold. The French Emperor was primarily interested in protecting the Kingdom of Italy from Austria. As early as 1806, he was bothered by the fact that an Austrian invasion could penetrate the Italian frontier from Carinthia and Carniola by bypassing the strongholds of Palmanova and Osoppo, and thereby enter the Friuli region.<sup>3</sup> During the course of the peace negotiations at Altenburg, the Emperor decided to weaken the defeated country by depriving it of territory. On 22 September 1809, he wrote Count Jean-Baptiste de Champagny, the French minister of foreign affairs, that he should attempt to gain the coastal possessions of Austria to insure direct contact between Dalmatia and Italy.<sup>4</sup> During the course of these negotiations,

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to Napoleon, 4 January 1810. In addition to practical reasons for keeping Istria, and also Dalmatia, it should be noted that a certain amount of national sentiment was also involved. Hence Eugene requested orders for the Senate. See also Tarlé, Blocus, 39. As a result, Napoleon arranged for the Kingdom of Bavaria to cede a province of the Tyrol to the Kingdom of Italy. This territory subsequently became the Department of the Upper-Adige (Alto-Adige). See Eugene, Mémoires, VI, 307, 327-28. Napoleon to Eugene, 10 April 1810. This cession, however, created a further problem in regard to the location of the Italian-Illyrian boundary in the Tyrol. This question was finally settled in the late summer of 1811. See Eugene, Mémoires, VI, 347-48, 363-64, 394-95. Eugene to Napoleon, 19 July 1810, 15 August 1810; Napoleon to Eugene, 21 September 1810. See also Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIV (1812), No. 383, 109-10. Imperial decree correcting the limits between France and the Kingdom of Italy, 5 August 1811.

<sup>3</sup> Napoleon, Correspondance, XII, No. 10510. Napoleon to General Jean Dejean, Minister of War Administration, 17 July 1806.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., XIX, No. 15835. Napoleon to Champagny, 22 September 1809.

Napoleon further remarked to Marmont, who was to become the first Governor-General of the Illyrian Provinces, that he intended to make the territory a "margravacy" or march, in order to protect the frontiers of Italy and the Empire.<sup>5</sup> On 18 December 1809, Napoleon, in his reply to the address of the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy, directly stated that the Illyrian Provinces formed a frontier for the protection of that kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, in August, 1810, Napoleon ordered General Henri Clarke, the Minister of War, to send Marmont a note on the military role of Illyria in case of war with Austria. This note pointed out that in such a circumstance, the defense of Italy lay on the Isonzo River and in the Alps. Palmanova was useless for this purpose, he stated, and so it was necessary to establish works at Gorizia or Gradiska and create a defense system connected to Palmanova. The Emperor went on to state that all the defenses of Laybach (Ljubljana) should be destroyed, except for the citadel, since that town lay within the reach of the enemy, and recommended an expansion of the works at Trieste. No arsenals were to be established in the Illyrian Provinces, and in case of war, all material was to be evacuated beyond the Isonzo. Finally, Napoleon pointed out three significant advantages which the Illyrian Provinces possessed. The army

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<sup>5</sup>Marmont, Memoires, III, 271.

<sup>6</sup>Moniteur, 26 December 1809, 1444.

there could form the advance-guard on the Save in case of offense, or a rear-guard in case of defensive action. Referring to the 1809 invasion, he said that then Austria had been able to penetrate into Friuli in two days, whereas now such a move would require ten. In case of defense, France now controlled the outlets of the Alps and could slow the Austrian march, while for offensive purposes, Austria could not fortify these passes against her.<sup>7</sup>

The second motive, that of economic interest, was implied by the act of creation itself. By depriving Austria of her two major seaports, and all her coastline, Napoleon not only forced Austria to become a member of the Continental system, but also closed off an even greater portion of the Adriatic to the British.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the long Illyrian frontier with the Ottoman Empire increased the possibilities of trade with that state, especially in regard to those raw

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<sup>7</sup> Napoleon, Correspondance, XXI, No. 16792. Napoleon to Clarke, 14 August 1810. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 470-77. Clarke to Marmont, 20 August 1810. In this note, Clarke, quoting Napoleon emphasized the fortifications at Trieste and Laybach, and concluded by saying that Illyria could also be useful in a war against the Ottoman Empire. It should also be noted that in case of war, Napoleon intended that Palmanova should become the focal point for a military evacuation from Illyria and he continued to strengthen the works of that fortress. See Eugene, Mémoires, VI, 336-37. Napoleon to Eugene, 10 June 1810.

<sup>8</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 11, notes that in 1806 Julien Bessières, the French consul-general for the Adriatic, advised the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the British would control the Adriatic as long as Trieste and Fiume remained in Austrian hands.

materials which France could no longer obtain from her overseas colonies.<sup>9</sup>

The third motive for the creation of Illyria lies on less firm grounds, but seems quite plausible. In taking Carniola and Carinthia, Napoleon acquired lands which had been traditional holdings of the House of Habsburg. Military Croatia, too had been connected with that House for a long time, and was an important link in her southeastern defenses. Trieste and Fiume were her only seaports. It is only natural to believe that Austria would desire the restoration of these territories and that in acquiring them, Napoleon had acquired a diplomatic lever to use in negotiations with that state. In September, 1810, before the establishment of a definitive form of government for the Illyrian Provinces, Napoleon had an interview with Prince Clemens von Metternich, the Austrian Foreign Minister. In the course of this discussion, Napoleon pointed out the advantages which he held over Austria and that this could lead to friction between the two countries. The Emperor went on to say it was possible that war could occur between France and Russia, in which case, he would make use of Poland, and pointed out that Austria would be requested to choose sides. Therefore, he proposed a possible exchange of territories,

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<sup>9</sup>Infra, Chapter V, 97. Ibid., 146-88 contains a very thorough discussion of Napoleon's efforts to establish a trade route across Illyria to Turkey, primarily for the purpose of securing cotton.

Illyria for Galicia.<sup>10</sup> Later, in 1813, at the Congress of Prague, Napoleon offered to abandon Poland, or rather the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and cede Illyria in an effort to gain Austrian support.<sup>11</sup> By then, however, the time for negotiation had passed.

Napoleon lost no time in organizing a form of government for his new territory. On 14 October, he named Councillor of State Jacques Dauchy, formerly administrator of finances in Tuscany, the Intendant General of Finances of the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>12</sup> Marmont, who had been promoted

<sup>10</sup> Prince Clemens von Metternich, Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1773-1815 (Edited by Richard, Prince Metternich and M. A. de Klinkowström. Translated by Mrs. Alexander Napier. 2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1880), I, 136-39, 399. This interview took place on 10 September 1810. The editors note that Metternich prepared an account of it in German for the Emperor. This note, presumably, was located in the Austrian archives. That Napoleon contemplated such a move is supported by Bourrienne, one of Napoleon's secretaries. See Louis Antoine Flauvelet de Bourrienne, Mémoires de M. de Bourrienne (10 vols.; Paris: Chez Ladvocat, 1829-30), III, 252-53.

<sup>11</sup> Napoleon, Correspondance, XXVI, No. 20375. Napoleon to Frederick, King of Württemberg, 13 August 1813.

<sup>12</sup> Bulletin des lois, IV série, XI (1810), No. 246, 160. Dauchy was a President of the Constitutional Assembly. He fled France, after being proscribed on 18 Fructidor (4 September 1797) for his conservative views. He returned to France after 18 Brumaire and, on 29 February 1800, became a prefect. See Jacques Régner, Les préfets du Consulat et de l'Empire (Paris: Édition de la "Nouvelle Revue," 1907), 9-10. (Hereafter cited as Régner, Préfets.) He became a Councillor of State and Administrator-General of Finances and Domains in the Venetian territories on 8 February 1806. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 73, 258-59. For an account of his career from this time until his appointment in Illyria, see Duane Koenig, "The Napoleonic Regime in Tuscany, 1807-1814," (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1942), Chapter II.



to the rank of Marshal of the Empire on 12 July 1809 following the Battle of Wagram,<sup>13</sup> became the Governor-General of the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>14</sup> He returned to France in order to help develop a plan for the organization of the new territory.<sup>15</sup>

The Military Convention, signed at Schonbrunn on 27 October 1809, gave Austria until 4 January 1810 to complete the evacuation of the ceded territory.<sup>16</sup> Until this date, the administration and judiciary of the provinces was entrusted to the Viceroy of Italy, while Dauchy attempted to restore order to the finances. On 12 November 1809, Napoleon placed both men under the Ministry of Finances for all matters pertaining to Illyria.<sup>17</sup> On 8 November, Eugene

<sup>13</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 255.

<sup>14</sup>No decree naming Marmont to this post was inserted in the Bulletin des lois. The only authority for the date of Marmont's appointment is Léonce de Brotonne who gives it as 14 October 1809. See Napoleon I, Dernières lettres inédites de Napoléon Ier, collationnées sur les textes et publiées par Léonce de Brotonne (2 vols.; Paris: Honoré Champion, Libraire, 1903), I, 503, note I. (Hereafter cited as Napoleon, Dernières lettres.) Marmont, Mémoires, III, 271, states that Napoleon told him at Schönbrunn, before the Treaty was drawn up, that he intended to send him to rule the territories ceded by Austria and that he would have the powers of a "margrave."

<sup>15</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 337-38. Marmont is the only authority for this and does not include any details of the discussions which he had with Napoleon at Fontainebleau, except to say that he made several visits and that each lasted several days.

<sup>16</sup>Moniteur, 8 November 1809, 1242, articles XIV and XV.

<sup>17</sup>Eugene, Mémoires, IV, 114. Napoleon to Eugene, 12 November 1809.

ordered all the Austrian civil servants to remain at their posts<sup>18</sup> and, on 1 December, required them to take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor.<sup>19</sup> The first civil servants of the new regime began to take their offices during this period. On 11 December, Lucien Arnault, an auditeur of the Council of State, the Intendant of the (provisional) province of Trieste, administered the oath of loyalty to the civil servants and clergy of that town.<sup>20</sup>

Dalmatia, which was then occupied by the Army of Italy, remained under a state of siege and martial law until 1 January 1810 because of an uprising in the area which had come under Austrian occupation.<sup>21</sup> After this date, a minor official, named Psalidi, took charge of the civil administration as a Commissioner of Government. Dandolo, who was not informed of the transfer of Dalmatia to the Illyrian Provinces, was under the impression that he had the right to resume his post as Governor and immediately formed a faction in opposition to the new regime. Some of the civil servants joined him, but were brought into line when threatened with dismissal. Dandolo left Zara on 4 January 1810, and returned to Italy.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 332.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. See also Moniteur, 2 January 1810, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Moniteur, 4 January 1810, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 332.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 332-33. In 1810, he went to Paris as a member of the Italian deputation to attend Napoleon's

During the autumn and winter of 1809-1810, the General Government of the Illyrian Provinces slowly took shape. Marmont left Paris on 4 November 1809, and, after stopping at Milan to discuss the transfer of Istria and Dalmatia with Eugene, arrived at Laybach on the 16th.<sup>23</sup> Until 4 January 1810, his title was simply that of the General-in-Chief of the Army of Dalmatia, which, after December, became the Army of Illyria.<sup>24</sup>

During Marmont's term of office, the Illyrian Provinces were governed under a decree of 25 December 1809,<sup>25</sup> which subordinated all aspects of government and administration to the authority of the Governor-General. Title I, Article 1 of the decree listed five chief officials of government: the Governor-General, the Intendant-General of Finances, the Commissioner-General of Justice, the Commandant of the Navy, and the Treasurer-General.<sup>26</sup>

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wedding. After 1814, he retired from public life, to his estate at Varese, where he died on 12 December 1819.

<sup>23</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 340-41.

<sup>24</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XX, No. 16067. The first mention of the change of names occurs in this letter of Napoleon to the Ministers of War and War Administration, 18 December 1809, in which he orders this force put on a partial peace-footing (demi-pied).

<sup>25</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XII (1810), No. 265, 85-97. (All further references to this decree, unless otherwise stated, shall refer to the specific titles and articles, rather than page numbers.)

<sup>26</sup>Their duties were set forth in Titles II, III, IV, V, VII, respectively, and will be treated in the chapters which relate to their areas of administration.

Title II came close to fulfilling Napoleon's alleged claim that Marmont would be a "margrave."<sup>27</sup> Article 5 made him the supreme commander of all naval, military and police forces. According to Article 6, he played the chief role in determining the amounts to be expended on public works, military fortifications, and had the final say in determining the budget-project. Articles 8 and 9 gave him broad powers of supervision over the Frontier regiments In Military Croatia,<sup>28</sup> the civil service, education, and the judiciary. Article 10 made him the supreme police official for Illyria. Article 17 gave him control of the Church, by giving him the power of presenting bishops for nomination and, in addition, gave him the sole authority to administer the oaths of loyalty of the public servants. The remainder of the eighteen articles of Title II, however, limited his sphere of activity by requiring him to work closely with the other members of the government and other chief officials of the Empire and Italy.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 271, 338. Marmont, in describing the organization of the administration under the decree, claims to have enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, that the other agents of government were equal to ministers of the government, and, finally, compares himself to a viceroy with unbounded powers. An examination of the decree, however, shows that this is an exaggeration.

<sup>28</sup>Here, however, his authority was subordinated to that of the Minister of War.

<sup>29</sup>Article 11 specifically protected the Intendant-General, and the Commissioner-General of Justice from him, but required that these officials make monthly reports on their spheres of administration, and permitted Marmont to

Under this decree, Marmont was the most powerful, and perhaps most energetic, Governor-General of the Illyrian Provinces. The only official whose powers approached his was the Intendant-General, the chief financial official whose powers touched almost every area of government and society. These powers, enumerated in Title III, Article 19, included the exclusive authority to levy and collect taxes, control over all receipts and expenditures, the administration of the customs, the responsibility for the support and pay of the troops, the suppression of smuggling, the upkeep of hospitals, the division of prize money in naval affairs, and the administration of the postal service. Under him, he had as subordinates the Treasurer-General, the Intendants of the provinces, the Receivers-General (provincial tax collectors), and the other employees of the government. He was responsible for drawing all the provisional legislation and seeing that it was published and executed, by virtue of Article 21. He could also call on the gendarmerie and armed forces to enforce the laws, but could never act as the chief judicial official of the land.<sup>30</sup> Under the authority of the

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demand of them all the information that he judged to be necessary for the proper functioning of the government. Article 12 required him to confer with the other chief officials in regard to legislation. Article 15 required him to confer with the Minister of War on all matters touching the army, and by implication of the words "security of the Illyrian Provinces," on naval matters as well. According to Article 16, he reported to the Viceroy of Italy, who was the Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy, on all affairs concerning Italian units in the Army of Illyria. Article 18, finally, required the Governor-General to make biennial reports to the various Ministers of the Empire.

<sup>30</sup>Articles 22 and 23.

Governor-General, he acted as the "foreign minister" for the Illyrian Provinces, and was responsible for the correspondence with the Imperial diplomatic representatives in Bosnia and Albania.<sup>31</sup> Finally, he was required to correspond with the Minister of Finances on all aspects of his administration.<sup>32</sup>

Because of the vast powers enjoyed by these two officials, and because of the disorganized state of the Illyrian Provinces, the early period of Marmont's term of office was particularly marked by a quarrel with Dauchy. This rivalry broke out even before Marmont formally assumed his post. Early in January, he wrote a long letter to the Intendant-General in which he reprimanded his constant complaints about the military, his lack of attention to his duties, and his presumption. He also reminded him that they were to cooperate in the government.<sup>33</sup> In a letter to General Clarke, the Minister of War, later that month, Marmont implied that Dauchy had failed to provide supplies for the troops, and was responsible for their pay being in arrears.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Article 24.

<sup>32</sup>Article 25.

<sup>33</sup>Marmont, *Mémoires*, III, 379-83. He specifically accused Dauchy of persecuting civil officials who reported to Marmont, and of suspending an engineer for having accompanied an army officer on an inspection of the Save River. In addition, Marmont noted that Dauchy had appointed an inept official to provide garrison facilities for the troops which had occupied Carlstadt (Karlovac), and had reappointed him after Marmont had replaced him with an abler man.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 388-89. Marmont to Clarke, 24 January 1810.

Similar complaints followed. On 29 June, Marmont wrote that the troops still had not been paid and that he was forced to draw up almost all of the arrêtés<sup>35</sup> dealing with organization. He blamed his failure to accomplish more on the unsettled conditions and Dauchy's obstructionism.<sup>36</sup> Finally, on 10 June 1810, Napoleon replaced Dauchy with Baron Redon de Belleville,<sup>37</sup> which finally brought the struggle to an end.<sup>38</sup>

Marmont's provisional regime lasted little more than a year. In the spring of 1810, he asked and received authorization to send a deputation of Illyrians to France to pay homage to the Emperor.<sup>39</sup> When this body of representatives

<sup>35</sup>This term is literally translated as "resolution." During this period, it was synonymous with the word décret or decree. In order to avoid confusing Illyrian decrees with Imperial decrees, issued only by Napoleon, this term has been left untranslated in the body of the text.

<sup>36</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 418-22. Marmont to Clarke, 29 June 1810.

<sup>37</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XII (1810), No. 292, 467.

<sup>38</sup>Belleville, however, did not arrive in Illyria until late in the year. On 31 July, Marmont informed the Minister of War that Dauchy had tried to relieve the plight of the troops in Dalmatia only since June, complaining of a lack of resources which Marmont declared to be false. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 460-65. Marmont to Clarke, 31 July 1810. On 15 October the Governor-General also blamed Dauchy for releasing Ottoman ships which were to have been sequestered on orders from Napoleon. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 494-95. Marmont to Napoleon, 15 October 1810.

<sup>39</sup>Napoleon, Correspondence, III, No. 4123. Decision, 26 March 1810. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 426-27, indicated that each province, and each of the six regiments of Military

arrived in Paris, Napoleon turned it into a small council of three sections, under the presidency of General Antoine Andreossi. One section was questioned about the military organization of Illyria, another about the financial situation, and the third about the organization of justice.<sup>40</sup> The result of all this was that Napoleon soon began to develop a plan for reorganizing the Illyrian Provinces. In the autumn of 1810, Marmont learned of the reorganization, and submitted a memoir proposing that no changes be made in the organization of Military Croatia.<sup>41</sup> Marmont soon asked leave to go to Paris to explain the situation and to help draw up a definitive decree of organization.<sup>42</sup> On 25 January 1811,<sup>43</sup> Marmont left Trieste, the winter capital, and

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Croatia, sent a deputy. Napoleon, Correspondence, III, No. 4912. Decision, 12 December 1810, however, indicates that there were sixty-six members.

<sup>40</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XX, No. 16738. Napoleon to Clarke, 31 July 1810.

<sup>41</sup>This memoir is summarized in Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 267-68. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 478-97. Various letters written in September and October to the Minister of War and the Minister of Justice. In each of these communications, the Governor-General emphasized the utility of preserving Military Croatia's regiments and the disaster which could result from attempting reforms which would, in effect, destroy the time-honored form of society in this province.

<sup>42</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 442-43.

<sup>43</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 338, advances the theory that Marmont suspected that a reorganization of the Illyrian government would reduce his powers. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 448-50, states that he left Illyria in early February and arrived in Paris in March. He claims that when he arrived



went to Paris, where he attended the meetings of the commission, before being reassigned to Spain.

Marmont's successor was an engineer officer, General Count Henri Bertrand.<sup>44</sup> Shortly after his appointment, Napoleon issued the decree containing the definitive organization of the Illyrian Provinces, on 15 April 1811.<sup>45</sup> Title II of this decree left the Governor-General the supreme commander of the armed forces (Article 4) and most of his supervisory powers (Articles 5-18). Article 19, however, called for the establishment of a Council of Government. The Council was composed of the Governor-General as president, the Intendant-General, the Commissioner of Justice, and two judges of the Court of Appeal at Laybach.<sup>46</sup> This body acted as

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Napoleon told him that he was satisfied with his administration, and further claims that the commission adopted all of his proposals. Napoleon later named him to succeed Massena in Spain, where he too, failed. He was responsible for the defense of Paris in the last days of the Battle of France, and surrendered that city under orders from Joseph. Under the Restoration, he continued to serve in the army. In 1830, he was again responsible for the defense of Paris. Following the July Revolution, he became an exile. He died in 1852.

<sup>44</sup>Napoleon, Dernières lettres, I, 503, note 1, gives the date of his appointment as 9 April 1811. This date is disputed by Mary Eloise Bradshaw, "The Illyrian Provinces," (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1932), 32, who states that Bertrand was appointed by a decree of 25 March 1811. This decree was not inserted in the Bulletin des lois.

<sup>45</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIV (1811), No. 369 bis. See also Moniteur, 12 May 1811, 493-98. (Further references to this decree shall contain only the Title or Article pertaining to the subject matter.)

<sup>46</sup>Title VI, Articles 59-62.

the chief administrative body for Illyria, the court of appeal (cassation) for civil suits, the regulating body for the judiciary after the introduction of French laws, an administrator of pardons, and the consultative body for reviewing all police legislation. In addition, the Governor-General became, in effect, simply the means by which the civil administration corresponded with the Ministries of the Empire.<sup>47</sup>

While the powers of the Governor-General were cut back by bridling him with a council and increasing his ties with the central government of the Empire, the powers of the other administrators remained as before. The character of Marmont's successors also seems to have entrenched this situation. Bertrand seems to have been less ambitious, and perhaps less able, than Marmont. No evidence exists of any major disputes between him and Belleville, the Intendant-General. On 16 August 1811 Napoleon appointed André de Crouzol, comte Chabrol to replace Belleville.<sup>48</sup> An able

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<sup>47</sup>Title II, Articles 21-28. The Ministers of Justice, Finance, Treasury, Interior, Religious Affairs, and of Police all communicated with their subordinates through him.

<sup>48</sup>Moniteur, 20 August 1811, 894. Chabrol, born in 1771, entered the upper level of government service in 1806 when Napoleon named him prefect of the Department of Montesson. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 72, 240. In 1809 he became a member of the Council of General Liquidation in Tuscany. See Moniteur, 15 April 1809. After the fall of the Illyrian Provinces, he returned to France and was a leader of the delegation which, on 1 April 1814, carried the capitulation of Paris to Alexander I of Russia at the château of Bondy. See Régnier, Préfets, 166. Under

administrator, he was the last Intendant-General of the Illyrian Provinces and the effective head of the government until late July 1813, when Joseph Fouché arrived as Governor-General.

In addition to curbing the powers of the Governor-General, the decree of 15 April 1811 also set forth in detail the organization of the government.<sup>49</sup> The first section of Title VIII established the territorial division of the country. The Illyrian Provinces thus consisted of six civil provinces, Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Civil Croatia, Dalmatia, "the province of Ragusa," and one military province, Military Croatia.<sup>50</sup> With the exception of Military Croatia, which retained its own system of frontier organization,<sup>51</sup> all the provinces enjoyed a uniform system of organization. Each province was divided into districts, by Article 64, and into cantons, Articles 76-81.<sup>52</sup> Each province was placed in the hands of an intendant who was responsible for all administrative, judicial, financial and police matters.<sup>53</sup> On

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the Restoration, he became prefect of Lyons and rose to the level of a minister. He resigned as Minister of Finances in the Polignac Ministry, retired from public life and died in 1836. See Charles, comte de Rémusat, Mémoires de ma vie (4 vols. to date; Paris: Librairie Plon, 1958- ), II, 288, note 1.

<sup>49</sup>Title VII.

<sup>50</sup>Article 63.

<sup>51</sup>Title VII, Section 4, Articles 91-94.

<sup>52</sup>See Appendix B.

<sup>53</sup>Title VII, Section II, Articles 84-88. The intendants, whose powers were equal to a prefect of the Empire,

the local level, these vast powers were the responsibility of the subdelegates (subdélégués) of which there were fourteen.<sup>54</sup> Section VI of Title VII also created a system of municipal administration. Title VIII created chambers of commerce at Trieste and Fiume, while Titles IX-XV regulated prisons and charitable establishments, public works, education, the administration of the mines and police and religious affairs. Title XV established the divisions of the administration of finances. Title XVI regulated the administration of justice. Finally, Titles XVII and XVIII regulated, briefly, the organization of the Army of Illyria and the navy.

Before leaving for Spain, Marmont briefed his successor on conditions in the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>55</sup> Bertrand, however, was in no hurry to go to Illyria. Early in June, he still had not left and Napoleon had to write to the Minister of War, urging his departure.<sup>56</sup> This letter apparently

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was responsible for: taxation, domains, waters, forests, charitable institutions, religious affairs, education, sanitation, policing of the ports, the administration of the province, districts, and communes, the raising of troops, the civil and military police, disputes involving the administration, and the customs. They were directly responsible to the Intendant-General, and ruled through a council.

<sup>54</sup>Title VII, Section III, Articles 89-90. For a list of their locations and the rate of pay of these, and other civil administrators, see Appendix C.

<sup>55</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 18, notes a large number of documents dealing with the administrative personnel of the Illyrian government exist in the Archives Nationales, carton Fie, 65, left by Marmont for Bertrand.

<sup>56</sup>Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1436. Napoleon to Clarke, 6 June 1811. Between Marmont's departure

was sufficient to get Bertrand to leave. The exact date of his arrival is not known, but it was sometime in late June or early July, 1811.<sup>57</sup>

Upon his arrival, the French authorities began to put the decree of 15 April into effect and soon the new government had taken shape. Napoleon at first took upon himself the responsibility for naming the intendants and subdelegates,<sup>58</sup> but later permitted Bertrand to appoint the latter officials.<sup>59</sup> Bertrand, however, did supervise the division of the provinces into arrondissements.<sup>60</sup>

and the arrival of Bertrand, the government of Illyria was in the hands of Belleville, the Intendant-General. General Alexis-Joseph Delzons was in command of the army. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 449.

<sup>57</sup>Moniteur, 27 July 1811, 793, and Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1483. Napoleon to Bertrand, 21 July 1811. Trieste, Carlstadt and Fiume planned to send deputations, headed by intendants, to greet him on 9 July at Laybach. The former source indicates that on 13 July Bertrand sent a letter to Napoleon, presumably from Trieste.

<sup>58</sup>Moniteur, 8 September 1811, 961, summarizes an Imperial Decree of 30 August 1811, in which Napoleon named several subdelegates in Carniola, Istria, and Civil Croatia. See also Moniteur, 13 April 1812, 408, which contains a decree by which Napoleon appointed Intendants for Carniola and Ragusa.

<sup>59</sup>Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1483. Napoleon to Bertrand, 21 July 1811. See also Napoleon I, Lettres inédites de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> (an VIII-1815), publiées par Léon Lescestre (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Plon, 1897), No. 839. Napoleon to Bertrand, 22 July 1811. Napoleon ordered Bertrand to appoint a subdelegate and a military commander at Cattaro. Napoleon also complained Bertrand was not working fast enough.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 5 February 1812, 139, indicates that on 24 December 1811, Bertrand ordered the division of Carniola into 124 arrondissements.

In the area of higher administration, several changes took place during Bertrand's term of office. In the summer of 1811, Napoleon decreed that the final boundary between Italy and the Illyrian Provinces was the Isonzo Valley.<sup>61</sup> The Emperor made some minor changes within Illyria itself as well. By a decree of 13 September 1811, Napoleon united the canton of Piccino (Pazin), which formed part of Civil Croatia, with Istria, from which it had been detached by the April decree.<sup>62</sup> Another decree, of 16 January 1812, moved the Chief Place (chef-lieu) of the subdelegation of Segna (Senj), in Civil Croatia, from Segna to Lussin Piccolo (Mali Lošinj) in the same province.<sup>63</sup> Finally, on 13 January 1813, an Imperial Decree created a fourth District, that of Krainburg (Kranj), in Carniola.<sup>64</sup>

The decree of 15 April 1811 radically altered the role of the Governor-General who became primarily a military commander. His duties required him to make a number of tours of inspection. Under the system of government by council, such absences made it necessary for Napoleon to issue a

<sup>61</sup> Bulletin des lois, IV série, XV (1812), No. 383, 109-10. Imperial Decree correcting the boundaries of France and Italy, 5 August 1811. The date for the transfer of the territory was 1 October 1811.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., No. 393, 290-91.

<sup>63</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 16.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

decree enabling the Intendant-General to preside over the Council during his absence.<sup>65</sup>

Bertrand, because of the limitations of his powers, his military duties, and, apparently, a lack of great administrative ability, became little more than a figure-head in the civil administration. Napoleon frequently wrote him about military and naval affairs, but rarely touched upon the situation of the administration. Many of the Emperor's letters indicate dissatisfaction with Bertrand.<sup>66</sup> If Napoleon's criticism is correct in regard to Bertrand's lack of initiative, Chabrol would have become the true head of the government under any circumstances. Although Bertrand's name appeared on every arrêté, developments tend to indicate that the Intendant-General was responsible for almost every one of them.

<sup>65</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XVI (1812), No. 420, 149. Imperial Decree of 30 January 1812. The Council's decisions were subject to the final approval of the Governor-General. Under Bertrand, approval seems to have been automatic.

<sup>66</sup>For example, Napoleon chided him for his tardy arrival in Illyria and ordered him to write to him directly, in addition to conducting correspondence with the ministers. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XXII, No. 17902. Napoleon to Bertrand, 9 July 1811. The Emperor also complained of the slowness of Bertrand's communications. See Napoleon Correspondance, XXII, No. 17923. Napoleon to Bertrand, 15 July 1811. In one biting letter, he bluntly informed the Governor-General that he was not in Illyria just to observe the situation and asked him why he did not withdraw some of the troops from the port of Pola if he knew that it was an unhealthy place. See Napoleon, Correspondance, XXII, No. 18077. Napoleon to Bertrand, 23 August 1811.

The Illyrian Provinces, created by decree for political and strategic purposes, was an artificial creation. The responsibility for establishing and maintaining the Napoleonic regime there ultimately fell upon two men. Marmont, the first Governor-General, laid the foundation of the regime. Chabrol, the Intendant-General, who ultimately fell heir to most of his powers, went to great lengths to complete the structure and make it function. Yet not even the organizational abilities of Napoleon, the interest and zeal of Marmont, nor the administrative talents of Chabrol, could prevent the artificial country from collapsing from within.



## CHAPTER IV

### FINANCES -- THE PLAGUE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Finances was the chief factor responsible for the difficulties experienced by the French administration of the Illyrian Provinces. In comparison with previous systems, the Napoleonic system in theory was the best equipped to deal with the various problems of the region. French administration was direct and thorough, unlike the Venetian, and did not suffer from the rivalry of separatism and centralization, as did the Austrian. The upper-level administrative personnel were, on the whole, well-trained, well-organized and efficient. These personnel were prepared to carry out what amounted to a reform of the entire region in order to make the Illyrian Provinces a profitable and self-supporting member of the Napoleonic Empire. In the end, before the arrival of Austrian troops, the reform had failed, for the wars of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Continental System combined to ensure the administrators of a lack of the one item essential to any reform--money.

Napoleon wasted no time in creating a financial administration for the Illyrian Provinces. He ordered Dauchy to go to Laybach to organize a financial administration

immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Vienna.<sup>1</sup> On 21 October 1809, he wrote to the Minister of the Public Treasury, comte François Mollien, telling him of Dauchy's appointment and ordering him to send the necessary personnel. He stated that all the revenues of Illyria were to be placed in the public treasury and the receipts for the expenditures were to be entered into the budgets of the appropriate ministries. He also made it clear that the Illyrian Provinces were responsible for the support of the Eleventh Army Corps, soon to be renamed the Army of Illyria.<sup>2</sup>

The financial administration of the Illyrian Provinces received its first organization in a decree of 25 December 1809.<sup>3</sup> Title II of this decree made the intendant-general of finances the head of the administration. Title VI established, in vague terms, the organization of the taxes and the composition of the budgets, over which the intendant-general exercised almost complete control. To assist the intendant-general, Napoleon established as his subordinate

<sup>1</sup>Supra, Chap. III, 43.

<sup>2</sup>François-Nicolas, comte Mollien, Mémoires d'un ministre du Trésor public, 1780-1815 (3 vols.; Paris: Félix Alcan, 1898), II, 398-99. Napoleon to Mollien, 21 October 1809. Mollien adds that Napoleon's view of taxation was that it should be regularly assessed in the countries which were added to the Empire, in order that he could control it more easily. According to Mollien, Napoleon personally controlled this aspect of government and never, in the interests of justice and his own popularity, delegated that responsibility to anyone.

<sup>3</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XII (1810), No. 265, 85-96.

a treasurer-general to handle strictly financial matters,<sup>4</sup> Each province received a treasurer of the customs (préposé payeur) while three receivers-general were created for the chief cities of the country. An additional receiver was to reside near each intendant or civil administrator, except at the three seats of the receivers-general.<sup>5</sup> The various divisions of the financial administration were then created during the interval between the decree of 1809 and the definitive decree of organization, of 15 April 1811.<sup>6</sup>

One of the brighter spots on the record of this administration was its solution of the monetary crisis. In 1809 the Illyrian Provinces were faced with the problem of what then amounted to massive inflation, a problem inherited from the period of Austrian rule.<sup>7</sup> The French immediately sought to remedy the situation and began a program of progressive devaluation, necessarily slow because of a scarcity of any alternate means of exchange. The first step was to

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Title VII, Article 42.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Articles 43, 44. The three receivers-general were to reside at Laybach, Zara, and Trieste. The remaining articles, 46-48, established the details on the way in which the several officials were to conduct affairs.

<sup>6</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIV (1811), No. 369 bis, Title XV.

<sup>7</sup>Austria's economy had been shattered by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Bancozettel, or paper currency began to lose its value as early as 1799. By the end of the 1809 campaign, gold and silver coins had almost ceased to circulate, leaving in their place the inflated paper money and copper coins of small denominations. See Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 19-20.

set the exchange rate at one-fifth of the value of Austrian currency at Vienna.<sup>8</sup> The rate was increased to one-sixth on 10 January and on 6 March, the government declared that after 16 March the use of paper currency as a medium of exchange was to cease. In addition, all paper money had to be exchanged for specie within six months. Copper coins could circulate, but the public treasuries would accept them only at a rate of one-fortieth of their value at Vienna, and for tax payments only gold or silver could be used.<sup>9</sup>

Three days later, the government established fourteen bureaus to handle the exchanges.<sup>10</sup> The administration, however, found that the paper money could not be legislated out of existence. In many places the notes continued to be used as a medium of exchange. Marmont, on 16 November 1810, was forced to issue an arrêté forbidding the importation of paper money.<sup>11</sup> Another arrêté, of 7 November, declared that after 1 January 1811, the public treasuries would only accept payments made in French currency.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 20. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 362.

<sup>9</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 20.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 20-21. There were two bureaus at Laybach, Fiume and Trieste respectively, and one at Carlstadt, Neustadt (Novo mesto), Sinj, Gorizia, Villach and Adelsberg (Postojna) respectively. Only amounts above 10 florins could be exchanged and a tax of three per cent was levied on all transactions (1 florin=2.586 francs).

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 21. This law further declared that all contracts requiring payment in paper were invalid and threatened confiscation, fines, and imprisonment against all violators.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

Although the French succeeded in eliminating Austrian banknotes, this financial reform was accompanied by a number of problems. At first, it was hard to make people accept the new rate of exchange.<sup>13</sup> Widespread speculation soon developed and many civil servants, particularly those in the customs service sought to enrich themselves.<sup>14</sup> Speculation brought forgery to a new peak in this region.<sup>15</sup> In rural areas, paper currency remained in circulation after 1 January 1811 because of a lack of new currency. In addition, French troops experienced difficulties in receiving their pay and, since in lieu of requisitions, which were forbidden when on a peace footing, many tried to force the natives to accept French currency at higher value.<sup>16</sup> On the whole, deflation did save the Illyrian Provinces from bankruptcy.<sup>17</sup> However, this action created much ill-will

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 22. As early as 27 November 1809, Dauchy had to issue orders regarding its enforcement.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 23. The government dealt with this problem in two circulars, one for the civil servants on 26 February 1810, and one for private individuals on 27 February 1810.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 436-37.

<sup>16</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 23. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 414-16. Marmont to Méllien, 17 May 1810.

<sup>17</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 24. See also Moniteur, 28 March 1811, 332. On 15 March 1811, the Austrian government also took measures to discontinue the use of bank notes and to lower the exchange rate of its specie.

against the regime, for many people felt that they had suffered an actual financial loss.<sup>18</sup>

The arrival of the French meant the introduction of a new tax system for the lands which composed the Illyrian Provinces. The tax system was an exact duplicate of that in effect in France: the personal tax (impôt personnel), the real estate tax (impôt foncier), and the tax on industrial patents (impôt des patentes.)<sup>19</sup> From the moment of application these taxes gave the government a number of problems. Although Napoleon expected the Illyrian Provinces to be self-supporting, he slowed reorganization by declaring that there would be no tax increase for the year 1810.<sup>20</sup> The loss of revenue which resulted made it impossible to carry through a number of projects and forced the Illyrian government to lower the salaries of the civil servants to that of 1806.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Some, in fact did suffer losses. Many people used the arrêté of 16 November 1810 as an excuse for not paying their debts. This led to a number of lawsuits. In addition, Austria's discontinuation of paper money ruined several large speculators in Trieste. Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 24.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 220. The sums from the collection of both direct and indirect taxes were placed in the Public Treasuries (caisses publiques) of each province, rather than in any of the other treasuries created by Napoleon for special purposes. All Illyrian financial affairs were handled through the Public Treasury (Trésor public) of the Empire.

<sup>20</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XII (1810), No. 265, 92. Imperial decree of 25 December 1809. Title VI, Articles 37-38.

<sup>21</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 221. Although the author does not give any figures, the decrease must have been significant for it to have been mentioned.

In addition, the methods of assessing taxation caused a great deal of unrest as a result of inequality. The basis of assessment was a land-survey called the cadastre. Such a survey had been carried out in the North since the reign of Maria-Theresa. The Austrians, however, had taken the registers with them when they evacuated these provinces. In the South, such a survey had never been carried out.<sup>22</sup>

The first taxes on the new basis were established by arrêtés of 16 and 27 July 1810,<sup>23</sup> and it rapidly became apparent that modifications of the tax bases were necessary.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the weakness of the economy and the long-established customs in many areas of paying taxes in kind made other adjustments necessary. On 3 October 1810, Marmont published an arrêté which permitted Dalmatians to pay the impôt foncier in kind.<sup>25</sup> In November this measure was followed by a general reform of the tax system. On 15 November the government abolished several old Venetian taxes and provisionally retained the taxes on meat, inheritances, and luxury horses. A second arrêté published the same day suppressed the dîme (tithe) collected by the Church in

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>23</sup> Marmont, Mémoires, III, 272. See also Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 220-221. The cadastre was the basis of only the impôt personnel and the impôt foncier.

<sup>24</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 222.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

Istria.<sup>26</sup> Although these measures assured an income for 1811, Marmont still had no operating revenue for the year 1810.<sup>27</sup> To remedy this situation, on 27 October, he levied a forced loan of 1,200,000 francs on all incomes over 6,000 francs. Thanks to this measure which reserved the revenue for the wages of the civil service and clergy, and the monies due pensioners, the Governor-General was able to prevent a small increase in the Illyrian debt.<sup>28</sup>

After the initiation of the new system of taxation, all further action was limited to modifications designed to meet the needs of the actual situation. In July 1811, the government issued two arrêtés which lowered the personal

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. In place of the power to collect the dîme, the clergy was given a fixed wage by the government. Marmont, however, retained the dîme in Dalmatia. There it had been a feudal due under Venetian rule, paid not to the Church but to the landowners. During the period when Dalmatia formed part of the Kingdom of Italy, it became a tax in kind, paid to the government. Because the bulk of the people were extremely poor and specie was in short supply, Marmont returned it and was therefore able to keep the Army's supply deposits stocked. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 363-64.

<sup>27</sup> The new taxes went into effect on 1 January 1811, and by February, the government began to correct its errors. Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 223.

<sup>28</sup> Marmont, Mémoires, III, 372, 433. Marmont says he based the interest of the loan on the rent on real estate (rente foncière) owned by the Province of Carniola. He claims to have received 1,500,000 francs in this way. Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 223, notes that 1,795,000 francs were actually subscribed, half in specie, half in bonds (traités). Part of this amount came from voluntary subscriptions in Fiume and Trieste. No information is available in regard to the rate of the loan or the total number of subscribers.



and real estate taxes.<sup>29</sup> A major modification of the tax system occurred in 1812. Bertrand established a four-member commission in the chief town of each subdelegation on 19 September 1812. This body, picked by the subdelegate, was created to correct errors in tax assessments and reported its findings to the intendant who, in turn, passed it on to a central assessment commission in the province. This commission, composed of four landowners, then forwarded it to the intendant-general. As a result, it then became possible to avoid one of the grievances about the system; in some areas, the governor-general thereafter ordered the collection of taxes only after the end of the harvest, when the peasants were better prepared to pay.<sup>30</sup> The final modification occurred on 5 May 1813 when Junot, then the Governor-General, ordered an increase in the total amount of the assessment, raising the figures to 3,750,000 francs for the property tax and 750,000 francs for the personal tax.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 224. The new sums were 575,000 francs for the personal tax and 3,865,000 francs for the real estate tax. This amount was below that set by the decree of 15 April 1811, which had set that amount at 4,500,000 francs. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIV (1811), No. 369 bis, Title XV, Section III, Sub-section II, Article 157. The 16 July arrêté also set aside two centimes per franc for the support of invalids and five centimes per franc for municipal expenses. Another five centimes per franc of the total revenue from the personal and real estate tax was added to municipal expenses by an arrêté of 27 December.

<sup>30</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 224.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. Due to the Austrian invasion the full amount was never collected. The tax on patents remained

In addition to direct taxes, the French also introduced new methods of indirect taxation, most of which failed to produce significant amounts of revenue. These were grouped into several administrative organizations generally known as régies or excise administrations.

The creation of the Illyrian Provinces brought a unified administration of the Continental System to the Eastern Adriatic. With this development came the French customs. On 16 October 1809, Napoleon ordered Martin Gaudin, duc de Gaète, the Minister of Finances, to send a competent official to Illyria to begin the organization of the customs.<sup>32</sup> Shortly afterwards, Prince Eugene informed the Emperor that he had ordered Dauchy to establish a customs line along the Austrian frontier.<sup>33</sup> Shortly after Marmont's arrival in the Illyrian Provinces, the government established a committee of experts to develop a project for the customs.<sup>34</sup>

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consistently at 200,000 francs during the entire history of the Illyrian Provinces, due to the lack of industrial development.

<sup>32</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XX, No. 15957. Napoleon to Gaudin, 16 October 1809.

<sup>33</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 28.

<sup>34</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 359-60. Marmont claims to have had several leading merchants of Trieste edit and correct the project before he submitted it to the Imperial government. He also claims that he attempted to favor Illyrian products over French and Italian goods. If his statement can be taken as true, it could in part help to explain a strongly-worded letter of Napoleon to General Clarke, the Minister of War. In this letter, the Emperor asked Clarke to explain that he had given the director-general full powers of superintendence of the Illyrian

An Imperial decree of 28 February 1810 formally established the administration of the Illyrian customs.<sup>35</sup> It created a director-general of customs, whose headquarters were at Trieste, seven inspectors and their respective offices and the brigades which carried out the enforcement of the regulations. The entire organization had a total personnel of 906 men, far too few to be able to watch satisfactorily the entire length of the coast and borders. The decree was accompanied by a report by Gaudin in which the Minister recommended, as an economy measure, the abandonment of the posts on the Dalmatian and Albanian frontiers due to a lack of commerce in those areas and the shortage of manpower.<sup>36</sup>

Unlike most of the French administrations, the Illyrian customs was particularly badly administered. The first Director-General, César Laugier, seems to have lacked initiative and apparently was only a time-server.<sup>37</sup> In addition, so many old local regulations remained in effect

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customs because that sphere had grown too complex for Marmont. Napoleon complained that the Governor-General had violated the Continental System by authorizing the importation of certain products in order to obtain salt supplies. From that time on, Marmont was only to supervise the behavior of the customs officials. See Napoleon, Correspondence, III, No. 4802. Napoleon to Clarke, 9 October 1810.

<sup>35</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 28. See also Moniteur, 21 May 1810, 558; 27 May 1810, 581.

<sup>36</sup> There were four first-class inspectors and three second-class inspectors. The brigades were authorized to bear arms and to call upon both the civil and military officials if necessary. Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 28-30.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 30.

that French laws were, in fact, merely introduced alongside them.<sup>38</sup> Finally, when Laugier's conduct came to the attention of Napoleon, the Emperor ordered Gaudin to replace him and, by Imperial decrees of 16 October and 27 November 1810,<sup>39</sup> placed the Illyrian customs under the direct supervision of the Director-General of the Imperial Customs at Paris.

Despite this modification, there was little that the Illyrian customs service, so lacking in men, could do to combat smuggling. Instead of increasing the personnel of the customs administration, which would have been expensive, the French administrators attempted to solve the problem by dividing the Illyrian Provinces into two customs districts. An Imperial decree of 19 November 1810 concentrated the customs administration in those provinces where legitimate trade was most profitable--Istria, Carinthia and Carniola--and eliminated the customs altogether in the region south of Fiume.<sup>40</sup>

This decree marked the total abandonment of the Continental System in half of the Illyrian Provinces. The government made a feeble attempt to prevent Illyria itself from becoming a short-cut for the transport of British commerce by establishing an interior customs line separating

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Napoleon, Lettres, Nos. 682, 1149.

<sup>40</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 31. This decree does not appear in the Bulletin des Lois.

Dalmatia and Military Croatia from the rest of the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>41</sup> Instead of solving problems, the decree created many more. For example, the city of Carlstadt was within the customs district while its suburb was not.<sup>42</sup>

The customs of the Illyrian Provinces were typical of the other countries subjected to the Continental System. French goods, and, in the case of Illyria, Italian goods, always received preferential rates. In addition, colonial and British goods were reported confiscated and burned in public acts attended by leading officials of the government and the major ports.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, after all this organization, the fact remained that the British controlled the Adriatic. There were few revenues for there was no longer any commerce.

In theory, government monopolies of such necessities as salt and tobacco should have produced a great deal of revenue. This, unfortunately, was not the case in the Illyrian Provinces. Salt, in addition to being declared a necessity, was also an item of export. It was sold to the Turks in Bosnia where it was needed by the cattle. In addition, Illyria, and particularly Dalmatia and Istria, had supplies of salt. Consequently, of all the monopolies, it was the most important.<sup>44</sup> Paradoxically, salt was scarce

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<sup>41</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 437.

<sup>42</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 35.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 34-36.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 364.

in the Illyrian Provinces during the period of the Napoleonic Wars. The salt-pits of Dalmatia and Istria both had been abandoned because of the low price of salt. In addition, the most productive salt-pits, those of Pirano (Piran) in Istria had been reserved for the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>45</sup>

At first the administration resorted to various expedients in order to gain revenue and to increase the supply of salt. Marmont's first step was to issue an arrêté on 28 February 1810 which established a new price for salt in Trieste.<sup>46</sup> On 15 March he issued a second arrêté which prohibited the importation of surplus salt and announced that Istrian salt was to be considered a foreign product.<sup>47</sup> On 25 March 1810 the Governor-General issued a third arrêté which ordered the repair of all the salt-pits, whether they belonged to the state or to private individuals.<sup>48</sup> In addition, he made a contract with a merchant from Fiume, Andric, to supply Illyria with foreign salt.<sup>49</sup> Then, on 27 November 1810, Napoleon, in an Imperial decree on the Illyrian customs, transferred control of the salt administration to the customs service.<sup>50</sup> None of these measures, however, proved

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 227-28.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 228-29, Vie économique, Journal, 23 May 1810, 565.

<sup>49</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 228-29.

<sup>50</sup> Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIII (1811), No. 329, 521-25, Article 6.

capable of satisfying the domestic and commercial demand for salt. In addition, poor administration forced Marmont to issue controls. By 22 February 1810, the situation had grown so bad that ships were allowed to sail in ballast on the condition that they return with cargoes of salt.

By this time, the revenues from tobacco had also fallen and created a crisis. For six months a state-controlled monopoly controlled all sales of tobacco.<sup>52</sup> When this system failed, Marmont, through Dauchy, concluded an agreement which established a private monopoly controlled by Charles Schramm of Fiume. For the sum of 560,000 francs Schramm received the exclusive right of growing, importing and manufacturing tobacco. In addition, he was authorized to employ a force of guards to enforce his rights.<sup>53</sup> This system also failed to provide the government with sufficient revenues. Consequently, on 14 March 1811, Napoleon created a united state-controlled administration of salt and tobacco. The Imperial decree created a separate hierarchy for the new institutions, establishing a director-general, three administrators, a secretary-general and a treasurer. The monopoly was required to obtain one-third of its salt and one-fourth of its tobacco from France. As of 1 July 1812 this organization took possession of existing stores of both

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<sup>51</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 229.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 373 and Moniteur, 12 September 1810, 1001.

products and abolished all the privileges which had been granted during Marmont's administration. In addition, the decree established penalties for violations of the regulations.<sup>54</sup> Efforts to encourage the production of both commodities failed, however, and in the end, smuggling created serious losses which could never be made up in the time remaining.<sup>55</sup>

There were two other state monopolies in the Illyrian Provinces, both of which replaced similar organizations which had existed under the Austrian regime. On 17 December 1810, Marmont established a new administration for the production of saltpeter and powder, based on an intensive survey of the Austrian system initiated by Dauchy. Twelve manufacturers of saltpeter came under the control of the administration of powder production which regulated the delivery of the monthly production and established the price of the products. The administration also closely supervised the use of these products.<sup>56</sup> A year later, on 15 December 1811,

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<sup>54</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 234-37.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 237. In order to increase the production of tobacco, the director-general undertook to distribute tobacco plants through the central bureau of the monopoly. Lack of funds seems to have caused the administration of the monopoly to neglect the Dalmatian salt-pits in favor of those of Istria. In 1811, 9,000 francs were spent on two works in that province. In 1812, the government created a commission composed of six members, representing both labor and management, to oversee the works and deal with labor disputes.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 241. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 373. The decree of 15 April 1811 does not mention this organization. Article 176 only required the Minister of Finances to make a report on the salt and tobacco organization.



this administration was reorganized and united with the administration of salt and tobacco.<sup>57</sup>

On 1 August 1810, the state replaced the former Austrian lottery with a French lottery.<sup>58</sup> This measure helped to keep specie in the country, because, since the suppression of the Austrian organization, much of the hard cash of the region had been exported to lotteries at Venice and Graz. The decree of organization prohibited foreign and private lotteries and created a director-general at Laybach and several assistants at Trieste and Zara.<sup>59</sup>

Viewed on the whole, none of the state monopolies produced the expected revenue. Only salt and tobacco came near to being successful, but the total amount of revenue from them even was too small. Few of the figures have survived, but apparently during 1811 and 1812 the revenue from each amounted to some 2,000,000 francs. In 1811, powder and salt-peter brought in only 50,000 francs. In 1810 the lottery brought in no money at all and in 1811, only 6,500 francs. This administration, however, eventually showed

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<sup>57</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 241-42. The arrêté which united the administrations also placed potassium production and a powder mill near Laybach under government control.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 243. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 418. Marmont to Clarke, 29 June 1810. Marmont claimed to have suppressed gambling establishments at Fiume, Gorizia and Laybach, permitting them only at Trieste.

<sup>59</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 243. Article 179 of the decree of 15 April 1811 gives the date of the arrêté of organization as 2 August 1810.

the greatest amount of increase. In 1812 the lottery collected 240,000 francs instead of an anticipated 150,000 francs. On the basis of these figures, the administration expected to collect 300,000 francs in 1813. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the war prevented this.<sup>60</sup>

The forestry service (administration forestière) originated at a slightly later date than the earliest of the régies. The object of this institution was the regulation of the exploitation of one of the most valuable resources which the Illyrian government possessed. Most of the wood of the Illyrian Provinces could have been used by the mines and factories and for naval construction. However, the failure of most of the mines and factories, the decline of naval construction and the lack of communications in the northern provinces soon ruined the administration.<sup>61</sup>

On 23 March 1810, Marmont named Alphonse La Devese Inspector-General of the Illyrian forests and, on 5 June, provisionally created a number of officials to help him in his duties.<sup>62</sup> This administration received a definitive form of organization by an arrêté of Bertrand of 24 July 1811. Under the terms of this law, the General-Government

<sup>60</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 243.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 45-46. On 14 October 1811 an Imperial decree exempted Italian wood in Istria from export duties. Even this measure, however, failed to cause a significant increase in the amounts of wood exported.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 42.

created three keeperships and established three classes of forests: imperial, sequestered and communal.<sup>63</sup>

During the brief course of its history, this administration was beset by a number of problems. The most important of these was the existence of a number of individual and communal rights, dealing with pasturage and the cutting of wood.<sup>64</sup> Devese's first act was to issue a notice which forbade the introduction of goats and sheep into the Imperial forests; the government set aside a number of areas which could be used for pasture under the terms of the new legislation, charged the peasants a small sum for the use of the land, and required the registration of the numbers of the animals.<sup>65</sup> These regulations, however, seem to have conflicted with a number of time-honored rights. In July 1811, the intendant of Carniola established a system for examining the claims of the natives, who were made to prove that they had held their rights and privileges from time

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 42-43. The arrêté created a conservateur-général or keeper who was assisted by four inspectors, nine sub-inspectors and a number of guards who were responsible for the immediate enforcement of the legislation. Later in 1810 Marmont had to ask the French government to send sub-inspectors and guards who spoke both French and German. As a result, the Ministry of Finances sent a number of agents from Alsace-Lorraine.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 43-44. Before Devese took office a serious conservation problem arose when, on 7 September 1809, before the Treaty of Vienna, Napoleon gave the poor permission to cut wood in the then Austrian imperial forests. When these forests changed hands, it was necessary to revoke this permission. This action not only cost Napoleon some valuable timber, but also some popularity among the lower classes.

immemorial or for a certain number of years. Many similar reviews and prosecutions of communes followed.<sup>66</sup>

The administration of the land registration bureau and the national domain (régie de l'enregistrement et domaines) was one of the most successful of the excise administrations. The first step in its organization took place on 15 July 1810 when Marmont, by arrêté, introduced a stamp tax.<sup>67</sup> Then, on 28 October, the Governor-General joined the bureau of land registration with the administration of the national domains to give the organization its final form.<sup>68</sup> Following the union, the government proceeded to order the farmers of the domains to pay their dues in specie, despite the fact that under the Austrian regime these sums had been paid in grain or goods. To ensure collection, the government offered one-fourth of the total of the sums in arrears to anyone who would buy them.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to collecting the dues on the domains, the government sold many of the products or goods, most of which were agricultural, and also profited from manufacturing

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 44.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 244. The stamp tax was extended to playing cards and other luxury items by an arrêté of 6 October 1811.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 372.

<sup>69</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 244. Much of the revenue of the domains, estates, buildings and various lands in Carinthia and Carniola formerly held by the House of Habsburg had been farmed out much as the taxes in pre-Revolutionary France.

contracts and leases for properties.<sup>70</sup> Sequestrations, which amounted to outright confiscation, further increased the size and collections from the domains. This procedure became the principal tool for forcing large landowners to pay their taxes promptly and enabled the state to expand its control over the Church.<sup>71</sup>

Sequestration also proved to be a profitable and useful tool in Illyrian relations with the Austrian Empire. Early in February 1810, the Austrian government, perhaps feeling that Napoleon had abandoned to her the control of Church holdings left outside the boundaries of the French Empire, seized all the tangible holdings of the bishopric of Laybach which lay in Styria. Marmont retaliated by sequestering the holdings of all religious organizations whose headquarters were located on foreign soil. Then, in December, when the financial crisis forced Austria to suspend the payment of all judgements due to foreign citizens, Marmont retaliated by sequestering all Austrian property in the Illyrian Provinces as security for the future payment of Austrian debts. In this operation, Illyria profited by the seizure of sixteen Austrian properties which had a total annual revenue of 46,385 francs. Austria gained only three

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 24-25.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 245. In 1811 the administration received the property of all vacant benefices.

properties which had a total annual revenue of 29,758 francs.<sup>72</sup>

The postal service, which was organized as an excise administration, was also one of the most significant of the French reforms. Marmont organized a postal system during his term as Governor-General, but little is known of it.<sup>73</sup> Considering the extensive legislation which reorganized the service during Bertrand's administration, it must have been rudimentary indeed in comparison to its successor. First, on 26 August 1811, the Governor-General forbade the further operation of privately owned postal services and required ships' captains to surrender all packets to the post office.<sup>74</sup> This was followed by an arrêté of 17 September which organized the postal service along the lines of the rest of the territories of the French Empire. The law required all postmasters to receive their appointments from the director-general of posts and established rates for letters by mail and private coaches and postillions.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 246-47. The French holdings had a total capital value of 332,538 francs. In 1811, the entire administration collected 1,500,000 francs revenue instead of an anticipated 1,200,000 francs. In 1812 the total collection jumped to 2,800,000 francs, 500,000 francs more than had been anticipated. These increases probably were the result of sequestrations.

<sup>73</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 372. Article 177 of the decree of 15 April 1811 indicates that he accomplished this by arrêtés of 29 April and 22 May 1810. Marmont claims that all major cities of the Illyrian Provinces had bi-weekly service.

<sup>74</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 109-10.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 110.

After establishing a basis for the service, Bertrand next permitted private citizens to establish transport services.<sup>76</sup> On 16 December he authorized new letter rates for the Illyrian Provinces and abroad.<sup>77</sup> Finally, on 1 January 1812 the government fixed the dates for the arrival and departure of couriers and coaches.<sup>78</sup> Various modifications took place afterward to speed messages and encourage the use of the mails. New lower rates came into effect in March 1813 and on 15 May, d'Étilly, the director of posts, announced that arrangements had been made to speed the mail to France and Italy by sending it by Imperial messengers.<sup>79</sup> On 8 August of that year the director announced that passenger space on the Trieste-Laybach mail coach had been increased from one to three places and that several additional lines had been opened.<sup>80</sup> In addition, on 1 May 1812 a postal route between

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. See also Moniteur, 17 October 1811, 1005.

<sup>77</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 111. There was a daily service between Laybach and Trieste, tri-weekly service to and from France and Italy (via Gorizia), Fiume, and Military Croatia and the Ottoman frontier, and bi-weekly service with the rest of the Illyrian Provinces. There were weekly coaches from Trieste to Franz (Vransko) on the Austrian frontier and to Laybach. In 1812 a third coach route, connecting Trieste and Gorizia was added.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 111-12. According to the announcement, letters could reach France in seven days by this method.

<sup>80</sup> No information is available to indicate whether or not the postal service made a profit. Pivec-Stelè claims that it was efficient and that the trip from Paris to Ragusa took only twenty days in the summer by coach. Some idea of

Constantinople and Costanizza (Kostajnica) opened under French control. This gave the French administrators of the Illyrian Provinces control over the best-developed Ottoman postal route and facilitated trade between the two empires.<sup>81</sup>

Many of the financial problems of the Illyrian Provinces are reflected in a commission created by Article 150 of the decree of 15 April 1811.<sup>82</sup> This body, composed of three members, attempted to deal with all elements of the public debt: pensions, arrears of salaries and government bonds. Articles 152-54 gave the commission the power to liquidate pensions and announced that in the future, new pensions approved by the commission would replace those granted by the Austrians. Articles 155-56 announced that taxes in arrears under the old system were to be collected and the amount used to pay the arrears of the civil servants

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the terrain and the condition of the roads may be gained from the fact that the trip from Paris to Milan took three days by horseback and four days by coach, and that the distance from Paris to Milan is approximately equal to the distance from Milan to Ragusa. Pivec-Stele, however, does not specifically say that this trip was made by the most direct route.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 113-17. Marmont first suggested this project in the autumn of 1810. After a series of high-level discussions between Imperial officials and diplomatic representatives, Napoleon approved the project which had an initial total cost of 66,271 francs.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 253-54. Precedents for this commission had been set during Marmont's administration. On 29 April 1810 Dauchy announced the forthcoming creation of a special bureau of liquidation. The bureau, however, was never established. On 25 August 1810 an arrêté of Marmont created a bureau to handle claims for pensions granted by the Austrian government.



and judicial officials for 1810. In addition, this provision announced the creation of a supplementary fund of 6,000,000 francs in national domains.

The work of the commission, composed of comte Auguste de Las Cases, comte Prosper de Balbe and a civil servant named Chambaudoin,<sup>83</sup> was frustrated by the fact that in many instances the Austrians had taken away the titles to the claims and the registers in which they had been recorded. Nevertheless, the commission set out to deal with pensions and bonded debt. By January 1812 it had completed its work on these subjects. On 9 January the commission announced that it had accepted two sets of pension claims totaling 556,109 francs.<sup>84</sup> Three days later, on the recommendation of the commission, an Imperial decree refunded the bonded debt. This amounted to 5,000,000 francs represented by certificates on the Imperial Treasury paying 2½ per cent interest, issued in five series.<sup>85</sup>

At this point, the commission changed hands. Chabrol replaced Las Cases, who was recalled to Paris, and added two native administrators, Lichtenberg, a former Austrian subject, and S. D. Garagnin, a Dalmatian, and turned to the problem of the arrears. As a result of their work, 4,000,000 francs of national domains were sold at twenty-five times

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 254-55. The commissioners were appointed by an Imperial decree of 10 June 1811. This decree does not appear in the Bulletin des lois.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

the value of its annual income and the receipts used to create a fund to pay back salaries. In addition, the modified commission made provisions for the payment of debts incurred during the period 1806-10.<sup>86</sup>

The end result of all this legislation was little more than systematized chaos. This is, to a certain extent, indicated in the budgets for the Illyrian Provinces. Those for 1811 and 1812, the two full years under the definitive form of organization, show an artificial prosperity created by reducing the expenses of the administration.<sup>87</sup> Napoleon intended that the Illyrian Provinces would be a self-supporting member of the French Empire, and in February 1810 wrote to the Minister of Finance, telling him that the country had to produce 12,000,000 francs net revenue in order to support both the army and the administration.<sup>88</sup> During the course of the year, the Emperor repeatedly urged Marmont to attend to drawing up a budget, which was delayed due to the disorganization of the country and the monetary crisis. Finally, on 27 October 1810 the Governor-General

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 257-59. Most of these measures, however, remained dead letters because they came too late to be put into effect. On 16 May 1813 Chabrol finally announced that the payment of back salaries for civil and judicial officials would begin on 1 July and that the payment of military and civil pensions would begin on 1 August. On 5 August he announced that on the 16th payment would begin on debts contracted before 1809 for Dalmatia and during 1810 for the other provinces.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 260.

<sup>88</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XX, No. 16231. Napoleon to Gaudin, 9 February 1810.

proposed a budget with a debt of over 7,500,000 francs. Napoleon approved the budget on 26 December, after both the receipts and expenditures had been reduced.<sup>89</sup>

The true state of affairs, however, was reflected in the amounts spent for the military. During both 1811 and 1812, over half the amount of the budget went to support the armed forces.<sup>90</sup> During the last two years of its existence, the Illyrian administration tried to cut its expenses by throwing the responsibility for revenue upon the communes. However, these governmental divisions were still in the process of organization and were, at any rate, too poor to be able to fulfill their obligations. As a result, only more disorder was created.<sup>91</sup> In the end, therefore, the administration, staggering under the weight of military expenditures and a shrinking economy, began to undermine many of the reforms which had begun with some promise a short time before.

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<sup>89</sup> Napoleon, Correspondance, XX, No. 17148. See also Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 248. In the final form of the budget, revenues were figured at 12,475,231 francs and expenditures at 18,809,805 francs.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 248-50. In 1811, the combined expenses of the army and navy amounted to 6,843,000 francs out of a total estimated revenue of 10,043,000 francs; for 1812, 9,900,000 francs out of a total estimated revenue of 11,745,000 francs.

<sup>91</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 251-52.

## CHAPTER V

### REFORM AND FAILURE

The picture which greeted the French administrators in late 1809 and early 1810 was far from pleasant. They found themselves in the midst of utter chaos. The entire region had suffered from the wars of the past seventeen years. Its economy was exhausted. Manufacturing and commerce had practically ceased to exist. Justice had ground to a halt. The public services, where they had existed, had broken down.

Because the Illyrian Provinces was an artificial creation, ethnic and social uniformity was lacking. Part of the country remained in the Middle Ages, part of it had already entered the nineteenth century. Part of the country had experienced a Napoleonic regime, part of it had not. In Dalmatia religious affairs were a source of controversy; in the new provinces the cession had brought administrative disorder to the Church. The language of the majority of the people, and in many instances their customs as well, were unfamiliar to the new administrators. Whether or not Napoleon really intended to make the country a permanent part of the French Empire, it was necessary to face all these problems, and others, in order to ensure peace in the land and make it a profitable part of the Empire.

Commerce had been one of the most important factors in the life of both the north and the south. Ragusa and other Dalmatian ports had depended upon Adriatic and Mediterranean trade for their prosperity. Trieste and Fiume had been the two major ports of the Austrian Empire. Both sections had also been lands of transit for trade with the East. The southern provinces were potential exporters of agricultural products, while the northern provinces contained rich mineral deposits and vast tracts of virgin forests. With these resources, and a set of able administrators, the Illyrian Provinces, even in the four years granted them, should have been able to make a reasonably good show of recovery from their depressed condition. Unfortunately, this was not the case due to wartime conditions, the decline of the Napoleonic Empire and the commercial policies of Napoleon. Consequently, there were but few significant reforms in this region.

Most of the reforms accomplished centered around an attempt to develop internal commerce, one of the few bright spots on the record of the administration. The need to protect trade from brigandage, particularly in Istria and Carniola, produced one of the earliest of the reforms. In both these areas banditry had been a long-established profession, carried on by large groups which were protected by the people, either out of fear or complicity.<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General's

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<sup>1</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 369-70. In Istria the brigands had formed a group which contained about 150

first step was to send troops to crush a large group of bandits in Istria. This group, when captured, was tried by a military commission rather than by a civil court, and sixty were executed on the spot.<sup>2</sup> He followed this action with two arrêtés, one of 24 March and another of 16 November 1810, which made the communes of Istria and Carniola responsible for all criminal acts taking place on roads in their localities.<sup>3</sup> Although these measures seem to have been very effective, incidents of brigandage continued to occur. In the Spring of 1813 the police reported the capture, in Lower Carniola, of a group of ten bandits. At about the same time, the National Guard reportedly captured a famed Istrian bandit, Micaž (Bartolo Kirin).<sup>4</sup>

Seeking to lower prices and expand trade through increased competition, the government introduced two economic reforms, both of which had far-reaching social implications. At the instigation of Dauchy, the state abolished the guild organization of the business community, hoping in this way

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members, concentrated in the forested area between Rovigno (Rovinj) and Pola (Pula). See also Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 125.

<sup>2</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 371-72. In 1811 some seventy brigands were reported in prison at Trieste. See Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1306. Decision 12 March 1811.

<sup>3</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 125.

<sup>4</sup>Moniteur, 8 May 1813, 497.

to ensure room for foreign merchants.<sup>5</sup> On 27 November 1810 Marmont made the Jews full citizens, thereby releasing them from all discriminatory legislation. Until this time, there had been no Jewish merchants in Laybach for 300 years.<sup>6</sup> In addition, on 24 February 1810, the Governor-General issued an arrêté which required each commune to make a weekly report on prices to the central government, permitting the regulation of the price of such necessities as meat and bread.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to these reforms, the government sought to promote trade through the establishment of Chambers of Commerce, Equity Courts and similar institutions of the French Empire. The 15 April 1811 decree created three Chambers of Commerce, at Trieste, Fiume and Ragusa, and authorized the government to establish labor arbitration and industrial advisory boards upon the request of the communes.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 126.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 126-27.

<sup>8</sup> This is the same decree mentioned above, Chapter III. It contained provisions relating to commerce and other aspects of the Illyrian economy, as well as establishing the definitive organization of the government, the administration, justice, the armed services and religion. Title VIII, Articles 116-18 provided for the organization of the Chambers of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce of Trieste had eleven members; those at Fiume and Ragusa had eight each. This institution was charged with the responsibility for overseeing the conduct of business relations. Article 116 also provided that two deputies from Trieste and one each from Fiume and Ragusa would be called to attend the General Council of Commerce at Paris. This was never carried out. See Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 129. In 1812, an Imperial decree

In addition, the same decree created equity courts to deal with commercial suits involving sums of 1000 francs or less.<sup>9</sup> The government also established a provisional exchange at Trieste and abolished all internal tariffs, including the excise tax on wine.<sup>10</sup> An attempt to encourage seaborne trade by extending the Imperial licence system, by which the government permitted the importation of prohibited goods, failed in the Illyrian Provinces. Most merchants found it easier to engage in illegal smuggling because the Illyrian Provinces had a long coastline, broken by many small secluded bays and few customs officials.<sup>11</sup>

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strengthened the Chambers of Commerce by diverting to their expenses the amounts collected from taxing brokers' commissions and unloading freight at each of the three towns. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, XVII (1812), No. 454, 212-13. Imperial decree of 22 December 1812.

<sup>9</sup>Title XVI, Section III, Articles 197-200. The courts had a presiding judge, four associate judges, two substitute judges and a clerk of the court. The judges were chosen by the business community and were themselves businessmen. The courts were located at Laybach, Trieste, Fiume and Ragusa.

<sup>10</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 129-30.

<sup>11</sup>The number of licences issued for the Illyrian Provinces was very small. In 1813, a total of ten was issued. For a discussion of the Illyrian licences, see Frank Edgar Melvin, Napoleon's Navigation System: A Study of Trade Control During the Continental Blockade (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1919), 248, 262, 258-59, 261, 335, 343. As a result of this failure, the General-Government did all in its power to promote the coastal trade. However, even this does not seem to have prospered. It should also be noted that, due to depressed conditions, the Illyrian Provinces imported more than they exported. See Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 199, 286-89. For a discussion of commercial policies in the Illyrian Provinces, see Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 195-210.



During the period of the French administration of the Illyrian Provinces, perhaps the most interesting development of all was the expansion of French trade with the East. The commercial war with Great Britain had closed off all of France's major sources for colonial raw materials, particularly cotton. The Illyrian Provinces, however, possessed land routes to the East, while Trieste and Costanzica were traditional Levantine trading centers. Marmont, who seems to have been the major moving force behind the project, sent a detailed proposal regarding overland trade with the Ottoman Empire to the central government at Paris.<sup>12</sup> Even before receiving approval for the project he began to expand the commercial facilities at Costanzica.<sup>13</sup> Napoleon approved the project on 12 November 1810 and on 27 November issued a decree making Fiume and Trieste the chief ports for Eastern trade.<sup>14</sup>

Even before Napoleon issued the above decrees, increased shipments of cotton began to arrive on French soil through the Bosnian routes and, after 1811, an average of 200,000 bales passed through the Illyrian Provinces

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<sup>12</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 375, 423-25. For a summary of this memoir, see Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 148-55. See also Moniteur, 27 September 1810, 1062.

<sup>13</sup>Moniteur, 27 September 1810, 1062.

<sup>14</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 158-59. Neither the decree of 12 November 1810, which prohibited the entry into France of Levantine goods imported by way of Austria nor the decree of 27 November 1810 were inserted in the Bulletin des lois.

annually.<sup>15</sup> The expansion of Levantine commerce not only brought new materials to France, but also provided the French Empire and the Kingdom of Italy with a new market for their products.<sup>16</sup> This trade helped to preserve some semblance of economic activity at both Fiume and Trieste,<sup>17</sup> but did not prove wholly satisfactory on a sound economic basis. Levantine cotton was of the short staple variety, inferior to that of the United States or the French and British colonies. In addition, although it received a preferred customs rate, it had to be transported overland to France and so proved to be extremely costly.<sup>18</sup>

The subjection of the Illyrian Provinces also led to the extension of the National Guard along the coastline and made necessary the creation of the Illyrian Navy (Marine

<sup>15</sup>Marmont, Mémoires, III, 425. Marmont does not indicate the source of his statistics. However, a few monthly reports were published in the Moniteur during the spring and summer of 1813. Although they are by no means complete, they also indicate that such a figure seems possible, even taking into account inflation for purposes of propaganda. See Moniteur, 20 February 1813, 202; 22 April 1813, 434; 22 May 1813, 544; 22 June 1813, 682 and 27 August 1813, 942. Pivec-Stelè provides no statistics on cotton imports, but does give a table showing the value of Levantine and Austrian commerce passing through the Illyrian Provinces during the year 1812. See Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 285.

<sup>16</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 284-86.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 160. See also Moniteur, 1 December 1811, 1279.

<sup>18</sup>Eli F. Heckscher, The Continental System, an Economic Interpretation (Edited by Harald Westergaard. London: Humphry Milford, 1922), 276.

d'Illyrie).<sup>19</sup> Of all the reforms, however, the most lasting was perhaps the development of a lighter type of wagon due to the requirements of an Imperial decree of 23 August 1811 which regulated the dimensions of all wheeled vehicles in the Empire.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the depressed condition of commerce, it still remained healthier than industry or agriculture. The chief industries of the Illyrian Provinces were mining and metalwork. Because Illyrian metalworking would have been in competition with French products, the Illyrian Provinces had no opportunity to gain markets, or even raw materials. Dauchy gave mining the deathblow when, on 6 December 1809

<sup>19</sup>Marmont had begun the introduction of this force in 1808 as General-in-Chief of the Army of Dalmatia. Supra, Chapter II, 41. He extended the National Guard into Dalmatia and Istria by arrêtés of 17 February and 17 March 1810. Between 1810 and 1813 it was composed of about 10,000 men and was responsible for security and enforcement of the customs regulations along the coast. Marmont, Mémoires, III, 367-68. In addition, the Governor-General reorganized the Pandours into ten companies of five officers and 100-200 men each, each company being assigned to a specific territory. This force provided police and internal security for the interior.

The Illyrian naval forces, totalling three squadrons, contained many small ships, including twenty Italian gunboats. The largest military craft was the 40-gun frigate Eka, ceded by Russia to France in 1807. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 377. For a concise history of this force, see Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 189-95.

<sup>20</sup>Until this time, wagons in the region of the Illyrian Provinces had been crude and cumbersome, especially those of Dalmatia. The new wagons were both smaller and lighter and proved so popular that the type was still in use as late as 1930. These wagons were called "parizans." See Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 125-26. For the text of the decree, see Bulletin des lois, IV série, XV (1812), No. 390, 238-40 and Moniteur, 26 April 1813, 449.

he issued an arrêté forbidding the export of lead and iron to Austria.<sup>21</sup> After the mines and iron-works, the largest factory in the Illyrian Provinces was a sugar refinery at Fiume. It went out of business in 1812, followed shortly thereafter by a number of other firms.<sup>22</sup>

Agriculture also suffered heavily under the French. Here, perhaps, because of the emphasis on commerce and the needs of the army, the administration seemed either to be at a loss as to how to deal with the situation or simply lacked the time. In the fall of 1810, Catineau La Roche, the Secretary of the tobacco monopoly, noted that the basic problem of the Illyrian Provinces was that they could support themselves for only half of the year; in the past, exports had enabled them to gain the additional food and industrial goods needed for the remainder of the year, but

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<sup>21</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 57. Several mining engineers came to Illyria on orders from the central government, but the government made no attempt to create an administration for the mines. Most of the mines were allowed to remain in private hands, but the state did take over most of those which had been holdings of the House of Habsburg. They were, however, joined to the administration of the Extraordinary Domain by an Imperial decree of 23 January 1812. See Moniteur, 19 April 1813, 423-24. The mercury mine of Idria, Europe's only major source of supply for this mineral, was given to the Order of the Trois Toisons d'Or as an endowment nomique, 49-55. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 438-39, 458-60, 510-514. Marmont to Clarke, 15 July 1810; 17 December 1810.

nomique, 49-55. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 438-39, 458-60, 510-514. Marmont to Clarke, 15 July 1810; 17 December 1810.

<sup>22</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 76-79.

under the Continental System they could no longer do so.<sup>23</sup> At the end of 1812, Chabrol asked each Intendant for a report on his province for that year. Every reply which he received indicated that significant shortages of food existed.<sup>24</sup>

Other areas of agricultural activity also attracted the attention of French reformers. The administration attempted to improve the breed of sheep by promoting the importation of Merinos from Italy and also encouraged the culture of potatoes for a subsistence crop and tobacco for cash, but met with no marked success.<sup>25</sup>

The French did have one outstanding success--the permanent weakening of feudalism. This system had already been dealt a severe blow in Dalmatia and Ragusa during the years 1806-1809.<sup>26</sup> In the former Austrian provinces, the French were greeted as liberators. Many peasants, who identified Napoleon with the Revolution, sought to break their feudal ties and, as a result, a number of peasant-noble disputes arose. Marmont, on 23 and 31 July 1810, issued arrêtés which created a commission to judge such disputes in Civil Croatia, but the judiciary refused to support this

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 274-75.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 283-95. Summaries of reports of the Intendants of Istria, Dalmatia, Ragusa, Carinthia and Civil Croatia. There were no reports from either Carniola or Military Croatia.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 37-38.

<sup>26</sup> Supra, Chapter II, 27.

program.<sup>27</sup> Article 252 of the 15 April 1811 decree abolished the personal corvée, which required twelve days' service a year and made many dues payable in cash. This led to aristocratic opposition and peasant unrest, for the peasants did not understand that cash payments and some personal services remained. Therefore, on 4 June 1812, Bertrand was forced to issue an arrêté which required the peasants to pay the existing dues and perform the remaining services, threatening to quarter troops in the homes of those who refused to obey.<sup>28</sup> Unrest, however, continued to increase and by the summer of 1813 the government was forced to deal with attempted peasant uprisings.<sup>29</sup> In the end, partial liberation failed to please both the peasants and their lords and cost the French support from both groups. It did, however, seriously weaken feudalism in the northern provinces.<sup>30</sup>

In one way, however, the state merely replaced the nobles as a feudal master. Vast public work projects, most of which were not eminently successful, utilized the corvée system introduced by Marmont in Dalmatia in 1806.<sup>31</sup> The

<sup>27</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 39.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 40.      <sup>29</sup> Moniteur, 29 August 1813, 950.

<sup>30</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 39.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 40, 85, 96. An arrêté of 16 August 1811, ordering the completion of the road from Capo-d'Istria to Pola, announced that each laborer living within two kilometers from the site would be paid 1.30 francs per day. The rate was 1.50 francs if the worker lived more than two kilometers and 2.25 francs if he lived at a distance greater

responsible bureau, the Corps of Bridges and Roads<sup>32</sup> which Marmont introduced on 5 July 1810, was responsible for the upkeep of the means of commerce and communications: roads, bridges, waterways, harbor works, ferries and the construction of buildings belonging to the state.<sup>33</sup> Despite its vast responsibilities, the Corps was hampered from the first by a lack of funds.

Despite financial obstacles, the engineers did manage to carry out a number of projects which had the character of mixed reforms. The Corps carried out numerous repairs on the Save River which were essential to Levantine commerce, and, although the Corps had no jurisdiction in Military Croatia, it built the trading facilities and bridge at Costanizza.<sup>34</sup> The major effort of the Corps, however, was the completion of the great trunk road, the Route Napoleon,

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than five kilometers. The soldiers employed on the project received their usual pay (*solde*) of 1 franc per day. An *arrêté* of 18 March 1813 reduced laborers' wages to a mere .50 francs per day.

<sup>32</sup>The full name of this organization was Corps des ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées.

<sup>33</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 81-83. The head of the organization was Jean Louis Blanchard. Marmont, gave him the rank of colonel and the title ingénieur-en-chef directeur. The headquarters of the Corps was at Laybach. Most of the Corps was composed of native civil engineers, for example Pietro Nobile, Chief Engineer of Istria and Civil Croatia, Oresković, Engineer at Carlstadt, and Francesco Zavoreo, Chief Engineer of Dalmatia. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 372. Military Croatia, which had a separate organization, was divided into two divisions by an arrêté of 2 June 1810.

<sup>34</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 94-96.

which was to unite Laybach, Fiume, Knin, Ragusa and Cattaro. Because of the strategic significance of this road, nothing was spared to ensure its completion.<sup>35</sup> The work on this route, although necessary, deprived other worthy projects of men and money.<sup>36</sup> In some cases, especially in the ports, repairs were carried out which could have been neglected.<sup>37</sup> Of all the reforms and innovations introduced by the French into the Illyrian Provinces, the roads remained the most important.<sup>38</sup> One of the main roads, however, was not built by the French regime. The Route Louise, through Civil Croatia, which connected Fiume and Agram (Zagreb) developed from a project of the Royal Hungarian Navigation Society. Napoleon, by an Imperial decree of 14 December 1810, granted

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 83, 101-103. On 29 July 1812, Bertrand authorized the expenditure of 75,000 francs for just the branch from Vergorac to Ragusa although the total budget of the Corps that year amounted to 550,000 francs. At this rate, the road cost about 1,000 francs per kilometer. After a dispute with Ottoman troops at the point where the road crossed Ottoman soil, widespread illness and a lack of engineers, the route was completed as far as Ragusa by 1812.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 289. Summary of report of de la Bergerie, Intendant of Dalmatia to Chabrol, 1 January 1813.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 96. During 1811 and 1812 extensive repairs were carried out at most of the major ports, which, given the amount of trade, was not, in the author's opinion, justified.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-89. On 20 November 1812, Blanchard published a table of Imperial roads in the Illyrian Provinces. There were three classes: 1st class roads (roads of major commercial importance, 6; 2nd class roads (roads connecting Chief Places of Subdelegations, roads of national utility), 5; and 3rd class roads (roads not of general interest, for which the communes were responsible), 18.



the Society a building concession to last until 1 January 1851. Following the Napoleonic defeat, the Austrians, with slight modifications in the decree, continued construction and the road was finally completed in 1841.<sup>39</sup>

The expansion of trade with the East, almost wholly dependent upon the roads, necessitated an expansion of the health provisions of the Illyrian Provinces. To prevent the spread of the plague, still a thing to be feared in the early nineteenth century, Bertrand issued an arrêté on 6 April 1812, the terms of which established three arrondissements, one of Istria and Croatia, and one each of Dalmatia and Ragusa. Each of the arrondissements was to establish a council of health to supervise sanitation facilities along both the frontier and in the ports.<sup>40</sup> In April 1813, there was a minor outbreak of plague in Civil Croatia and as a result, the Intendant of that province, de Contades, established a cordon sanitaire on the frontier.<sup>41</sup> In addition, the health service introduced the Imperial vaccination

<sup>39</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIII (1811), No. 355, 627-29. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 430-31 and Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 88-90.

<sup>40</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 168-69. The councils were responsible for the inspection of civil hospitals, surveillance of caravans, and the enforcement of sanitation standards in inns, prisons and lazarets. Directors of lazarets were required to disinfect goods, letters and money.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 170. During an outbreak of plague in the Ogulin Regiment in Military Croatia in 1810, Marmont placed 3,000 victims in the lazaret at Fiume. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 446. There is no information available to indicate what remedy was the most successful.

program throughout the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>42</sup> An arrêté of Bertrand of 1 June 1812 established central committees under each Intendant to publicize the benefits of this health measure.<sup>43</sup>

The French administration also introduced a number of other reforms of social significance. The Roman Catholic Church, once one of the most powerful institutions in the Illyrian region was closely tied to the state. Marmont, to reduce its power, suspended all clerical nominations for a period of five years and arrested and detained all those clerics who refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the Emperor.<sup>44</sup> In addition, he seems to have reduced the number of clerical establishments, probably as a result of the sequestrations arising from the controversy with Austria over the holdings of religious orders.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Moniteur, 17 October 1811, 1105.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 20 June 1812, 663. Apparently vaccination was carried out free of charge. It is not known how successful this program was. The government claimed that 14,500 people, mostly children, had been vaccinated in 1811. The technique of introduction seems to have been first to convince the local doctors, who were generally trusted, and then to win over the heads of the most respected families. See Moniteur, 24 August 1812, 930.

<sup>44</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 373-74.

<sup>45</sup> Moniteur, 5 July 1810, 729. Marmont also claims to have initiated negotiations with the bishop of Agram which resulted in the restoration to the diocese of Laybach that part of the diocese on the Austrian side of the Save River. See Marmont, Mémoires, III, 432.

The final settlement with both the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches came in the 15 April 1811 decree. Title XIV of the decree recognized Marmont's suppression of the dîme in both communions<sup>46</sup> and replaced this religious tax with a credit of 100,000 francs for the support of both the bishoprics and the religious orders. Articles 145 and 146 announced the union of the Circle of Villach and the baliwicks (bailliages) of Lientz and Cillian with the diocese of Laybach and of part of the Austrian diocese of Agram with the diocese of Segna. Article 147 announced that all tangible property and revenues of vacant bishoprics (including those abandoned by anti-French clerics) would henceforth be part of the holdings of the Imperial domain. Article 148 announced the adoption of the French calendar under the terms of the Concordat of 1802. Finally, Article 149 reformed the administration of charity by suppressing all the lay brotherhoods with the exception of those of the Holy Sacrament and the Sufferers for Trespasses.<sup>47</sup>

Even more radical than the reform of the clergy were the French educational reforms. On 19 June 1810 Marmont created the post of Inspector of Education and named an

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<sup>46</sup> Article 143 states that Marmont did this by an arrête of 15 November 1810.

<sup>47</sup> Only one of the brotherhoods was permitted to exist in each parish. Title IX of the decree made the Intendant-General responsible for the supervision of charitable organizations and prisons.

ex-Benedictine, Raphael Zelli, to fill that office.<sup>48</sup> Zelli introduced chairs of the French language at all the higher institutions<sup>49</sup> and, on 4 July 1810, his plan of reorganization of the school system was established by an arrêté.<sup>50</sup> This program called for the establishment of two central schools of higher education, one at Laybach and the other at Zara, eight lycées located in the provincial capitols and major towns, and two schools of arts and crafts, one at Laybach and the other at Zara. The decree also established primary schools in each of the communes.<sup>51</sup> This plan of reorganization was continued by Title XI of the 15 April 1811 decree which also placed the Illyrian schools under the administration of the Université<sup>52</sup> and extended scholarships to all towns which could support students from their revenues. In addition, "Carniolan" (Slovene) and

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<sup>48</sup> Moniteur, 5 July 1810, 729.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 28 July 1810, 817.

<sup>50</sup> Pisani, Dalmatie, 368.

<sup>51</sup> Marmont, Mémoires, III, 373. The curriculum of the central schools included Latin, French, mathematics and physics. In addition, the government established a number of scholarships. Marmont claims that public education, except for the primary schools, cost the government only 250,000 francs. Pisani claims that a total of 25 gymnasiums were set up under the arrêté. See Pisani, Dalmatie, 368.

<sup>52</sup> The Université was the supervisory body for all education under the Napoleonic regime.

"Illyrian" (Serbo-Croatian) became languages of instruction on the lowest level.<sup>53</sup>

In completing the transition to a French administration, everything was done to reproduce all the institutions of the Napoleonic Empire. Consequently, the administration did not neglect to introduce French police and law. The police received provisional organization even before the creation of the Illyrian Provinces. On 1 September 1809, General Schilt, the commander of the army of occupation at Trieste organized a French-style police administration for that town.<sup>54</sup> The formal organization of the police followed in an arrêté of 13 January 1810.<sup>55</sup> Under the provisions of

<sup>53</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 321-22. In 1810, at Marmont's request, abbe V. Vodnik wrote three Slovene textbooks. The encouragement of the use of the native languages seems also to have encouraged Slovenian nationalism. Vodnik and another cleric, the abbe Kuralt, both published a number of works in the native tongue with the full approval of the French administration. After the return of the Austrians Vodnik was forced into retirement and Kuralt was banished to Moravia for life. In both Military and Civil Croatia instruction was given in the Croatian dialect. Some schools were permitted to use German, in Carinthia, Carniola and Istria. At Trieste four primary schools and a gymnasium gave instruction in the Italian language.

<sup>54</sup>Moniteur, 19 September 1809, 1037. The public order creating the police specified that all citizens were required to carry identification cards signed by the director of police and countersigned by his secretary. All foreigners were required to register with the police and all businesses were ordered to be similarly registered. In addition, the town was divided into sections, each of which had its chef de section for police affairs. These provisions gave the provisional director the same power as a Commissioner-General of Police. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, IV (1806), No. 65, 125-29. Imperial decree of 9 September 1806.

<sup>55</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 299.

Articles 5 and 10 of the decree of 25 December 1809, the Governor-General became the chief police official in the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>56</sup> Under the decree of 15 April 1811 the Illyrian police were brought more directly under the control of the Ministry of the General Police. Article 135 of the decree required the Governor-General to make regular reports to the central head of the Imperial police, General Jean Savary. The other Articles of Title XIII expanded the powers of the Illyrian administration in the examination of passports, created the office of Grand-Provost and Provost Courts for the suppression of contraband, and established five squadrons of gendarmerie to supplement the police.<sup>57</sup> In 1812 there were six Commissioners-General of Police in the major towns, at Laybach, Villach, Trieste, Carlstadt, Fiume and Zara.<sup>58</sup> Shortly afterward, the police were downgraded in favor of the gendarmerie and at the beginning of 1813 there was only one Commissioner-General of Police remaining in Illyria, at Laybach.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XII (1809), No. 265. Title II, Articles 5, 10. This is the same decree mentioned above, Chapter III,

<sup>57</sup>Articles 136-42.

<sup>58</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 299.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid. Pivec-Stelè indicates that this was done on orders from Napoleon, but no information is available to support this. It seems that the police were largely paid from the fees for issuing the identification cards, which brought in only insignificant amounts of revenue. Many of the police agents seem to have been recruited locally.

Finally, over and above all the previous reforms, there was the establishment of French law. This could have been potentially the most significant reform of all, but it was regrettably mishandled and delayed in its application. The Imperial decree of 25 December 1809 established the post of Commissioner-General of Justice as a separate agent of the administration, directly subordinate to the Governor-General.<sup>60</sup> This official was responsible for all legal proceedings, civil and criminal, and also received supervisory power over the prisons.<sup>61</sup> In addition, as a police assistant to the Governor-General, he had responsibility for the surveillance of citizens and could call on the gendarmerie to enforce his orders.<sup>62</sup> Under Marmont's administration, he also had responsibility for drawing legislation for the Illyrian Provinces because no decision had as yet been reached at Paris on the subject of introducing the French law codes.<sup>63</sup>

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François Toussaint, the Commissioner-General at Laybach, was an Austrian. See also Bulletin des lois, IV série, XVI (1812), No. 422, 183. Imperial decree of 22 February 1812. The powers of the gendarmerie in Illyria were extended when they received authorization of the right to make arrests on Italian territory. This was a reciprocal right, which France and Italy had shared since October 1811.

<sup>60</sup> Bulletin des lois, IV série, XII (1810), No. 265, 85-96, Title IV.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Article 27.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., Articles 33, 34.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., Articles 30, 31.

With the publication of the decree of 15 April 1811, the organization of justice in the Illyrian Provinces finally began to take shape. Title XVI of the decree contained a comprehensive plan of organization which was retained, with modifications, until the autumn of 1813. Section I ordered the creation of a justice of the peace in each canton, charged with the handling of minor police affairs. Section II created courts of primary jurisdiction at Laybach, Villach, Neustadt, Lientz, Fiume, Carlstadt, Gorizia, Zara, Spalato, Ragusa and Cattaro.<sup>64</sup> Each court was composed of a presiding judge, two associate judges, three substitute judges (suppléans), an Imperial attorney (procureur-impérial), for whom no provisions for a staff existed, and a clerk of the court. Section III established the equity courts to handle merchant affairs.<sup>65</sup> Section IV created three appeals courts, one each at Laybach, Zara and Ragusa. The largest court was that of Laybach which had a first presiding judge, a presiding judge, eight associate judges and four substitute judges, and was divided into two sections. The other courts had simply a presiding judge, four associate judges

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<sup>64</sup>In September 1811 Napoleon added a twelfth court at Rovigno in Istria. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, XV (1812), No. 391, 258-59. Imperial decree of 12 September 1811. However, in January 1812 the number of courts was again reduced to eleven when Napoleon suppressed the court at Neustadt in Carniola. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, XVI (1812), No. 414, 8-9. Imperial decree of 9 January 1812. It would seem that this was done because Rovigno, one of the larger Illyrian towns, was far from another court and because Neustadt was close to Laybach.

<sup>65</sup>Supra, Chapter V, 96, note 9.



and two substitutes. All had the same number of supplementary personnel.<sup>66</sup> After dealing with the regulation of judicial affairs and salaries, the decree finally announced that on 1 January 1812, the laws of the French Empire would be put into effect in the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>67</sup>

The judicial reform had hardly begun when, on 30 September 1811 Napoleon modified the system slightly.<sup>68</sup> In this decree, the Emperor added the provision that justice was to be free and threatened penalties against any official of the judiciary who should violate this regulation.<sup>69</sup> In addition, it made provisions for impeachment<sup>70</sup> and required a unanimous decision of all three judges in cases tried by courts of primary jurisdiction.<sup>71</sup> After dealing at length with appeals and salaries, the decree went on to authorize the use of the German and Italian languages in the courts and in official acts.<sup>72</sup> The most significant achievement

<sup>66</sup>Sections V-XI dealt with the regulation of judicial proceedings, salaries, the composition of the Provost Courts of the gendarmerie and the amounts of fines.

<sup>67</sup>Section XII, Article 249.

<sup>68</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XV (1812), No. 396, 321-33. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to this decree will be by Chapter, Article or Section.

<sup>69</sup>Chapter I, Article 2.

<sup>70</sup>Chapter II, Section I.

<sup>71</sup>Chapter II, Section II.

<sup>72</sup>Chapter IV.

of this decree, however, was the establishment of the rights of parents and children in regard to inheritance, the rights of natural children, and a divorce law.<sup>73</sup>

Although the French Codes technically went into effect in the Illyrian Provinces, it took time to put them into operation. As late as June 1812, the government was still in the process of drawing up a complete collection of laws in three languages for the use of the courts.<sup>74</sup> On 2 July 1812 a further modification took place in the Illyrian courts when Napoleon added some minor provisions with regard to every level of the judiciary.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the growing disorder in the country was indicated by the creation of a special temporary court at Trieste to handle criminal affairs in the arrondissements of Fiume, Rovigno, Gorizia and Trieste.<sup>76</sup> Neither the police nor the judiciary, no matter how well organized, could seem to stop the growth of lawlessness. Poverty and hunger drove many to join the rising tide of smugglers. In October 1812 Napoleon was forced to create

<sup>73</sup>Chapter VI, Sections I-IV.

<sup>74</sup>Moniteur, 27 June 1812, 697. The tone of the article indicates that it is possible that the judiciary had had difficulties due to the numerous exceptions to the Code of Criminal Instruction set forth in an Imperial decree of 9 January 1812. See Bulletin des Lois, IV série, XVI (1812), No. 414, 7-8. In addition, it is probable that the language problem had also created difficulties.

<sup>75</sup>Bulletin des Lois, IV série, XVII (1812), No. 440, 2-6. See also Moniteur, 2 August 1812, 844.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Article 4.

an additional Provost Court and two Courts of Customs to handle the growing number of economic offenses.<sup>77</sup> It was, in effect, an admission of defeat.

By 1813, French attempts at reform had largely proved to be failures. Social reforms antagonized established business and commercial interests and alienated both nobles and peasants. Subjection to the Continental System made reform of commerce, industry and agriculture impossible. Educational, religious and health reform had to fight against custom and superstition. The thoroughness of French taxation and police were innovations which hardly made the regime popular. French law arrived too late to prove its superiority over systems previously in force. In the end, France lost more than she gained from the attempt to introduce reforms in the Illyrian Provinces. The French administration did not have time for consolidation or the funds to complete what it had begun. The reforms, which were products of Western European thought, represented too radical a break with the past of the peoples upon whom they were imposed. In addition, the reforms were French, symbols of a foreign regime.

Nevertheless, some of the attempts at reform resulted in lasting achievements. Behind them the French left modern roads and systems of transportation and communication. They dealt feudalism and privilege a mortal wound. Jewry and Orthodoxy had achieved a new status. The French had improved

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<sup>77</sup> Bulletin des lois, IV série, XVII (1812), No. 453, 188-189. See also Moniteur, 7 December 1812, 1351-52.

trade connections with the East and left behind them the seeds of conservation and an expansion of agriculture. The hostility engendered by foreign rule and the encouragement of native language laid the foundations of nationalism in the region. Thus, while French rule failed in its own time, it laid the foundation for future improvements of lasting value.

## CHAPTER VI

### COLLAPSE

The breakdown of the French administration of the Illyrian Provinces paralleled the collapse of the rest of the Napoleonic Empire. As Napoleon's armies suffered defeat after defeat in Spain and Germany, Austria began to show signs of joining the Allies. Consequently, all the efforts of the French in the Illyrian Provinces turned from administration to defense. Harrassed by the British in the Adriatic and threatened with a possible invasion from across the Save, the Illyrian administration began to prepare for the coming struggle.

In January 1813, Napoleon decided to form an Observation Corps of Italy in preparation for the campaigns of that summer. He placed this force, which was composed of three divisions drawn from the French, Italian and Neapolitan armies, under the command of Bertrand.<sup>1</sup> On 9 February, the Emperor appointed General Andoche Junot, duc d'Abrantès, to succeed him.<sup>2</sup> Junot arrived in Illyria in March and made

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<sup>1</sup>Napoleon, *Correspondance*, XXIV, No. 19420. Napoleon to Francesco Melzi d'Eril, duc de Lodi, Grand Chancellor of the Kingdom of Italy, 4 January 1813.

<sup>2</sup>Napoleon, *Dernières lettres*, I, 503, note 1. See also Laure Permon Junot, duchesse de d'Abrantès [*sic*],

his headquarters at Gorizia in Istria in order to be close to both Venice and Laybach.<sup>3</sup>

By this time, signs of the approaching collapse of the Illyrian Provinces became blatantly evident. Economic life was paralyzed. Military affairs were rapidly deteriorating. The Army of Illyria had become a fiction; disgruntled Italians and Croats formed the bulk of the armed forces of the country.<sup>4</sup> Every class had its reasons to be discontented

Memoirs of the Emperor Napoleon: From Ajaccio to Waterloo as Soldier, Emperor, Husband (3 vols.; Akron: St. Dunstan Society, 1901), III, 291-92, 305. Junot was then living in semi-retirement after being disgraced during the Russian campaign. His wife claims that at the beginning of the 1813 campaign he asked permission to serve Napoleon again, seeking an honorable death, and that Napoleon appointed him Governor-General of the Illyrian Provinces and Governor of Venice because he saw the advantage of having a devoted follower there.

<sup>3</sup>Napoleon I, Lettres inédites de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>, collationnées sur les textes et publiée par Léonce de Brotonne (Paris: Honore Champion, Libraire, 1898), No. 1140. Napoleon to Clarke, 7 June 1813. Napoleon disapproved of this action and ordered Junot to go to Laybach. (Hereafter cited as Napoleon, Lettres.)

<sup>4</sup>Many of the latter had come to hate French service because, contrary to their desire and their traditions, Croatian units had been sent out of the country. For example, in April 1811, Napoleon ordered Eugene to organize two battalions of Croats for possible service in Germany. See Eugene, Mémoires, VII, 148. Napoleon to Eugene, 17 April 1811. Later in that year an entire regiment of Croats was sent to Besançon in France. While passing through the Kingdom of Italy, 160 men deserted. Several resisted capture by force. To prevent further desertions, the troops were all bound and sent to their destination. See Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1581. See also Napoleon, Lettres, No. 961. Napoleon to Clarke, 21 November 1811. Desertion among French troops in Illyria also was high. Early in 1811, Napoleon demanded an investigation into this matter. See Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1249. Napoleon to Clarke, 11 January 1811. Lack of pay may have been a reason for this.

with the French regime. Many of the northern nobles were deeply attached to the House of Habsburg. In every area under French administration they had lost their accustomed role of administrators and had lost most of the privileges of their rank.<sup>5</sup> The Continental System had paralyzed the economy and antagonized the middle class. The commoners hated conscription<sup>6</sup> and were dissatisfied by the failure to abolish feudal dues in their entirety.<sup>7</sup> The burden of taxation added to their suffering created by food shortages.<sup>8</sup> All classes could complain of the administrative personnel as well. Few of the civil servants spoke any Slavic tongues.

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See Napoleon, Dernières lettres, II, No. 1473. Napoleon to General Laucée, comte de Cessac, Minister of War Administration. The Emperor claimed that 900,000 francs were owed the units in Illyria. See also Eugene, Mémoires, VII, 200. Eugene to Napoleon, 13 October 1811.

<sup>5</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 318-19. See also Louis Madelin, Fouché, 1759-1820 (Fourth edition. 2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Plon, 1913), II, 249. (Hereafter cited as Madelin, Fouché.)

<sup>6</sup>August Fournier, Napoleon the First, a Biography (Edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne. Translated by Margaret Bacon Corwin and Arthur Dart Bissell. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930), 539. During 1811 a number of conscription riots took place in Illyria. Conscription, as well as economic conditions, resulted in widespread emmigration to Austria. See Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 276, 324. See also Napoleon, Lettres, No. 977. Napoleon to General comte Mathieu Dumas, Director-General of Reviews and Conscription, 13 February 1812. In this letter, Napoleon asked why a population of 1,500,000 could not furnish 4,500 men per year.

<sup>7</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 39. See also Madelin, Fouché, II, 249.

<sup>8</sup>Pivec-Stelè, Vie économique, 279, 281, 282, 287, 288, 291.

Although Chabrol did his utmost to improve conditions, many of his subordinates made it worse. Their pay was in arrears. Many were young and inexperienced, and some had been sent to the Illyrian Provinces as punishment.<sup>9</sup> Attempts to carry out reforms only led to further antagonisms.

In addition to internal unrest, the defenses of the Illyrian Provinces were sadly lacking. The troops were generally disloyal; the vast works at Trieste, Laybach and Zara had not been completed due to a lack of funds. Coastal defense was in the hands of the National Guard, the Illyrian Navy having slowly deteriorated until it was virtually replaced by the Navy of the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>10</sup> Under these conditions, the British, who began to occupy the Illyrian islands as early as 1810, successfully raided Fiume on 3 July 1813.<sup>11</sup>

At about the same time, Junot's mind gave way and he made a public spectacle of himself.<sup>12</sup> Napoleon ordered that he be sent home<sup>13</sup> and, shortly afterwards, appointed

<sup>9</sup>Pisani, Dalmatie, 339-42.

<sup>10</sup>Pivec, Dalmatie ie économique, 194-95.

<sup>11</sup>Madelin, Fouché, II, 250.

<sup>12</sup>Eugene, Mémoires, IX, 180, 183, 186. Eugene to Napoleon, 27 June 1813, 30 June 1813, 2 July 1813. Fouché claims Junot, in full uniform, drove a coach and wrote erratic letters. See Joseph Fouché, duc d'Otrante, Memoirs of Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otrante (2 vols.; New York: Merrill and Baker, 1903), II, 151-52. (Hereafter cited as Fouché, Memoirs.)

<sup>13</sup>Napoleon, Correspondance, XXV, No. 20240. Napoleon to Eugene, 6 July 1813. See also Eugene, Mémoires, IX, 189-90, 192. Napoleon to Eugene, 6 July 1813, 8 July 1813.



Joseph Fouché, duc d'Otrante, to fill the vacant post,<sup>14</sup> The former Minister of Police was not appointed because of his abilities, but rather to keep him as far as possible from the central government at Paris.<sup>15</sup> There was no longer a question of developing the administration of the Illyrian Provinces, but rather one of organizing a defense of the Kingdom of Italy.

Fouché travelled to Laybach by way of Prague and arrived at the Illyrian capital on 29 July.<sup>16</sup> Upon his arrival, the new Governor-General and General Baron Maurice Frésia,<sup>17</sup> the new military commander of Illyria, began to develop plans for the defense of the country. Fouché's first move was to spread propaganda indicating that the French were determined to stay, and by his personal actions created the

<sup>14</sup>Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIX (1814), No. 514, 17. Imperial decree of 17 July 1813.

<sup>15</sup>Madelin, Fouché, II, 242.

<sup>16</sup>Napoleon ordered him to do so in order to speak with Metternich at the Congress of Prague, and thereby draw out the negotiations, and in order to gather information on Austrian war preparations. See Fouché, Memoirs, II, 137-42 for a detailed account of his interview with Napoleon and his instructions. Fouché may have discussed the possibility of establishing a regency of Marie-Louise for the King of Rome, but Metternich did not mention such a proposal to Emperor Francis I. See Madelin, Fouché, II, 245. Between Vienna and Laybach, Fouché observed the movement of large bodies of troops destined for General Hiller's corps and notified Eugene of this. Fouché, Memoirs, II, 155.

<sup>17</sup>Napoleon appointed Frésia at the same time that he appointed Fouché. Prior to this time, the command of the armed forces had never been detached from the duties of the Governor-General. Eugene, Mémoires, IX, 204. Napoleon to Eugene, 17 July 1813.

impression that the public had no need to fear,<sup>18</sup> He dismissed the mayor of Fiume and arrested the municipal officials of other towns who had done little or nothing to resist British landings,<sup>19</sup> suppressed the importation of foreign journals<sup>20</sup> and closed the border to reduce the number of agents provocateurs.<sup>21</sup> He attempted to hold the administration together as long as he could. Upon receiving reports that civil servants near the frontier were preparing to leave their posts, Fouché threatened to charge them with desertion and dismissal.<sup>22</sup> To ensure calm, he created special police commissions to Trieste, Laybach, Carlstadt and Villach<sup>23</sup> and, to win over the lower classes, forbade the

<sup>18</sup>Madelin, Fouché, II, 252-55.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 255.

<sup>20</sup>Beauharnais Archive. "Bulletin d'Illyrie," No. 2, 7 August 1813, 10. The Beauharnais Archive is a collection of approximately 30,000 letters containing the manuscript correspondence of Prince Eugene with French Imperial and Italian officials, preserved in the Firestone Library at Princeton University. The Archive never has been catalogued, and has been used by only three persons for any extensive research. The "Bulletin d'Illyrie" is a series of reports made by Fouché to Prince Eugene in 1813. Along with other significant portions of the Archive, including Fouché's letters to Eugene during his term as Governor-General of the Illyrian Provinces, this series of reports has been microfilmed. The microfilm reproduction is the property and in the possession of Professor Ert J. Gum. (Hereafter cited as "Bulletin d'Illyrie." Letters of Fouché and other individuals contained in this collection hereafter cited as Beauharnais Archive.)

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 12.

<sup>22</sup>Madelin, Fouché, II, 256.

<sup>23</sup>"Bulletin d'Illyrie," No. 2, 7 August 1813, 12.

landowners to seize peasant holdings and advised the nobles to moderate their actions.<sup>24</sup>

On 12 August Fouché met with Eugene, who had just arrived at Udine in Friuli, in order to discuss the defense of Illyria.<sup>25</sup> On 17 August, Austrian troops crossed the frontier and began moving on Carlstadt before issuing a formal declaration of war.<sup>26</sup> Despite the rapid progress of the Austrian forces, Fouché seemingly remained calm. Meanwhile Military Croatia rose against the French forces of General Jeanin who was barely able to evacuate Carlstadt. De Contades, the Intendant, was less fortunate and fell into the hands of the natives and was turned over to Austrian troops under the command of General Nugent.<sup>27</sup> As enemy forces

<sup>24</sup>Madelin, Fouché, II, 256.

<sup>25</sup>Eugene, Mémoires, IX, 232. Eugene to Napoleon, 12 August 1813. Fouché had been in correspondence with the Viceroy since the time of his arrival. One of their greatest concerns was providing funds to pay the troops and coping with the problems of food supply and distribution of troops. See Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 3 August 1813, two letters; 8 August 1813, 10 August 1813. See also Beauharnais Archive, Undated report of Chabrol to Fouché on demands for funds made by the administrative section of the Army of Illyria.

Even before the outbreak of hostilities, the number of desertions increased daily among both the Italian and Croatian troops, and the navy. The situation had become extremely critical by the outbreak of hostilities. See "Bulletin d'Illyrie," No. 1, n.d., 2-3, No. 2, 7 August 1813, 1-5.

<sup>26</sup>"Bulletin d'Illyrie," No. 5, 17 August 1813, 1. See also Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 18 August 1813. The Austrians advanced in two columns, one towards Villach, the other towards Carlstadt.

<sup>27</sup>"Bulletin d'Illyrie," No. 6, 30 August 1813, 1. See also Fouché, Mémoires, II, 155-56.

began to appear in the vicinity of Laybach, Fouché secretly sent the administrative departments to Trieste. The Governor-General then announced that Eugene planned to make his headquarters at Laybach and that it was necessary to remove the administrations for this reason.<sup>28</sup> Then, claiming that he was going to Trieste merely to distribute prizes at the school,<sup>29</sup> he too departed.<sup>30</sup>

At Trieste, where Chabrol joined him on 28 August,<sup>31</sup> Fouché established a provisional government and ordered a levy of the National Guard throughout the province of Istria for service under General Frésia.<sup>32</sup> Trieste, however, proved to be as unsafe as Laybach, for to the south, Austrian troops captured Pola. The British, who even then cruised off Trieste, began freeing bandits to cause unrest in Istria.<sup>33</sup> By 8 September, Fouché decided that Trieste had become unsafe, and, accompanied by the heads of the administration,

<sup>28</sup> Madelin, Fouché, II, 260. See also Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 19 August 1813.

<sup>29</sup> Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 19 August 1813.

<sup>30</sup> Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 24 August 1813. At the last moment, to keep up the confidence of the townspeople, Fouché reviewed the National Guard of Laybach. He reached Trieste on 26 August.

<sup>31</sup> Madelin, Fouché, II, 264.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 6 September 1813.

moved on to Gorizia.<sup>34</sup> There he collected the scattered remains of the Illyrian government, after liquidating its few remaining assets to provide pay for the troops and wages for some of the civil servants.<sup>35</sup> On 3 October, Fouché and his band of administrators left Gorizia and the Illyrian Provinces and went to Udine, and finally, to Parma.<sup>36</sup> The Governor-General, however, did not accompany his subordinates to Parma but halted at Venice where Fresia joined him on 14 October.<sup>37</sup> There, on 26 October 1813, he wrote to the Viceroy of Italy, requesting him to either take the Illyrian administrators into Italian service or dismiss them. In addition, he requested Eugene to facilitate the disbursement of a credit of 1,000,000 francs which Napoleon had authorized for the Illyrian Provinces in order to provide a means of subsistence for the administrators.<sup>38</sup> In many ways, Fouché's

<sup>34</sup>Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 8 September 1813, 19 September 1813. The defenders of Trieste were so short of troops that National Guards and civil servants were pressed into service to maintain security in the town. The last French administrator did not leave Trieste until 24 September. See Madelin, Fouché, II, 266.

<sup>35</sup>Madelin, Fouché, II, 267. The stocks of tobacco and salt had been sold at Trieste and Fiume.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 268.

<sup>37</sup>Bavaria defected from her alliance with Napoleon on 8 October, forcing Eugene to abandon his attempt to halt the Austrian advance in the Illyrian Provinces and to retire behind the Isonzo River in order to protect the Kingdom of Italy. See Eugene, Mémoires, IX, 283-85. Frederick of Bavaria to Eugene, 8 October 1813.

<sup>38</sup>Beauharnais Archive, Fouché to Eugene, 26 October 1813.

request was symbolic of an administration which, since its creation, had always suffered from a lack of sufficient funds.

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The Austrian invasion of the Illyrian Provinces brought to an end nearly eight years of Napoleonic administration in the Balkan Peninsula. During this brief period, the administrators had introduced a number of significant changes in the traditional way of life of the lands which came under their control. A number of these changes, in comparison with the achievements of the administrative systems which preceded them, had the character of reforms.

Venice had been content to let her eastern Adriatic possessions stagnate in near-medieval conditions, a situation duplicated by the government of the Republic of Ragusa. Only the ports and their commerce interested her. The Austrians, who held Dalmatia from 1797 until 1806, were only able to carry out a partial reform of the Roman Catholic Church, begin a few roads and develop an abortive reform project, killed by the campaign of 1805. The other Austrian provinces which, in 1809, became part of the Illyrian Provinces, preserved all the traditional forms of the other long-standing parts of the Habsburg Empire. Both Dalmatia and the older provinces, except for the ports, retained many of the vestiges of the feudal past which in Western Europe had been dealt a strong blow by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic regime which followed it.

The appointment of Vincenzo Dandolo as Governor of Dalmatia brought the French Revolution to the Balkans. Frequently acting on his own initiative, he shattered the feudal structure of the easternmost dependency of the Kingdom of Italy, subordinated the Roman Catholic Church to the State and worked for the recognition of Greek Orthodoxy as a separate faith. The Governor established the principle of expanded education and promoted the improvement of agriculture by introducing conservation techniques, new crops and modern methods of cultivation. He attempted to expand the health and social services, promoted the use of the native tongue, attempted to promote native industry and, to a limited extent, commerce. He even made a brief, unsuccessful experiment with representative government. His rival, the General-in-Chief of the Army of Dalmatia, General Auguste Marmont, completed the roads begun by the Austrians and began a number of others. In addition, he extended a Napoleonic regime to Ragusa.

In 1809, because Dalmatia alone had proved insufficient to protect the Kingdom of Italy from invasion, Napoleon united it, Ragusa and the Department of Istria to the southern provinces which Austria had ceded to him by the Treaty of Vienna. The result was the Illyrian Provinces, which became part of the French Empire. There, in an artificial country which lacked any element of unity, Napoleon introduced a wholly-French administration. Except for Military Croatia which was treated as a separate territory and never underwent

the same experience as the other provinces, this system established the institutions of Napoleonic France in their entirety. These, in and of themselves, were a reform, but a negative one, for all the administrative achievements depended upon one essential item, money.

Despite the extensive machinery set up to gather revenue, the administrators never had sufficient funds at their disposal. Warfare had drained much of the wealth from the land. The Continental System and the commercial war with Great Britain completed its ruin, for the lands of the Illyrian Provinces had depended upon trade for their prosperity. Many of the reforms were, in effect, little more than techniques introduced in order to build up the economy for reasons of state, not for the humanitarian principles of Dandolo.

French rule meant uniformity. The administration set out to Gallicize the Balkan subjects through institutions which were far too advanced for the region, and which perhaps made only too apparent the fact that the people were not French, and could never be. The French institutions had developed out of an historical experience which only France had undergone. The peoples of the Illyrian Provinces had hardly even begun to develop national consciousness.

In short, the Napoleonic plan for the Illyrian Provinces was a contradiction. The administration was expected to make an artificial country economically self-sufficient at the same time that the Continental System and



the commercial war with Great Britain were reducing it to an economic level below that which it had attained before the coming of the French. The plan also called for the complete transfer of the institutions of Napoleonic France, and by implication the French historical tradition, to a land which lacked the same experience.

Given these circumstances it is remarkable that the French did accomplish some positive reforms. The Illyrian government, particularly under Marmont, continued most of the reforms which Dandolo had introduced into Dalmatia. The government continued to develop the educational facilities, improved the means of communication and transportation, the health facilities, introduced French laws, then the most advanced in Continental Europe, and partially succeeded in weakening feudalism and the power of the Roman Catholic Church.

Unfortunately, despite the advantages which would have resulted from these reforms, and the reforms of Dandolo, the authorities failed to win the support of the majority of the people. Partially because of the built-in handicaps of the Continental System, partially because of the time of creation, and partially because of the failure of the French to recognize that no matter how well-developed the system, it is subject to the risks of failure if it contains no elements native to the region upon which it is imposed, the Napoleonic administration in the Balkans was doomed to fail from the start.

Under both Dandolo and the French administrators of the Illyrian Provinces, nearly every attempt at reform created deep-seated antagonisms in almost every section of the populace--nobility, clergy, middle-class, commoners--which made a return to the old order, as represented by Austrian rule, a welcome relief. In many ways, it was a preview of the problems to be encountered by French colonial administrators in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. France, which has never quite succeeded in governing herself, despite a vast array of constitutions and programs, proved as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century that she could not govern others.

APPENDIX A

THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES\*



\*Pisani, Dalmatie, Plate IX.

## APPENDIX B

## ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES\*

## Carniola:

Capital: Laybach.

Districts (3): Laybach, Neustadt, Adelsberg.

Cantons (21): Laybach (2), Pseiu, Krainburg, Ratmannsdorf, Laak, Idria, Loitsch, Adelsberg, Senoschia, Lass, Gottschee, Neustadt, Landstrassa, Motling, Nassenfuss, Littay, Weichselburg, Seisenberg, Czernitz, Galenberg.

Composed of: Circle of Laybach, Circle of Neustadt, Circle of Adelsberg (except for ex-Austrian Istria), part of the territory of Wippach.

## Carinthia:

Capital: Villach.

Districts (2): Villach, Lientz.

Cantons (11): Villach, Spital, Smund, Greyffenburg, Obervillach, Lientz, Gillian, Oberdraunberg, Marten, Saint Hermagor, Tarvis.

Composed of: Territories of Lientz and Gillian (formerly part of the Bavarian Tyrol), Circle of Villach.

## Istria:

Capital: Trieste.

Districts (4): Trieste, Gorizia, Capo-d'Istria, Rovigno.

Cantons (16): Trieste (2), Monfalcone, Capo-d'Istria, Pirano, Parenzo, Pinguerte, Rovigno, Dignano, Pletz, Albona, Gorizia, Wippach, Canale, Tolmino, Santa-Croce.

Composed of: City and territory of Trieste, ex-Venetian Istria, Monfalcone and its territory, the former County of Gorizia, Wippach and its territory bordering on the Circle of Villach.

## Civil Croatia:

Capital: Carlstadt.

Districts (3): Carlstadt, Fiume, Segna.

Cantons (21): Carlstadt, Verbosko, Jaska, Zamabor, Wrem, Esabar, Kerekneit, Selin, Pissek, Gradaz, Fiume, Segna, Buccari, Gastua, Pisino, Mercopais, Arbe, Veglia, Cherso, Orcero, Lussino grande.

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\*Bulletin des lois, IV série, XIV (1811), No. 369 bis.  
Title VII, Articles 63-81.

Composed of: Civil Croatia, Fiume and its territory, ex-Austrian Istria, Mercopais and its territory, the Hungarian Littoral (including the town of Segna and the islands of Veglia, Arbe, Cherso, Lussino piccolo and Lussino grande.)

#### Dalmatia:

Capital: Zara.

Districts (5): Zara, Spalato, Sebenico, Macarsca, Lesina.

Cantons (17): Zara, Ibrovazzo, Nona, Sebenico, Scardona, Knin, Spalato, Traù, Sign, Almissa, Macarsca, Forte-Opus, Imoschi, the islands of Lissa, Lesina, Pago, Brazza.

Composed of: Dalmatia and her islands, except for those islands in the District of Fiume and the island of Curzola.

#### Province of Ragusa:

Capital: Ragusa.

Districts (3): Ragusa, Cattaro, Curzola.

Cantons (10): Ragusa, Old Ragusa, Cattaro, Castelnuovo, Budus, the island of Meledas, Slano, Sabioncello, Curzola, Lagosta.

Composed of: Republic of Ragusa, the Province of the Mouths of the Cattaro, all the islands of Ragusa, the island of Curzola (formerly part of the territory of the Province of Dalmatia.)

#### Military Croatia:\*\*

Seat of Government: Carlstadt.

\*\*Pivec-Stelà, Vie économique, 264-73. This province was administered separately from the rest of the Illyrian Provinces. By an arrêté of 2 June 1810, Marmont established a central administration at Carlstadt to supervise governmental affairs there. The head of this administration had the title Military Intendant and was directly subordinate to the Governor-General, not to the Military Governor of the province. Under the supervision of the Military Intendant, there were inspectors for forêts, ponts et chaussées, cordon sanitaire, justice and instruction publique. Except for the introduction of French drill methods and instruction in the French language for the troops, the French introduced no major innovations in the customary organization and administration of this province. This system was confirmed by the 15 April 1811 decree. See Bulletin des lois, IV série (1811), No. 369 bis, Title VII, Section IV. See also Marmont, Mémoires, III, 500-507. Marmont to Clarke, 3 November 1810.

**Composed of:**

Regiment of the Lika; Headquarters, Gospić.  
Regiment of Ottoschatz; Headquarters, Ottoschatz.  
Regiment of Ogulin; Headquarters, Ogulin.  
Regiment of Slunj; Headquarters, Slunj.  
First "Banal" Regiment; Headquarters, Glina.  
Second "Banal" Regiment; Headquarters, Petrinja.

## APPENDIX C

SALARIES AND PROVISION FOR OFFICE EXPENSES  
OF INTENDANTS AND SUBDELEGATES\*

## Intendants

<u>Province</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Office Expenses</u>
Carniola.....	8,000 francs.....	10,000 francs
Carinthia.....	8,000 francs.....	6,000 francs
Istria.....	8,000 francs.....	10,000 francs
Civil Croatia.....	8,000 francs.....	6,000 francs
Dalmatia.....	8,000 francs.....	10,000 francs
Ragusa.....	8,000 francs.....	6,000 francs

## First-Class Subdelegates

<u>Province and Seat</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Office Expenses</u>
<u>Carniola:</u>		
Neustadt.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
Adelsberg.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
<u>Carinthia:</u>		
Lientz.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
<u>Istria:</u>		
Gorizia.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
Capo-d'Istria.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
Rovogno.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
<u>Civil Croatia:</u>		
Fiume.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
<u>Dalmatia:</u>		
Spalato.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
Sebenico.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
Macarsca.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs
<u>Ragusa:</u>		
Cattaro.....	2,500 francs.....	1,000 francs

## Second-Class Subdelegates

<u>Province and Seat</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Office Expenses</u>
Civil Croatia: Segna.....	1,000 francs.....	500 francs
Dalmatia: Lesina.....	1,000 francs.....	500 francs
Ragusa: Curzola.....	1,000 francs.....	500 francs

\*The above amounts are the monthly rates. See Bulletin des lois, IV série, XVI (1811), No. 369 bis. Title VII, Article 90.

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