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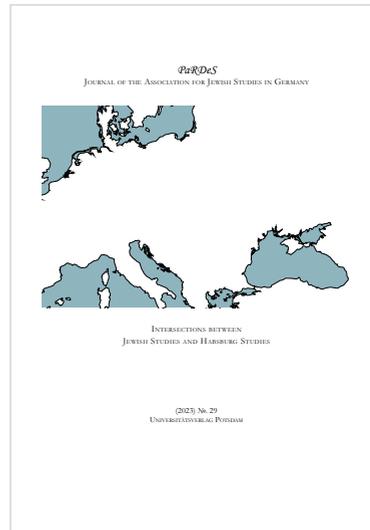
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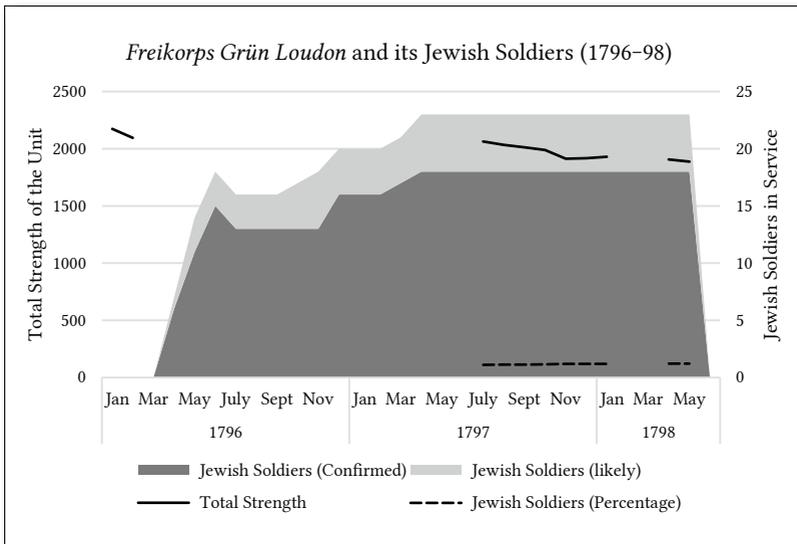
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Within a year of the outset of Jewish recruiting into the *Freikorps*, Jews comprised more than one per cent of the unit's strength. Source: Ilya Berkovich.

Jewish Mercenaries in Habsburg Service: Soldiers of the *Freikorps Grün Loudon* (1796–98)

by Ilya Berkovich*

Abstract

This article aims to demonstrate the exceptional potential of Habsburg military records for the study of Jewish history during Europe's Age of Revolution. We begin with the random discovery of six Jewish veterans of *Freikorps Grün Loudon* – a unit of mercenary freebooters – which fought for the Habsburgs during the first war against the French Republic (1792–97). A careful re-reading of the available archival evidence reveals that these men were the survivors of a much larger group numbering at least two dozen Jewish soldiers. While Jewish conscripts had been drafted into the Habsburg army since 1788, the fact that Jews could also serve – even volunteer – as professional soldiers in that period is completely new to us. When considered together, the personal circumstances and service experiences of the Jewish soldiers of *Freikorps Grün Loudon* enable us to make several observations about their motivation as well as their position vis-à-vis their non-Jewish comrades.

1 Introduction

In 1788, the Habsburg Monarchy became the first state in modern history to draft Jews into military service. Jewish soldiers continued to serve in the Habsburg army until the final collapse of Austro-Hungary at the end of the First World War. Thus, Habsburg history and Jewish military history was intertwined for exactly 130 years. The current article deals with the early part of that period, in the immediate aftermath of Joseph II's conscription edict. The parity established by the Habsburg Emperor between his Jewish and Christian subjects – at least as far as compulsory military service was concerned – was soon to produce another novelty: the long-established ban on voluntary

* I am grateful to the editors of this volume and to Debbie Bryce for their help with this article.

enlistment of Jews into the army was lifted. Closely following the footsteps of the first Jewish conscripts in the last Habsburg-Ottoman War (1788–91), the Jewish professional soldier was to re-appear on history's stage.¹

In the autumn of 1802, the 13th Line Infantry Regiment *Reisky* had a total of 76 Jewish soldiers. Unlike almost every other Habsburg regular infantry formation under the Upper and Inner Austrian Military Command, the 13th Regiment did have a small Jewish population living directly within its primary conscription district in Friuli. Although the local Jewish community of Gorizia (Görz) was formally allocated a quota of three conscripts per year,² none of the Jewish soldiers of the 13th Regiment came from there. Instead, 70 of these men were conscripts raised through the Regiment's auxiliary recruitment district in Galicia, as well as transferees from other line infantry regiments.³ The remaining six soldiers – Mayer Fuchskehl, Mayer Geldmann, Wolf Kritz, Isack Lanzek, and Berko Reiner as well as the convert Franz Eisen (formerly Israel Eusen) – were veterans of a German mercenary unit called *Freikorps Grün Loudon* (hereafter *FKGL*).

2 Contextualizing the Discovery

Not to be confused with the 20th century paramilitary formations which bore the same name, the original *Freikorps* were light infantry units specializing in irregular warfare. In the 18th century, when the bulk of the infantry focused on large battlefield maneuvers in tight formations, operations behind enemy lines were assigned to a special type of troops. As implied by their name, the *Freikorps* did not form part of the standing army but were raised *ad hoc* for the duration of a particular war. Operating on the fringes of the main field army, the *Freikorps* engaged in what contemporaries called *petite-guerre*, involving outpost duty, raids, reconnaissance, and skirmishing in woods and broken terrain. Service in the *Freikorps* could be more exciting but it was also more dangerous. While the main army would usually engage in several

¹ For an earlier instance of this phenomenon, see: Bezael Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

² Erwin A. Schmidl, *Habsburgs jüdische Soldaten, 1788–1918* (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 2014), 53.

³ Austrian State Archives [hereafter ÖStA], Military Archive [hereafter KA], *Musterlisten* [hereafter ML] 10.045/6. On the Galician auxiliary recruitment districts, see Alfons von Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht*, 5 Vols. (Vienna: Seidel, 1898–1905), Vol. 1, 103.

pitched battles each year, the *Freikorps* were to fight continuously. Furthermore, small raiding parties could not encumber themselves with prisoners. Hence, the stated ethos of the *Freikorps* troops was that quarter was neither sought nor given.

But with higher risk came a reward. The *Freikorps* were a surviving vestige of an earlier time when soldiers felt entitled to supplement their meagre pay by unleashing the tax of violence on the civilian population. Regular infantrymen were glad to plunder, but because they fought in close formation under direct officer supervision, opportunities for booty were largely limited. Free-roaming *Freikorps* soldiers did not have such constraints and could rape and pillage with impunity.⁴ To reinforce their appeal further, *Freikorps* were issued with extravagant uniforms. Although not belonging to either elite branch, *Freikorps* troops sported bearskin caps, braided dolmans, fur-trimmed pelisses, or other elements of grenadier or hussar dress. Unlike the collective precision and obedience of the line infantry, service in the *Freikorps* required savviness and initiative. Therefore, these units adopted a daredevil attitude and offered recourse for adventurers, renegades, smugglers, poachers and deserters.⁵ All in all the self-fashioning of these early modern military formations bears distinct similarities to that of modern commandos and private military contractors. While the presence of Jewish soldiers among regular Habsburg troops during the initial phase of the French Wars is known, even if little studied, the fact that Jews served – let alone volunteered – in such a unit as the *FKGL* is new to scholarship.

Composed primarily of Prussian renegades and impressed prisoners of war, the original *Grenadier Batallione Grün Loudon* gained notoriety during the Seven Years War (1756–63) for its aggressive fighting spirit and high desertion rates. More than a generation later, in early 1790, several *Freikorps*

⁴ For the tax of violence more generally, and on soldiers who augmented their pay with rape in particular, see John A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 184–196.

⁵ For the best available introduction on 18th century *Freikorps*, their tactical deployment, their collective military ethos, and the treatment their men inflicted on civilians, see Sandrine Picaud-Monnerat, *La petite guerre au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Economica, 2010). Also valuable is Martin Rink, “Die noch ungezähmte Bellona: Der kleine Krieg und die Landbevölkerung in der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Militär und ländliche Gesellschaft in der frühen Neuzeit*, Herrschaft und soziale Systeme in der frühen Neuzeit 1, eds. Stefan Kroll and Kersten Krüger (Hamburg: LIT, 2000), 165–189.

were raised to provide a light infantry force for the Habsburg army sent to quell the uprising in the Austrian Netherlands. One of these formations was to enlist foreign volunteers in the Holy Roman Empire. To boost its image and recruitment prospects, its officers were allowed to draw on the memory of the first Green Loudon *Freikorps* by taking its name and green uniforms.⁶ This second *FKGL* continued to serve in the First Coalition War against Revolutionary France (1792–97). As the conflict dragged on, the Rhineland, which served as its primary recruitment area, first became a war zone and then was lost to the enemy. As a result, the *FKGL* shifted its main recruitment efforts to Galicia where the bulk of the monarchy’s Jewish population lived. This is where the six veterans named above were originally enlisted into the Habsburg army.

Their service records indicate that all six men were native-born Habsburg subjects. Eusen, Fuchskehl, Kritz and Lanzeck were enlisted in their late teens; Geldmann was in his mid-twenties, while Reiner was 35 years old when he originally took the bounty. Reiner was not only the eldest of the group but also the only one who was married. He also had two children: a daughter, Ades (b. 1788), and a son, Moyses (b. 1790). Three of the Jewish veterans had a civilian profession: furrier, barber and comb-maker. The height of all six men is recorded in Theresian feet. At metric equivalents, Geldmann was the tallest at 168.52 cm, while Reiner at 158 cm was the shortest. Their enlistment dates indicate that five of the six soldiers took service within weeks of each other in spring 1796. After the *FKGL* was disbanded in summer 1798, the men were transferred into the 4th Light Battalion in whose ranks they fought in the Italian theatre during the Second Coalition War (1799–1801). When the Habsburg army was subsequently downscaled, these six veterans were transferred again, this time into the regular infantry.

⁶ For the service records of both units, see Wrede, *Geschichte*, Vol. 2, 431, 445–446.

3 The Archival Sources

The service itineraries of these six Jewish soldiers demonstrate the detailed and varied data available in the records of the Military Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*) in Vienna. Despite its reputation as militarily backward, the Habsburg army was a frontrunner in assembling and collating the personal data of its officers and men. In peacetime, annual musters were held in which detailed tables describing entire military units were compiled. Name, birthplace, age, marital status, profession, children (with names and ages) and a summary of individual service was meticulously recorded for each man. The latter included the enlistment date and category (providing a crucial breakdown between conscripts and volunteers), promotions, desertions, periods as prisoner of war, and transfers between different units. Religion was also noted. Jews were recorded as *Jüdisch*, *Hebräer* or *Israelit*. Thus, whether one pursues historical or genealogical research, Jewish soldiers are easily identifiable. About half of the peacetime musters of 1802 to 1804 for the entire Habsburg army survive. For 1811 and 1817, there are no gaps in the records. The total number of Jewish soldiers from the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is estimated at 35,000 men at least.⁷ This means that the musters alone preserve the data of tens of thousands of Jewish soldiers. Apart from a few unit musters,⁸ this material has not been used until now.

However, the data collected by the Habsburg army does not stop here. Musters were held only in peacetime years. In wartime, a simplified procedure took place known as *Revision*. Nominal lists of all men within a unit were prepared but without their personal data. Changes in manpower were recorded similarly to the muster, allowing us to trace the fates of individual soldiers year on year. Furthermore, when a soldier was originally taken into service an enlistment certificate (*Assent-Liste*) was prepared noting the data which would then be entered into the regimental personnel inventory (*Grundbuch*). Transfer between units was noted in a *Transferierungs-Liste* – drafted according to the same tabular principle, listing all the personal data of the

⁷ Michael K. Silber, “The Making of Habsburg Jewry in the Long-Eighteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, eds. William D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, 8 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984–2021), Vol. 7, 763–97 here 792.

⁸ Max Grünwald, *Österreichs Juden in den Befreiungskriegen* (Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1908), 21–25. This information is repeated in: Schmidl, *Habsburgs jüdische Soldaten*, 55.

men concerned. Unlike the revisions and musters, the survival of enlistment and transfer certificates is variable. However, when these are consulted additional Jewish soldiers can be identified whose religion would otherwise not be known.

Another important group of Habsburg military records are the monthly manpower reports known as *Standes-Tabellen*. These include nominal lists of soldiers joining or leaving the unit, as well as hospitalizations, arrests and detached service. Once we identify individual Jewish soldiers through the combination of musters, enlistment certificates and transfer papers, we can reconstruct their service from their units' monthly reports. Finally, even when no religious affiliation is stated, Jewish soldiers can be inferred by their names. Name alone cannot confirm religion, but when cross-referenced with the origin, enlistment dates, and personal circumstances of confirmed Jewish personnel within the same unit, a reasonable identification may be reached. Using these methods and consulting all surviving papers of the *FKGL*, it is possible to determine that the six veterans who served in 1802 with the 13th Regiment were but a small part of a larger cohort. The total number of Jews who served in the *FKGL* between 1796 and 1798 numbered at least two dozen. Their complete service records are collated into the accompanying dataset available on the open repository Zenodo.⁹ A summary of their service itineraries appears in Table 1.

4 Motivations and Experiences

When these records are considered together, several observations can be made. Although the *FKGL* was recruiting continuously up to its disbandment, 19 out of its 27 Jewish soldiers were enlisted in spring 1796. In fact, seven of them appeared on the same *Assent-Liste* issued in Brody on April 7, 1796. Such concentration cannot be explained by statistical distribution suggesting another reason. In the autumn of 1796, the relaxation of conscription obligations introduced in 1790 under Emperor Leopold II (1747–1792) was revoked. The Jewish communities were then no longer able to buy out their quota of conscripts. Men were required either to report for service or raise a substitute:

⁹ Ilya Berkovich, 'Jewish Soldiers of the Green Loudon Freikorps (1796–1798)' [Data set]. Zenodo. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8341908>, accessed on October 3, 2023.

money payments into the local *Kriegskassa* would no longer do.¹⁰ From that moment on, Jews who wanted to serve voluntarily in the army had far better financial prospects. They could either come forward on behalf of their community or offer themselves as substitutes for a wealthy draftee. Both options entailed a substantial supplement above the enlistment bounty. To put this into perspective, the army paid three Gulden to a conscript, ten to a native volunteer, and up to 41 to a foreigner. In the latter two scenarios, up to two thirds of the sum was deducted for equipment and travel expenses.¹¹ By comparison, payments to substitutes could easily come to 30 or 40 Gulden in cash. Hence, from that moment on enlistment into the regular army offered better financial prospects. Those who choose to enlist in a *Freikorps* after that date must have had other motives. Some are alluded to above.

From the Jewish soldiers of the *FKGL* whose birthplaces are known, native Habsburg subjects outnumber foreign Jews more than two to one. This is in line with what is known about other mercenary formations from the early modern period.¹² Their birthplaces reveal a further fact. The Jewish soldiers of the *FKGL* came predominantly from the eastern part of Galicia, from both sides of the Russian border. When one looks at known places of enlistment, the proportion of recruits from that region is even higher. Ten were enlisted in Brody and another nine in Tarnopol (Tarnopol). This could be due to the initiative of the local recruiting detachments. Furthermore, *Freikorps* were happy to recruit smugglers, who were common among the Jewish communities in that region.¹³ Lastly, one may compare the experience of Jewish soldiers with their non-Jewish comrades. As already noted, *Freikorps* troops had higher turnover rates than the regular infantry. Desertion was the highest single loss factor. Between February 18, 1796 and March 7, 1798, the *FKGL* recorded a total of 946 desertion cases. In comparison, within that timeframe 1,218 recruits were enlisted into the unit, while the overall strength of the

¹⁰ Michael Hochedlinger, *Thron & Gewehr: das Problem der Heeresergänzung und die "Militarisierung" der Habsburgermonarchie im Zeitalter des Aufgeklärten Absolutismus (1740–1790)* (Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 2021), 675–676.

¹¹ Ilya Berkovich, "The Unlikely Case of the Jewish Mercenary Nathan Leibowitz (1777–1810)," *Mars & Clio* (January 2023), 19–24, here 19–20.

¹² Peter H. Wilson, *Iron and Blood: A Military History of the German-speaking Peoples since 1500* (London: Penguin, 2022), 335.

¹³ Yohanan Petrowsky-Shtern, *The Golden Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 74–94.

Freikorps rarely rose above 2,000 men (Graph 1).¹⁴ Of our 27 Jewish soldiers, 11 deserted either during their time with the *FKGL* or from the units to which they were subsequently transferred. Conscripts were kept in service at least in part by the knowledge that their families could be punished if they deserted. *Freikorps* volunteers had no such qualms. Besides, service as light infantry offered more opportunities to abscond. The same goes for three of the four Jewish soldiers who eventually converted to Catholicism. As stated above, *Freikorps* soldiers tended to be free spirits and not the most stable types.¹⁵ Last but not least, as shown by the case of Samuel Prager who rose to become a *Feldwebel* – the most senior non-commissioned officer in a company of 100 to 200 soldiers – being a Jew was not an impediment to promotion. In fact, it is hard to find another activity in which Jews could attain such authority over non-Jews until general emancipation in the latter half of the 19th century.

5 Conclusion

After an initial period of bewilderment, Jewish communal leadership came to accept conscription as yet another unfortunate obligation under the principle of obeying the law of the land (*Dina d'malkhuta dina*).¹⁶ Our focused case study of the *FKGL* reveals that individual Jews could view military service as a new opportunity to be embraced proactively. Conclusive evidence concerning their motives must await the re-discovery of first-hand accounts.¹⁷ Until then, some indications are provided by the experience of their non-Jewish contemporaries who chose to enlist voluntarily. Army service gave an outlet for ambitions that young men could not easily pursue within their home communities, be it a craving for adventure, a desire for money, or – perhaps the

¹⁴ Figures calculated from ÖSTA KA ML 10.763, 10.771, 10.772 and 10.773.

¹⁵ For more on the links between conversion, desertion and abandonment, see Ilya Berkovich, “Nachweis von Konfession und Religion in habsburgischen Militärmatrizen,” *Die Habsburgermonarchie* (January 10, 2020) <https://habsmon.hypotheses.org/473> (accessed April 14, 2023).

¹⁶ Michael Brenner, “Von Untertanen zum Bürger,” in *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit: Band II, Emanzipation und Akkulturation*, ed. Michael A. Mayer (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1996), 260–284, here 266–268.

¹⁷ For a contemporary ego-document of a Jewish soldier who fought on the side of the French revolutionaries, see the letter of Getschel (i.e. Gabriel) Bloch, in Étienne Bloch, *Marc Bloch, 1886–1944: Une biographie impossible* (Limoges: Culture & Patrimoine en Limousin, 1997), 32–33.

most prominent motive – to dramatically change one’s circumstances.¹⁸ It should be noted that the material presented here is but the tip of the iceberg. The *ML* series of the Austrian State Archives holds more than 12,000 cartons. These cover the personal data of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, as well as wives and children. About half of the material covers the period when Jews were already active in the Habsburg army, representing unprecedented potential for Jewish history. Jewish and Habsburg studies specialists who would like to engage with this rich military resource will be amply rewarded.

¹⁸ Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 144–164.

Table 1 Jewish Soldiers of *Freikorps Grün Loudon* (1796–1798)

Name	Biodata		Born in		Marital Status	Civilian Profession
	From	To	Place	Land		
Beermann, Salomon [?]		d. 1800				
Faletnickier, Salomon	1777	fl. 1796	Brody	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Forgel, Simko	1772/6	fl. 1802	Brody	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Isakowitz, Rachmiul	1780	fl. 1799	Brody	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Kritz, Wolf/Wolfgang	1768/76	fl. 1805	Brody	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Herz, Markus	1780	fl. 1796	Tulchyn	New Russia [F]	Single	None
Lanzeck, Isack	1781	fl. 1805	Brody	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Geldmann, Mayer	1772	fl. 1805	Szaslau	Galicia [N]	Single	None
Baisichowitz, Löwel	1763	fl. 1796	Lutsk	New Russia [F]	Single	None
Dagenstreich, Markus	1776	d. 1800	Skalat	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Rosenstein, Abraham [?]		fl. 1799				
Schwarz, Itzig/ [†] Ternawsky, Sebastian		d. 1799				
Deres, Jüdel	1776	fl. 1802	Ternopil	East Galicia [N]	Single	Combmaker
Liebe, Michael [?]		fl. 1799				
Fuchskehl, Mayer	1777	fl. 1803	Ternopil	East Galicia [N]	Single	Barber
Abrahamovitz, Mayer/ [†] Pituminsky, Franz Carl		fl. 1801				
Speiser, Jacob		fl. 1802	Ternopil	East Galicia [N]	Married	Bathhouse attendant
Tiller, Abraham	1766	d. 1798	Neustad	Pruss. Poland [F]	Married	None
Eusen, Israel/ [†] Franz Eisen	1781	fl. 1809	Brody	East Galicia [N]	Single	Tailor
Blum, Jonas/Thomas [?]		fl. 1796				
Pfeiffer, David [?]		fl. 1799				
Benjaminowitz, Nachmann/ [†] Rosansky, Lorenz	1775	fl. 1806	Hrodna	Russian Poland [F]	Single	None
Lewyck, Moises	1777	d. 1800	Zavallya	New Russia [F]	Single	Tailor
Prager, Samuel	1776	fl. 1802	Lviv	East Galicia [N]	Single	None
Reiner Berko/Peter	1761	d. 1802	Ulanów	East Galicia [N]	Married	Furrier
Hotkes, Hersz [?]		fl. 1799				
Mendel Berl	1775	d. 1800	Jerroflotz	South Prussia [F]	Single	Distiller

Symbols and Abbreviations

[?] – No documentary record for religion survives

[†] – Baptized as

d. – died

fl – alive

[N] – Native Habsburg subject

[F] – Foreigner

Enlistment Date	Service Record Summary
21/03/1796	► LB 4. Detached duty guarding military cattle. Died in hospital in Este in August 1800.
21/03/1796	Deserted in July 1796 on the march from Galicia to Germany.
26/03/1796	► GR 2 due to deteriorating health in 1797. Deserted from Tartakiv in December 1802.
26/03/1796	Deserted from Treviso; returned himself. ► LB 4. MIA near Genoa in December 1799.
26/03/1796	► LB 4 then IR 13. Furloughed to Galicia in late 1802. Discharged in July 1805.
28/03/1796	Deserted in July 1796 on the march from Galicia to Germany.
28/03/1796	► LB 4 then IR 13. Serves as ArtAux in 1800. Furloughed in 1802. Discharged in 1805.
02/04/1796	► LB 4 then IR 13, Furloughed in late 1802 to Galicia. Discharged in July 1805.
09/04/1796	Deserted in July 1796 on the march from Galicia to Germany.
11/04/1796	► LB 3. Deserted in 1799 but returned himself. Died in hospital in Montagnana in 1800.
11/04/1796	► LB 3. POW in April 1799 three days after the Battle of Magnano.
11/04/1796	Baptised in Rovigo together with soldiers Abrahamowitz and Benjamowitz just before the <i>FKGL</i> was disbanded ► LB 3. Died in hospital in Vicenza in October 1799.
12/04/1796	► LB 3 then IR 44. Discharged in July 1802 after raising a substitute at his own expense.
12/04/1796	► LB 4. POW on 15 th December 1799 during operations in the Ligurian Riviera.
13/04/1796	► LB 4 then IR 13. POW at Degò. Exchanged in 1801. Deserted from furlough in 1803.
01/05/1796	► LB 3. MIA in November 1799. In July 1800 re-appeared in Kitzingen, Germany as a returning deserter. Sent back to his unit in Italy but never arrived. Struck off in April 1801.
02/05/1796	► LB 3 then IR 44. In February 1802 furloughed to Galicia. Discharged in July that year by order of the Regional Command in Padua after raising a substitute.
06/05/1796	Shortly after his transfer to LB 3, drowned in a water channel near Rovigo.
28/05/1796	► LB 4. Converted in Rovigo in January 1799. POW in August 1799, but was exchanged one week later. Unsuccessful desertion attempt in November 1799. POW again at the Battle of Montebello. ► in 1808 to the Carinthian-Carniolan Border Cordon. MIA during the retreat from Italy as member of the 9 th Sanitary Company in May 1809.
16/10/1796	Deserted in December 1796 on the march from Galicia.
09/11/1796	► LB 4 while still on the march from Galicia. Never arrived in Italy. Struck off in 1799.
04/12/1796	► LB 3 then IR 44. Deserted in April 1801 but returned voluntarily to Legnano. In November that year renewed his service contract for another six years. Promoted to NCO during the war of 1805. In 1806, put on detached service on board the Austrian navy. Deserted in December that year from a <i>Cannoyer Schalupe</i> (either gunboat or a sloop-of-war).
13/12/1796	► LB 3. POW on 8 th May 1799 near Stradella. Exchanged two days later at Casa Laschi. Died in hospital in Padua in April 1800.
24/12/1796	► LB 4. In December 1798 first promotion to NCO, initially as Vice Corporal. Full Corporal from April 1799 and 2 nd <i>Feldwebel</i> from October that year. In Winter 1800–1, hospitalised in Montegnano. After return to active service, promoted to 1 st <i>Feldwebel</i> . After LB 4 was disbanded, allocated to IR 29 in Bohemia. Discharged from the army in February 1802.
12/02/1797	► LB 4 then IR 44. In early 1799, spent time as a cook. Subsequently served 10 months as ArtAux. Died in Vienna while on march back home to Galicia.
22/04/1797	► LB 3 while still on the march from Galicia. Never arrived and struck off in April 1799.
25/05/1797	► LB 3. Died in Florence in February 1800.

N.B. All transfers to LB 3 and LB 4 took place in July 1798. All transfers to IR 13 took place in September 1801 and to IR 44 in November 1801.

ArtAux – Artillery Auxiliary; IR – Line Infantry Regiment; LB – Light Battalion; MIA – Missing in Action; NCO – Non-Commissioned Officer; POW – Prisoner of War

► Transferred to