
Article 1.

Prussian Military Reforms and the *Berliner Landwehr* in Local News during the Wars of Liberation, 1813-1815

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Abstract

The Prussian military reforms introduced two new military systems—the *Landwehr* (1813) and a universal conscription system (1814)—with the principle that all able-bodied adult men were obligated to perform military service, which continued until the end of World War I. Before the Prussian military reforms, the Canton system called inhabitants of Prussia into military service from 1733 to 1813, while the inhabitants of many cities, including citizens, were exempted from military service. In addition, nobles obtained exemption from military service but joined the military as officers. Eventually, the Prussian army by and large mixed peasants and nobles in the late 18th century. The Prussians' defeat of Napoleon and the French army in 1806 allowed noble military reformers to transform the Canton system. Consequently, the King of Prussia abolished exemption from military service and introduced two new military systems, based on participation by all inhabitants. These top-down military reforms by the noble officers were often considered 'reforms from above' and were one of the important factors in victory and the unification of Germany, according to major historical materials, such as Prussian government records and the memoranda of reformers. However, this study reviews the local *Landwehr* through a survey of articles in a local municipal newspaper, the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. During the Wars of Liberation (1813–1815), the municipalities of each city and *Kreis* were bound by duty to recruit their inhabitants for the *Landwehr* without exemption from military service and to obtain a budget for their *Landwehr*. Therefore, the *Berlinische Nachrichten* printed several articles related to the *Landwehr* in Berlin. In particular, this study focuses on recruiting notices, financial reports, and contributions notices for the *Berliner Landwehr* published in this newspaper, and it discusses the local *Landwehr* as one part of the Prussian military reforms.

Introduction

In 1807, Prussia began implementing top-down military reforms by the noble officers. These reforms aimed to create a new military system based on participation by all inhabitants in Prussia. Before the Prussian military reforms, the Canton system conscripted Prussian inhabitants. Recruiting inhabitants was important to maintain a standing army. Nobles enlisted as officers in the army although they were exempted from military service. Meanwhile, inhabitants of many cities, including citizens, were exempted from military service. Therefore, by and large, the Prussian military consisted of peasants and noble officers until the reforms. In 1806, Prussia's momentous defeat of Napoleon and the French army led noble military reformers to make changes to the military system. Scharnhorst, one of the most significant military reformers in Prussia, announced in 1807 that 'all inhabitants of the state [were] its born defenders¹'. Military reformers, following Scharnhorst's ideal, aimed to create a new military system without exemptions. Accordingly, Frederick William III, the King of Prussia, first ordered all cities and *Kreise* (governmental rural districts) to recruit about 3% of inhabitants into the Prussian *Landwehr*, and abolished exemption from

1. Marion Schulte, *Preußische Offiziere über Judentum und Emanzipation (1762-1815)*, Berlin/ Boston 2018, S. 217.

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military service in 1813². Eventually, a universal conscription system was proclaimed in 1814³. These two military systems continued until the end of World War I.

Studies of the Prussian military reforms based on major historical materials—such as the records of the Prussian government and the military reformers’ memoranda—have often been considered ‘reforms from above’⁴ and one of the important factors in the victory that led to the unification of Germany⁵. These studies have taken a top-down approach similar to the Prussian military reforms. This study, however, investigates the local *Landwehr* in Prussian military reforms through surveying articles from a local municipal newspaper, the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. During the Wars of Liberation (1813–1815), this newspaper published several articles about the *Berliner Landwehr*. In particular, this study focuses on recruiting notices, financial reports, and contributions notices for the *Berliner Landwehr* posted in this newspaper. It also discusses the local *Landwehr* as one part of the Prussian military reforms.

1. Military background: Cities and exemption under the Canton system

Before the Prussian military reforms, Prussian inhabitants were recruited into the military by the Canton system from 1733 to 1813. This system divided the country into recruitment districts called Cantons and, under this system, Prussian inhabitants were drafted as soldiers. Such soldiers were important to reinforce and increase the standing army. Several historians have surmised that the Canton system was an important factor in the rise of Prussia to the status of a great European power⁶. On the one hand, the Prussian King exempted certain inhabitants from military service under the Canton system. Although Frederick William I was reluctant to extend military exemptions, his successor, Frederick II, gave exemptions to many cities and rural areas located near a city. The Prussian King did not apply the Canton system to important cities and exempted people in various professions, such as the bourgeois, officials, and ironworkers. Until the end of the 18th century, approximately 40 cities, such as Berlin and Potsdam, and the urban fringe obtained the privilege of exemption from military service⁷. In addition, some religious orders obtained an exemption for a fee, such as the Mennonites under Frederick II, who paid 5,000 reichsthalers annually to the Cadet institution in Culm to be released from military service⁸. Likewise, beginning in 1728, regulations allowed Jews to pay 4,800 reichsthalers in lieu of military service⁹. On the other hand, while nobles were free from military service, they were often assigned to serve as officers in the military. Therefore, the majority of those serving in the military were peasants and noble officers. At the end of the 18th century, Prussia’s population increased from 5.8 million in 1786 to 8.7 million in 1797, with approximately 20% (1.2 million) exempted from military service¹⁰. Under the influence of the French Revolution, which occurred around the same time, some enlightened Prussian

2. On the *Landwehr*, see Dorothea Schmidt, *Die preußische Landwehr: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht in Preußen zwischen 1813 und 1830*, Berlin 1981 and Dierk Walter, “Roon, the Prussian Landwehr and the Reorganization of 1859-1860”, *War in History*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2009, pp. 269-297.

3. About the conscription system in Prussia, see Roland G. Foerster (Hrsg.), *Die Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Erscheinungsformen und politisch-militärische Wirkung*, München 1994 and Donald Stoker/ Frederick C. Schneid/ Harold Blanton (eds.), *Conscription in the Napoleonic Era: A Revolution in Military Affairs?*, London 2009.

4. Dierk Walter, “Reluctant Reformers, Observant Disciples: The Prussian Military Reforms 1807-1814”, Roger Chickering/ Stig Förster (eds.), *War in an Age of Revolution 1775-1815*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 88-90.

5. About the Prussian military reforms from 1807 until the unification of Germany, see, Dierk Walter, *Preußische Heeresreformen, 1807-1870: Militärische Innovation und der Mythos der “Roonschen Reform”*, Paderborn/ München/ Wien/ Zürich 2003.

6. Hermut Harnish, „Preußisches Kantonsystem und ländliche Gesellschaft: Das Beispiel der mittleren Kammerdepartment“, Bernhard R. Kroener/ Ralf Pröve (Hrsg.), *Krieg und Frieden: Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Paderborn/ München/ Wien/ Zürich 1996, S. 139.

7. Anonymous, *Jahrbücher der preußischen Monarchie unter Regierung Friedrich Wilhelms des Dritten, Jahrgang 1799, Bd. 1, Januar, Februar, März, April*, Berlin 1799, S. 168-170.

8. Marion Schulte, *Über die bürgerlichen Verhältnisse der Juden in Preußen: Ziele und Motive*, Berlin/ Boston 2014, S. 45-46.

9. Cristian F. Koch, *Die Juden im Preußischen Staate: Eine geschichtliche Darstellung der politischen, bürgerlichen und privatrechtlichen Verhältnisse der Juden in Preußen*, Marienwerder 1833, S. 44.

10. Anonymous, *Jahrbücher der preußischen Monarchie*, S. 168-170.

officers considered introducing universal conscription without exemption¹¹.

The concept of universal conscription originated in the *levée en masse* during the French Revolutionary Wars. On 16 August 1793, the French government recruited all able-bodied men aged 18 to 25 to the French army under this term¹². After Prussia was defeated by France, Scharnhorst became the chairman of the Prussian military reorganisation commission and began military reforms. In his 1807 memorandum on the institution of the reserve, he aimed to create a new military system based on the recruitment of all inhabitants. However, reformers had conflicting opinions about abolishing exemption from military service. Some reformers, such as Ludwig von Vincke, the head of the government in Westphalia, disagreed with having a universal conscription system without exemption. He warned that the universal conscription system would be ‘the grave of all culture, science and industry, political freedom, and all human happiness¹³’. Therefore, these conflicting opinions were reflected in the *Landwehr* organisation without exception, especially in the East Prussian *Landwehr* model introduced in February 1813.

At the end of 1812, the French army lost the Russian campaign. Without the Prussian King’s consent, General Yorck, the commander of the Prussian army on the Russian front, agreed to a cease-fire with Russia at the Convention of Tauroggen near East Prussia despite being allied with France. Furthermore, the East Prussian government declared the mobilisation of the *Landwehr*. The East Prussian *Landwehr* recruited all able-bodied men aged 18 to 45 without exemption in February 1813 but allowance was made for the hiring of a substitute. Eventually, wealthy men escaped military service while poor men were called to East Prussian *Landwehr*¹⁴. On 28 February 1813, Prussia and Russia formed an alliance through the treaty of Kalisz, after which the Wars of Liberation against France began. On 17 March 1813, Frederick William III officially announced the Decree of the *Landwehr* organisation and abolished all exemptions from military service under the Canton system. This order by the King differed in some ways from the East Prussian *Landwehr* model. All able-bodied men between the ages of 17 and 40 were under obligation to join the *Landwehr* and the purchase of substitutes was not allowed. Eventually, Prussia mobilised approximately 280,000 soldiers in 1813, with half of them forming the *Landwehr*¹⁵.

Although these military reforms originated from the top of the hierarchy, the municipalities oversaw the Prussian *Landwehr* organisation. In 1813, the King ordered each city and *Kreis* in Prussia to recruit approximately 3% of the population into the *Landwehr* through each region’s military government and to absorb the costs of their *Landwehr*. However, the municipalities of Berlin and Breslau, for example, were exempted from military service and expressed opposition to the idea of the *Landwehr* and the universal conscription system¹⁶. In particular, the council in Berlin demanded the right to maintain the traditional exemption from military service¹⁷.

2. Background: Berlin and newspapers in the early 1800s

In the early 1800s, Berlin was the capital of Prussia and the second-largest city in Germany. The population in Berlin increased from 98,238 in 1762 to 178,308 in 1803. There were 144,579 German, 4,382 French, 531 Bohe-

11. About the Prussian military reforms before 1806, see Olaf Jessen, *Preußens Napoleon? Ernst von Rüchel 1754-1823: Krieg im Zeitalter der Vernunft*, Paderborn 2007.

12. Martin Rink, “Preußisch-deutsche Konzeptionen zum »Volkskrieg« im Zeitalter Napoleons”, Karl-Heinz Lutz / Martin Rink / Marcus Salisch (Hrsg.), *Reform-Reorganisation-Transformation: Zum Wandel in deutschen Streitkräften von den preußischen Heeresreformen bis zur Transformation der Bundeswehr*, München 2010, S. 65-88, hier, S. 72-74.

13. Vincke to Stein, 30. 09. 1808, in Georg Eckert, *Von Valmy bis Leipzig: Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte der preußischen Heeresreform*, Hannover 1955, S. 154; Walter, *Preußische Heeresreformen 1807-1870*, S. 268.

14. For the background of the *Landwehr* in East Prussia, see William O. Shanahan, *Prussian Military Reforms 1786-1813*, New York 1966, pp. 185-211.

15. Shanahan, *Prussian Military Reforms*, p. 219.

16. Rudolf Ibbeken, *Preußen 1807-1813: Staat und Volk als Idee und in Wirklichkeit*, Köln/Berlin 1970, S. 384.

17. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 136-140.

mian, 3,636 Jewish, and 25,180 Prussian military soldiers and their families living in Berlin in 1803¹⁸. However, urban inhabitants viewed the corporal punishment of the Prussian army as brutal and uncivilised while the inhabitants of Berlin tended to keep their distance from the military because of their exempt status¹⁹. The *Lexicon von Berlin*, published in 1806, describes the Canton system:

Every inhabitant who was born in Berlin is free from the soldier class. Since 1801, foreigners who wish to settle here must pay 200 reichsthalers to the invalidity fund to acquire this exemption and civil rights; however, people who were born here must pay only a few thalers²⁰.

The Prussian military was one source of the city's economy. Berlin had a flourishing textile industry and made uniforms to outfit the standing army²¹. When the *Landwehr* was formed in 1813, nearly every *Kreis* in Kurmark placed orders with Berlin for *Landwehr* uniforms²². Furthermore, approximately half of Berlin's municipal councillors in 1813 were merchants, whereas the vast majority of councillors in other cities were handicraftsmen, thus reflecting that Berlin was the largest commercial centre in Prussia²³. The municipal council's authority was limited to the adoption of a few annual expenditure budgets, management of the oath of citizenship, and other minor tasks²⁴. Inhabitants who were citizens could elect 102 councillors in Berlin (one for each district) under the Municipal Ordinance of 1808 and accounted for approximately 6.3% of the Berlin population²⁵. The election of the council was officially announced in the newspapers.

The growth of the population brought with it the development of the publishing industry, which produced books and newspapers²⁶. The book market expanded rapidly in the Kingdom of Prussia from the middle of the 18th century. Likewise, the number of bookstores in Berlin increased from 13 in 1750 to 32 in 1804²⁷. The literacy rate around the early 1800s in Prussia is unknown, though it is clear that approximately 95% of households in Berlin could write their names in 1785²⁸. Accordingly, the major local newspaper readers were the wealthy residents, like military officers, officials, and the educated class²⁹. Although books were expensive, newspapers or booklets covering a wide range of current affairs cost only a few coins. Furthermore, the Napoleonic Wars and the Wars of Liberation contributed to additional printing because they were significant events.

In Berlin, two major newspapers were published: the *Berlinische Nachrichten* and the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung*. On the one hand, the *Berlinische Nachrichten* was a local political newspaper published between 1740 and 1874 thrice a week. During the Wars of Liberation, the *Berlinische Nachrichten* had the second-largest circulation

18. Einwohner- Anzahl von Berlin, in Johann C. Gädicke, *Lexicon von Berlin und der umliegenden Gegend*, Berlin 1806, S. 151-152.

19. About the discussion of corporal punishment, see Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution*, Stuttgart 1967, S. 641-659.

20. Canton-Verfassung, in Gädicke, *Lexicon von Berlin*, S. 99-100.

21. Wolfgang Ribbe (Hrsg.), *Geschichte Berlins: Von der Frühgeschichte bis zur Industrialisierung, Bd. I*, München 1987, S. 417-418.

22. Paul O. Rave, *Geschichte der Organisation der Landwehr in der Kurmark nebst den drei Vorpommerschen Kreisen und in der Neumark im Jahre 1813*, Berlin 1857, S. 17-46.

23. Manfred A. Pahlmann, *Anfänge des städtischen Parlamentarismus in Deutschland: Die Wahlen zur Berliner Stadtverordnetenversammlung unter der Preußischen Städteordnung von 1808*, Berlin 1997, S. 197-211.

24. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01, Nr. 122.

25. Pahlmann, *Anfänge des städtischen Parlamentarismus in Deutschland*, S. 122.

26. On the background of the newspapers in Germany, see Jürgen Wilke, *Nachrichtenauswahl und Medienrealität in vier Jahrhunderten: Eine Modellstudie zur Verbindung von historischer und empirischer Publizistikwissenschaft*, Berlin/New York 1984.

27. Klaus Berndt, *Ernst Ferdinand Klein (1743-1810): Ein Zeitbild aus zweiter Hälfte des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Münster 2004, S. 270.

28. Helga Schultz, *Berlin 1650-1800: Sozialgeschichte einer Residenz*, Berlin 1987, S. 276.

29. Hans-Friedrich Meyer, "Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen, Berlin (1740-1874)", Heinz-Dietrich Fischer (Hrsg.), *Deutsche Zeitungen des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*, München-Pullach 1972, S.103-114, hier, S. 108-109.

in Berlin, with 3,150 copies sold in 1813 and 4,250 in 1814³⁰. On the other hand, the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung*, published between 1720 and 1934, had the largest circulation, was a chartered newspaper, and was somewhat more conservative than other newspapers³¹. Therefore, this study focuses on the more liberal local newspaper, the *Berlinische Nachrichten*, as its basis for historical material.

All kinds of information were published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. Important news about the activities of the King's family and other high-status individuals made the front page, while international news was printed on the following pages. Every copy included inserts with articles covering local information, such as news, ordinances, job listings, and rooms for rent. In addition, readers could also submit articles, such as obituaries and notices for lost-and-found items. This study focuses on the recruiting notices, financial reports, and contribution notices for the Berliner *Landwehr* in this newspaper.

3. The *Berliner Landwehr's* budget

The Decree of the *Landwehr* organisation was published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* on 23 March 1813³². Frederick William III ordered the city councils of Berlin, Breslau, and Königsberg to organise the *Landwehr* by 10 April, procure their uniforms and arms by 20 April, and start training on 1 May³³. With the King's order, the *Berliner Landwehr* organisation commission was created; it was composed of eight members, including the chairperson, Lecoq, who was the chief of police of Berlin, and four Berlin city councillors³⁴. The council and commission were charged with recruiting 4,000 infantry and 576 cavalry from Berlin and arming them with weapons by raising funds in the city³⁵. The commission consulted with the council, and they worked together to recruit and arm the *Berliner Landwehr*.

The *Berlinische Nachrichten* posted information about the first draft of the *Berliner Landwehr* on 27 March 1813. This draft ordered all men born in 1788 (25 years old at the time of publication) to appear in the Tiergarten on 31 March. Following this, the inhabitants continued to be drafted in order of the year of their birth. The inhabitants could choose to enlist as volunteers; otherwise, draftees were decided by a lottery³⁶. The numbers drawn were published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* at a later date³⁷. On 4 May, the newspaper provided an overview of the first ceremony of the *Berliner Landwehr*:

Yesterday, the second battalion of the third *Kurmark-Landwehr* brigade, comprised of 800 men without officers, was most solemnly sworn in. The space is massively limited around St. Nikolai, the first city church. Therefore, Mr. Probst Ribbeck, first preacher of St. Nikolai, performed the ceremonial act in St. Marienkirche. Mr. L'Estoq, the military governor, reviewed the battalion with applause, which was mostly composed of young volunteers. After that, the battalion was led to St. Marienkirche³⁸.

30. Emil Dovifat, "Berlin", Walther Heide (Hrsg.), *Handbuch der Zeitungswissenschaft Bd. 1*, S. 454-503, hier, S. 468; Jürgen Knaack, "Achim von Arnim, der Preußische Correspondent und die Spensersche Zeitung in den Jahren 1813 und 1814", Pape, Walter (Hrsg.), *Arnim und die Berliner Romantik, Kunst, Literatur und Politik*, Tübingen 2001, S. 41-52, hier, S. 43.

31. Klaus Bender, "Vossische Zeitung, Berlin (1660-1933)", Fischer (Hg.), *Deutsche Zeitungen*, S. 25-40.

32. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 35, Extrablatt, 23. März 1813.

33. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 41, 6. April 1813.

34. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 5.

35. Rave, *Geschichte der Organisation der Landwehr*, S. 14.

36. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 37, 27. März 1813.

37. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 42, 8. April 1813.

38. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 53, 4. Mai 1813.

Many councillors attended this ceremony, and many inhabitants were in the audience³⁹. This article in the newspaper gave readers the impression that all *Berliner Landwehr* were well-organised and composed of many young volunteers, while the *Berlinische Nachrichten* repeated the reports of the deadline for the *Berliner Landwehr* organisation along with the penalty for evading the draft. Moreover, an article in the newspaper reported that Lecoq ordered households in Berlin to report information on residents between 17 and 40 years old, thereby helping to find residents evading the draft⁴⁰. These paradoxical articles resulted largely from the obvious fact that most inhabitants were reluctant to join the *Berliner Landwehr*. Many inhabitants did not attend at the Tiergarten and volunteers made up only a small part of the *Berliner Landwehr*, about 13% according to the records of the council and the commission⁴¹. With this situation in mind, the mayor of Berlin appealed directly to the King to decrease the number of troops in the *Berliner Landwehr* and to resume the traditional exemption from military service, but the King rejected this appeal⁴². Eventually, 800 men were still needed to complete the *Berliner Landwehr* at the end of June⁴³.

As with the *Landwehr* recruiting, the methods for obtaining funds for the *Berliner Landwehr* were not well-organised. On 15 April 1813, ‘an official notice about the establishment of the *Landwehr* fund⁴⁴’ was published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. According to this order, households in Berlin paid 1 groschen per 1 thaler of rent for the *Landwehr* fund as a rent tax; however, this tax was insufficient. As indicated in the financial report of the *Berliner Landwehr* fund published in the newspaper, the fund paid out a total of 127,374 thalers by July 1813, while the tax covered only 40,570 thalers. Furthermore, about 10% of the tax was unpaid⁴⁵. The city council in Berlin borrowed 10,000 thalers, but the budget for the *Berliner Landwehr* was lacking⁴⁶. So, they attempted to cover the lack of recruiting and funds through contributions. The next chapter examines the contributions to the *Berliner Landwehr*.

4. Contributions in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* during the Wars of Liberation

Before the Wars of Liberation, some contribution notices were published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. The institutions that received the donations assigned a number to each contribution for one purpose and posted a notice with the name (or initials) and profession of the contributor in the local newspaper. Most of the contributors were of the private wealthy class⁴⁷. The contribution notice was a declaration of the contributor’s merits and an advertisement for more contributions. The form of these notices in the newspapers did not change during the Wars of Liberation.

From the beginning of the war in 1813, the contributions were primarily provided instead to the war effort and the military. Such contributions amounted to approximately 6.5 million thalers in Prussia⁴⁸. The Prussian government and the King praised any contributions to the war effort as a patriotic action⁴⁹. Historical researchers have considered substantial contributions during the Wars of Liberation to have indicated inhabitants’ patriotism and feelings of hostility towards France, but the details of each contribution are not clear⁵⁰. In the *Berlinische Nach-*

39. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 66.

40. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 41, 6. April 1813.

41. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 50-52.

42. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 136-140.

43. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 137.

44. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 45, 15. April. 1813.

45. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 137, 16. November. 1813.

46. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 68, 8. Juni 1813.

47. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 16, 6. Februar 1813.

48. Joachim Streisand, *Deutschland 1789-1815*, Berlin 1981, S. 225.

49. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 44, 13. April 1813.

50. Streisand, *Deutschland 1789-1815*, S. 225.

Contributors	Thalers	Percent
Districts through councillors	29,050	55.6%
Associations or guilds	7,591	14.5%
Officials	3,314	6.3%
Merchants	1,667	3.2%
Bankers	612	1.2%
Professors	601	1.1%
Other (Craftsmen, clerical workers, clergymen, soldiers and officers, etc.)	2,052	3.9%
Unidentified	7,399	14.2%
Total amount	52,285	100.0%

Table 1. Contributors and the amounts, collected from the municipal fund of Berlin for the Berliner Landwehr
Sources: *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* No.51 (29. April), 60 (20. Mai), 68 (8. Juni), 74 (22. Juni), 79 (3. Juli), 82 (10. Juli), 83 (13. Juli), 90 (29. Juli), 93 (5. August), 137 (16. November) in 1813, und 65 (31. Mai) in 1814.

richten, there were three main categories of contributions during the Wars of Liberation. First, contributions to the volunteer *Jäger* Detachment were raised at the beginning of the wars. In February 1813, the King demanded that able-bodied men between 17 and 24 years old volunteer for the *Jäger* Detachments⁵¹. Volunteer *Jägers* paid for their own arms and solicited patriotic contributions from others. Demands for patriotic contributions were published in local newspapers from February until the departure of the volunteer *Jägers* in April⁵². Second, contributions for injured *Landwehr* soldiers and *Jägers*, and their families, were posted in the local newspapers after their departure⁵³. Some associations and commissions, such as the commission for the support of invalid volunteers and *Landwehr* soldiers⁵⁴, were created by these contribution movements. Third, the municipal fund of Berlin-raised contributions were for the *Berliner Landwehr* from March 1813 until 1814. However, contributors to the *Berliner Landwehr* were quite different from other contributors.

Table 1 shows the contributors and amounts of the contributions, calculated according to all contribution notices for the *Berliner Landwehr* in the *Berlinische Nachrichte*, collected from the municipal fund of Berlin⁵⁵ for the *Berliner Landwehr*. These contributions were used to purchase equipment, uniforms, and rations for the *Berliner Landwehr* with the budget of the *Landwehr* fund⁵⁶. Considering Table 1, the contributions from districts collected by councillors account for almost 56% of total contributions to the *Berliner Landwehr*. Generally, the contribution notices were declarations of the contributor's merits and advertisements calling for more contributions. Nevertheless, these district contributions were highly anonymous. Contributors who donated to the municipal fund of Berlin normally had recorded their name (or initials), profession, and amount: for example, 'Mr. Accountant Meinert, 5 thalers⁵⁷'. However, district contributions were recorded only with the name of the district and councillor and the amount: for example, 'from Holzmarkt-straßen District through Mr. Councillor Petsch, 12 thalers⁵⁸.' Thus, only district councillors knew who donated and how much.

51. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 19, 13. Februar 1813.

52. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 51, 29. April 1813.

53. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 84, 15. Juli 1813.

54. Ernst J. Gurlt, *Zur Geschichte der internationalen und freiwilligen Krankenpflege im Kriege*, Leipzig 1873, S. 330-332.

55. On the municipal fund of Berlin (*Stadtkasse*), see, Otto Latendorf, *Die Entwicklung der städtischen Kassenorganisation Berlins von der Einführung der Städteordnung bis zur Gründung der Stadthauptkasse (1809-1843): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Lehre vom Städtischen Haushaltswesen*, Berlin 1931.

56. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 105-107, 150-151.

57. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 51, 29. April 1813.

58. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, No. 137, 26. November 1813.

These contributions were mentioned as ‘voluntary contributions⁵⁹’ in the records of the council of Berlin and the *Berliner Landwehr* organisation commission. The ‘voluntary contributions’ were paid by the inhabitants exempted by councillors from military service in the *Berliner Landwehr*⁶⁰. In the records of the council and commission, the details of these voluntary contributions were not written. In contrast, the contribution notices for the *Berliner Landwehr* in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* provide a numerical and realistic picture of such voluntary contributions. Eventually, wealthy inhabitants of Berlin evidently paid many ‘voluntary contributions’ to the municipal fund of Berlin that only their own district councillor knew about, and thereby obtained exemption from military service, as before the reforms. After many voluntary contributions were collected at the end of June 1813, the council of Berlin and the *Berliner Landwehr* organisation commission permitted Germans outside Prussia to join the *Berliner Landwehr* and paid their fees using the budget already set aside for the *Berliner Landwehr* and these contributions to the municipal fund of Berlin⁶¹. Prussian military reforms introduced the *Landwehr* as a new military system based on the participation of all inhabitants; however, ironically, the wealthy inhabitants only became funders, not actual soldiers, of the new military system.

Conclusion

As part of the Prussian military reforms, from 1807 Prussia introduced the *Landwehr* and universal conscription system, which aimed to draft all able inhabitants into the military, and officially abolished mercenaries and exemption from military service. These reforms have often been discussed as one of the most important factors in the victory that resulted in the unification of Germany. Such claims are based on major historical materials related to the Prussian government and the reformers. In contrast, this study reviewed the local *Landwehr* through a survey of articles in a local newspaper, the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. This newspaper printed several articles related to the *Berliner Landwehr* during the Wars of Liberation. In particular, this study analysed the recruiting notices, financial reports, and contribution notices for the *Berliner Landwehr* in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*.

Considering the recruiting notices and financial reports on the *Berliner Landwehr* published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*, the number of recruits from Berlin and the budgets for the *Berliner Landwehr* were insufficient. The contributions to the *Berliner Landwehr* helped to compensate for the lack of recruiting and the insufficient budget. These contributions, which were collected from the municipal fund of Berlin, were different to other contributions published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. Whereas most other major contributors were private, the contributions collected by city councillors from each district in Berlin accounted for more than half of the total amount of contributions. In addition, the contributions from each district were highly anonymous and only district councillors knew who donated and how much. According to the records of the municipal council of Berlin and the *Berliner Landwehr* organisation commission, a portion of these contributions to the *Berliner Landwehr* were recorded as ‘voluntary contributions’ and the city councillors were qualified to exempt the inhabitants of their districts from military service. Such exempted inhabitants had to pay voluntary contributions to the municipal fund of Berlin. The inhabitants of Berlin paid a few thalers to obtain military exemption and citizenship before 1813⁶² and could readily pay the voluntary contributions. In addition, the council and commission allowed Germans to join the *Berliner Landwehr* to cover the lack of recruits from among inhabitants of Berlin, and paid them using funds that included contributions collected for the *Berliner Landwehr*, according to the records of the council and commission. As a result, the council and commission unequally called up inhabitants of Berlin to the *Berliner Landwehr*, suggesting that the Prussian military reforms were not fully implemented in Berlin.

Assuredly, the Prussian military reforms created foundations for the new military systems to mobilise the full potential of the people without exemption from military service, such as the *Landwehr*, and many historians have ex-

59. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 105-107.

60. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 106.

61. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 000-02-01. Nr. 2184, Bl. 150-151.

62. Canton-Verfassung, in Gädicke, *Lexicon von Berlin*, S. 99-100.

amined these reforms using a top-down model. However, city councillors and inhabitants locally addressed the new system in their own manner and according to their own situation. Berlin was not alone in this. Some *Kreise* in the Kurmark had distinct exemptions from military service and the tax system related to the *Landwehr* during the Wars of Liberation. Inhabitants of the *Kreis* of Lower Barnim received an exemption from military service in exchange for a levy⁶³. The municipal community of the *Kreis* of Uckermark was exempted from paying tax when inhabitants were drafted into the *Landwehr* in 1813⁶⁴. Further investigation is required regarding whether the causes of these exemptions were the same throughout Prussia, but it is clear that top-down reforms depended on the municipalities and the inhabitants in various local situations.

The *Berlinische Nachrichten* was a local newspaper published in Berlin; its influence was limited to a small area of Prussia and Germany. Moreover, this study only focused on recruiting notices, financial reports, and contribution notices related to the *Berliner Landwehr*. Nevertheless, surveying articles from a local newspaper indicated that the *Berliner Landwehr* was more substantially connected to the local situation than to the principles and ideals of the Prussian military reforms. Prussian military reforms only created fundamental systems for the *Landwehr* from the top down. During the Wars of Liberation, the municipalities and Prussian inhabitants determined whether reforms were enforced.

63. Rave, *Geschichte der Organisation der Landwehr*, S. 33-34.

64. Ebenda, S. 26-27.