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"The Women-flogger, General Hyena": Images of Julius Jacob von Haynau (1786-1853), Enforcer of Imperial Austria

László Kürti

On Sept. 4, 1850, a minor incident took place at the Barclay and Perkins Brewery at Bankside in the City of London, with consequences nobody could foresee. A group of workers attacked the visiting, retired Austrian general, Julius Jacob von Haynau (1786-1853), a person of disrepute for his brutal repression of the 1848-1849 revolutions in Italy and Hungary on behalf of the Habsburg Empire. The event escalated into an international scandal and became --in the words of the celebrated writer Francis Gribble -- something more than just "a nine days' wonder" (Gribble, 1914: 61). To a certain degree, this was due to the caricatures and street songs popularizing as well as magnifying the affair out of all proportion. What took place following the mobbing of the Austrian visitor may concern scholars of national and international diplomacy, working-class and gender history, but as it will be seen, it also provides food for thought to readers in folklore, media, and even theater history.

Political refugees from the failed revolutions, as well as numerous Western liberal writers, politicians, and journalists, united in fashioning an image of a sadistic and ruthless, imperialist Austrian general that remained a standard trope well beyond the original mid-19th Century context. While these sources are fairly homogeneous in vilifying Haynau as one of the most evil persons of the time, the role of popular culture in fostering and perpetuating this image has been inadequately analyzed in scholarly literature. In particular, what deserves closer scrutiny is how caricatures and their various captions (Habsburg tiger; Austrian butcher; hangman of Arad; wolf of Arad; hyena of Brescia; woman-flogger) contributed to the making and manipulation of Haynau's image in the Western media. Given the Austrian repression in Hungary after 1849, it is not surprising that news of the London beating of Haynau -- while instantaneously popular first in *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News*, and then in magazines worldwide -- reached Hungarian audiences much later. The Haynau caricatures printed first in London were published in Pest (the city on the east bank of the Danube that merged with Buda to form Budapest) by the extremely popular and successful *Illustrated Sunday News* (*Vasárnapi* Újság) in 1869, and were repeated only once much later in 1903. The enormous popularity of the Austrian general's mobbing

and his inglorious escape from the hands of the Barclay and Perkins brewery workers -- and the delay in reprinting the caricatures in Hungary -- requires elaboration and analysis of the sort which I intend to provide here.

Statesmen, dictators, and military officers have always been favored subjects of satire, caricature, and ridicule throughout the past two centuries; Julius Haynau was not the only one so-elevated to the caricaturists' hall of fame. For instance, those ridiculing King George III are also well-known to historians (Baker, 2007), and the Prussian-German Kaiser Wilhelm II (Scully, 2012a), or Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, have been well-utilized by cartoonists (Scully, 2012b). However, Haynau preceded Hindenburg and the Kaiser by a half-century or more, with a worldwide popularity generated mostly by the British press that was unusual for its time.

Julius Jacob von Haynau was one of the eight illegitimate children of count Wilhelm of Hessen (1743-1821) and a daughter of a Jewish pharmacist, Rosa Wilhelmina Dorothea Ritter (1759-1833). All the seven children reaching maturity were given the high-ranking title "von Haynau" in 1800 by Wilhelm, who was brave enough to acknowledge his second illegitimate relationship, also endowing an estate and title "Frau von Lindenthal" for his mistress, Rose. This generosity elevated all the children to the rank of smaller nobility in German society. While Julius von Haynau's brothers achieved various positions in the Imperial army and administration, it was he who managed to rise to fame as a willing and loyal military officer of the Habsburg Empire from a fairly young age (Schönhals, 1853). Haynau's name became increasingly recognized in the early-to-mid-19th century for two disparate reasons. Since the beginning of his advancement to high military rank during the Napoleonic Wars, reports reached the public about his skillful military tactics in the Imperial Army (Philippart, 1814: 216). Soon, however, his sinister and dubious personality traits surfaced, linked to stories about his ruthlessness both to men serving under him as well as to hapless civilians (Angyal, 1932: 109-110). The Austrian historian, Joseph Redlich, has asserted that while a brilliant tactician on the battlefield, Haynau personally was vengeful, arrogant, and insane with an "overweening self-esteem" and a "diseased sensitivity" (1929: 61-62). [1]

Besides his unflinching faithfulness to Vienna, legends flourished about his ardent anti-Semitism, misogyny, violent temper, and sadistic impulses (Herman, 1993: 90-91). Much of the information concerning Haynau's enigmatic character was preserved by those suffering under his rule, especially during the 1848-1849 revolutions in Italy and Hungary.[1] To be sure, his exercise of martial law and the summary executions in Hungary in late 1849 and early 1850 created fear throughout the countryside, and Western media reported on much of this.[2] The public outcry against Haynau and his rule was even more vocal after Oct. 6, 1849, following the execution of 13 generals and the rebel Hungarian Prime Minister, Louis Batthyány. Ten days

later, the otherwise quite conservative *Times* newspaper wrote: "This blood will be a curse on those who shed it" (Oct. 17, 1849: 3). Two months later, the *Illustrated London News* (Dec. 8, 1849: 373) printed a short biography of the "cruel" Haynau, together with a small drawing depicting his distinctive long mustache, calling him both a general and a baron. At the same time another story surfaced concerning the public flogging of Mrs. Károly Maderspach of Ruszkabánya (Rusca Montana, today in Romania; known also by its German name, Ruskberg) on Aug. 23, 1849 (Maderspach, 1909).[3] The charge against her was that she and her husband celebrated openly the Hungarian war of independence and during the final days, offered a reception to some of the officers on the run, including Hungary's rebel President, Louis Kossuth himself. The event was publicized and sensationalized all over the world following an October letter of Maderspach, published in full in *The Times* and somewhat differently in the *Daily News*; subsequently it was also taken up by *The Tablet* in London, the *Melbourne Argus* in Australia, the *Wanderer* in Germany, and the Ljubljana journal, *Laibacher Zeitung* (Oct. 11, 1849: 650). While most of the papers condemned such an unnecessary brutality --and lamented the fate of the respected mining engineer Károly Maderspach, who committed suicide after his wife's public shaming --some of the more conservative media thought the story was a hoax; that the event had actually nothing to do with Haynau personally, and rather could be seen as an individual abuse of power on the part of a minor Austrian officer. An ominous letter published in *The Tablet* on Nov. 17, 1849 (9), entitled "Austrian Barbarity," claimed that the public flogging of Mrs. Maderspach was taken from a fictitious story "The Knout" published by the paper *Feuilleton* on Dec. 2, 1846, in which a Russian officer flogged a Polish woman. Yet, the Maderspach story was certainly true and even the conservative *The Spectator* (Oct. 20, 1849: 10) wrote that the flogging at Ruskberg "where Madame de Maderspach was scourged by order of an Austrian officer, was not only brutal in itself, but of necessity it rouses throughout Hungary -- throughout Europe -- a spirit of vehement revenge that longs to slake its thirst in the blood of the oppressor."

By the beginning of 1850, the public in Britain and the U.S. were able to read more and more about the crushing of the Hungarian revolt and its bloody aftermath. In English, two sizable memoirs appeared in 1850: General György Klapka's *Memoirs of the War of Independence in Hungary* (2 volumes, London: Charles Gilpin), and Mary Spence Lowell Putnam's rather pro-Hungarian work, *A Voice from the Danube, or the True State of the Case between Austria and Hungary, by an Impartial Spectator* (London: Richard Bentley). The former was translated by Otto von Wenckstern, a Prussian journalist working for *The Times*, and was aimed at the British market; the latter work appeared simultaneously in London and Philadelphia, and Putnam was not herself a Hungarian, but an American author. Via these books, and

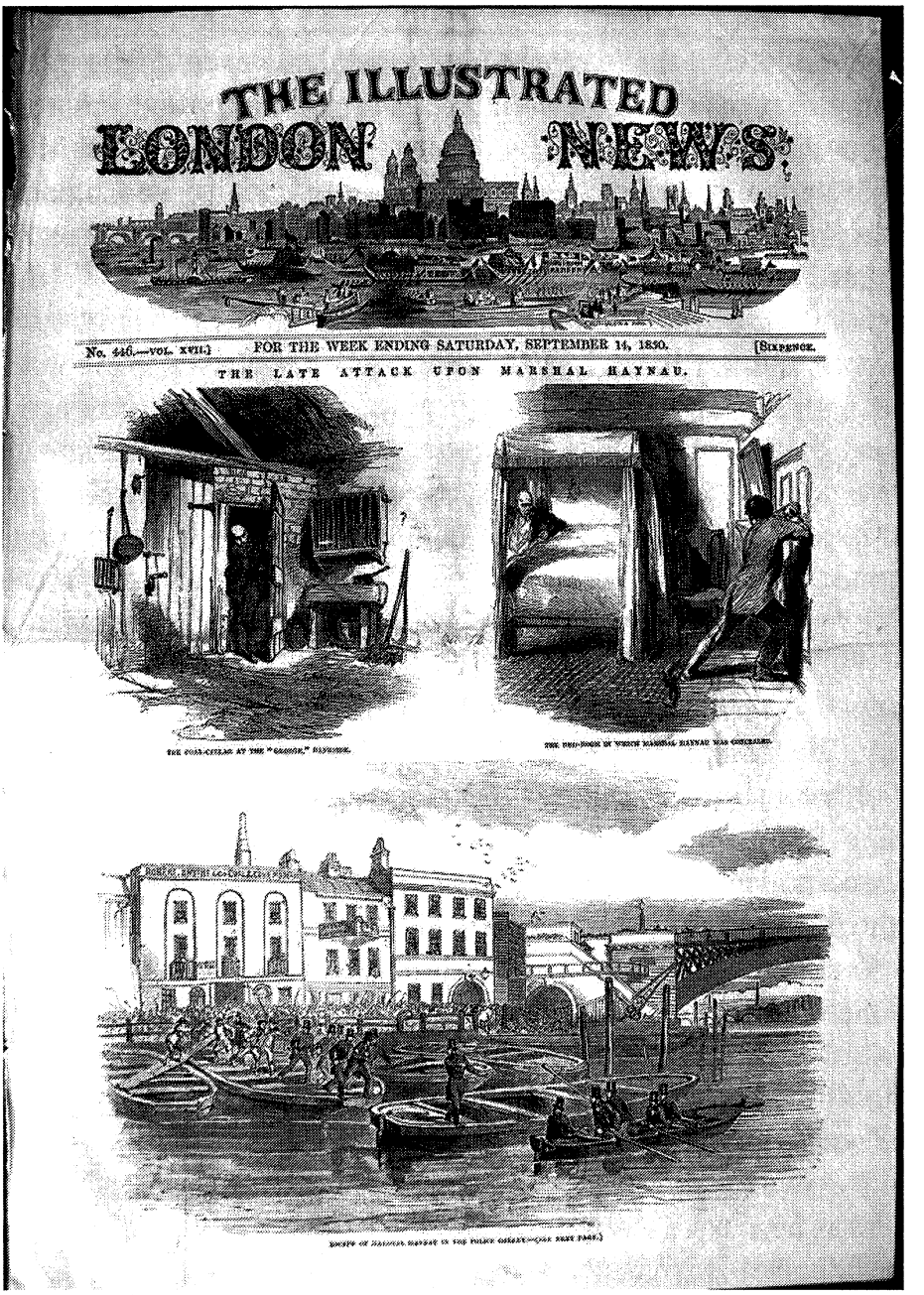
other sources, some of the alleged Austrian atrocities committed were making the rounds in the highest circles, and in the British Parliament the case of Mrs. Maderspach was discussed as late as February 1850 (*Hansard*, Feb. 7, 1850, vol. 108, cc. 508-518). Most newspapers -- *The Daily News*, *The Examiner*, *The Globe*, *The Morning Advertiser*, and *The Spectator*-- regularly printed stories about Hungary with an obvious anti-Habsburg tilt. A key question is: where did they get most of their data? Aside from the general information, the main source must have been political refugees living in London, for only *The Times* among the English newspapers had a correspondent resident in Vienna at the time.

From this important context, one work stands out from the many pro-Hungarian works published in England that served as a major source for turning sentiments against Vienna: the somewhat propagandistic memoir by the husband and wife team, Francis and Theresa Pulszky. Francis arrived to London first (via Vienna and Paris), his wife following him only in July 1849. Both were well-received by high society and through their lobbying efforts, the martial law that followed the war in Hungary was kept fresh in the media. In their book, Theresa Pulszky professed to be trying to avoid politics, and that she had written her book in order "to rectify some erroneous notions spread abroad respecting Hungary" (1850, I: iv). However, her husband -- Kossuth's confidante -- spent almost one-hundred pages explaining Hungarian history by painting the Habsburgs in a negative light. Theresa also engaged in personal politics throughout, mentioning that Haynau was "only too notorious by the slaughter of Brescia," and that the general was a person "impatient for blood" during his military campaign in Hungary (1850, II: 267, 285). Although the Pulszkys' book received mixed reviews, it can be ascertained that middle- and working-class readers sympathized with the plight of Hungary and the struggling Hungarian émigré community in London, a small but agile group bent on mounting a successful campaign against Vienna by influencing British public opinion and assisting Louis Kossuth who was contemplating a new military attack against Austria (Egyed, 1991). Through such efforts, Austria, the Habsburg court, and especially its military, became despised in the eyes of the general British readers (see, Czigány, 1976; Kabdebo, 1979).

The role of caricatures in this process cannot be underestimated for they not only simplified but also exaggerated in order to make a point. In order for readers to be able to identify the individuals involved and the event described, they created a stereotype that was easily recognizable by highlighting certain features. The figure of Haynau was always tall and skinny, with horrid looks on his face, and in order to emphasize his age, his legs were sometimes rounded as if he were staggering. However, the most recognizable feature of Haynau was his long moustache flying both sides toward his shoulders. In the caricatures dealing with the mobbing of Haynau, we learn that the general appeared at the brewery with only an English guide and his nephew for a visit

of the famous establishment. Information is lacking as to what prompted the retired general to visit the brewery, but there is, however, ample evidence to suggest that the Austrians knew Haynau's unpopularity and before leaving for London, the former Habsburg statesman Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859) attempted to dissuade Haynau from traveling to England. Once in London, even the Austrian ambassador there tried in vain to convince the general that before venturing onto the streets, he should trim his mustache (Palmerston, Oct. 8, 1850).

Haynau did not listen, and whoever recognized him (it is not certain how that happened) warned workers about the general's presence on the premises. The rest can be witnessed from the various caricatures and illustrations. The day after the attack, the Austrian ambassador Baron Koller objected to the mistreatment of Haynau but made clear the government was not about to press charges and wished no further police or court proceedings. However, the matter was not settled because Vienna continually pressed London that the proprietors seek out those responsible for the attack on the Austrian general. No wonder that a half-hearted search ended without any result. Vienna was not amused and on Sept. 12, the Minister-President Prince Felix von Schwarzenberg (1800-1852) wrote a letter to Baron Koller, demanding further investigation into the matter, even suggesting that the British government should treat the case as a "riot." This was when lightning struck: the first caricatures appeared on the pages of *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*, and these were read by tens (possibly hundreds) of thousands of Londoners. On Sept. 14 (1850: 221), the *Illustrated London News* not only printed a small caricature in the middle of the paper, it had a full front-page illustration of the mobbing (**Fig. 1.**), titled "The Late Attack upon Marshal Haynau," depicting the entire affair in a three-picture narrative: the first showing Haynau as hiding (in "The Coal-cellar at the 'George,' Bankside"), the second as he is trying to hide behind the bed in his room ("The Bed-room in Which Marshal Haynau Was Concealed"), and the third large caricature, the moment when he was escorted by policemen into a boat ("Escape of Marshal Haynau in the Police Galley"). It is unsurprising that the Austrian ambassador became furious. He and Lord Palmerston (the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) exchanged letters, both claiming their sides of the matter: the latter apparently "bidding for working-class favour" (Fenton, 2013: 117-118). By the end of October 1850, it became clear that the charge of a riot was not taken seriously by Palmerston and the Parliament; as they put it, "it appears extremely doubtful whether any witnesses could be produced who would prove the disturbance to have amounted to a 'riot' in the legal acceptation of the term." (It would take more space than available here to sift through the various exchanges between London and Vienna concerning the attack on Haynau; the letters can be read in their entirety in: *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1864: 388-400; and Correspondence respecting the


THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No. 446.—VOL. XVII.] FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1850. [SIXPENCE.

THE LATE ATTACK UPON MARSHAL HAYNAU.

Fig. 1. Anonymous. "The Late Attack upon Marshal Haynau." ***The Illustrated London News*****. Sept. 14, 1850: 1.**

assault committed upon Marshal Haynau, 1851: 1-15).

The depiction of the mobbing of Haynau became a sensational and instant success, celebrating British working-class values and democratic attitudes. On Oct. 1, 1850, *The Freethinker's Magazine* (132) even wrote that regardless of gender and age, the attackers were all workers; one woman even shoved a mop in Haynau's face during the melee. Artists did not shy away from exaggerating the attack, and one caricaturist for example, drew a dog ready to bite Haynau; another depicts a cat flying into his face. The commemorative plaque that now stands in Park Street, Southwark (**Fig. 2**), shows two of the draymen lashing Haynau with two sizable whips, tools of the draymen responsible for carrying beer barrels in their horse-drawn carts

Fig. 2. Haynau plaque on Park Street, London. Photo by the author. 2012.

all over London.

The London caricature was localized, and the brewery workers were made the stars of the event. The language and imagery was also easily understandable, reaching the widest possible circulation; both the captions and the illustrations were witty, and biting. *Punch* had a field-day, producing more and newer versions of the event, as in "Haynau's Taste of Barclay and Perkins's Entire" (Volume 19, 1850: 114). A small caricature (by an unknown hand) shows Haynau falling on his back after being punched in the face by a brewery worker described as a "diabolical savage and a disgrace to human nature." The next week, the journal carried a song --"Barclay and Perkins's Draymen New Version" -- recounting the beating of Haynau and containing different sarcastic details (Volume 19, 1850: 119). In the next number, *Punch* continued with a letter signed "Barclay and Perkins's Drayman"; obviously written by the editor(s), but purporting to be from the perspective of the workers of the brewery, responding to *The Times*'s condemnation of their action against the Austrian visitor (Volume 19, 1850: 129). The "Drayman" also criticizes Baron Rothschild -- who had some harsh words against the attackers of Haynau and who sent some clothes to Haynau to replace his torn ones --and describes Haynau as looking like a "wild beast," at the same time calling him "Tyger," "a monster," and "Gen'ral Butcher." The Drayman describes the event once more in great detail, expressing in his sorrow why he could not cut off Haynau's beard as a souvenir. It even suggests that Haynau's

place should be in Madame Tussaud's waxwork Chamber of Horrors; another story mentions that the black ink of Haynau's signature in the brewery's guest-book turned blood-red, and that, despite all attempts to get rid of it, the signature would not disappear. The letter-editorial misspelled Haynau as "Hyenau" (linking his name with the scavenging wild dog of Africa), and reaffirmed that should the general visit again he would certainly receive the same treatment.

Fig. 3. William McConnell's caricature. *Punch; or, the London Charivari.* Volume 19, 1850: 129.

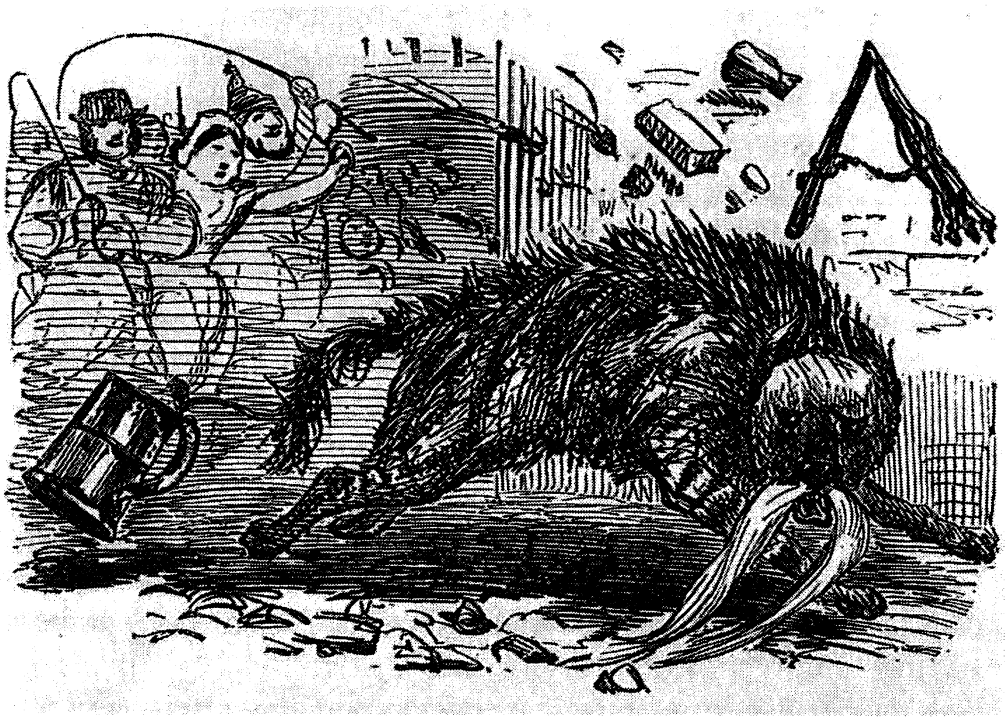


Fig. 4. Anonymous. "The Real State of the Case." *Punch; or, the London Charivari.* Volume 19, 1850: 133.

Along with all this textual assault, *Punch* did also produce numerous caricature examples. William McConnell (1831-1867) included a heroic image of the brewery drayman at the head of the editorial-letter (Volume 19, 1850: 129), in classical profile, and crowned in laurels resembling hops (**Fig. 3**). Later -- adopting the title of Mary Spence Lowell Putnam's book for comic effect (see above, and **Fig. 4**) -- an anonymous cartoonist drew a disheveled hyena, with Haynau-like mustaches, being pelted with bricks and beer-mugs, and driven away by an angry crowd (Volume 19, 1850: 133). Later still, the magazine's chief comic artist, John Leech (1817-1864), drew his famous caricature "Sketch of a Most Remarkable Flea Which Was Found in General Haynau's Ear" (Volume 19, 1850: 137), an obvious twist on an older saying "He went away with a flea in the ear" (**Fig. 5**). The cartoon has become quite widely-recog-

Fig. 5. John Leech. "Sketch of a Most Remarkable Flea Which Was Found in General Haynau's Ear." ***Punch; or, the London Charivari.*** **Volume 19, 1850: 137.**

nized by subsequent authors (Everett, 1893: 299; Altick, 1997: 417), and it depicts a smiling drayman with a whip in his left hand, his body resembling a large beer-barrel with the names "Barclay & Perkins Entire" on it. Haynau also became a monstrous clown devoid of basic human qualities: on page 150 in the same volume, in another caricature (unsigned, but most likely also the work of John Leech) Mr. Punch presents Haynau with his field marshal's baton just as that violent puppet would beat his wife, Judy, in a seaside show (**Fig. 6**). In "Ceremony of Presenting the Bâton to the 'Warrior' Haynau," the Austrian appears as a gruesome, mustachioed imp, armed with a flail, and standing in front of a painting of an army officer whipping a bare-backed woman. The accompanying text cynically compared the recorded instances of Duke of Wellington's flogging of women during the Peninsular War (1807-1814) to Haynau's notorious acts concerning "Madame Madersbach, a matron of spotless honour."

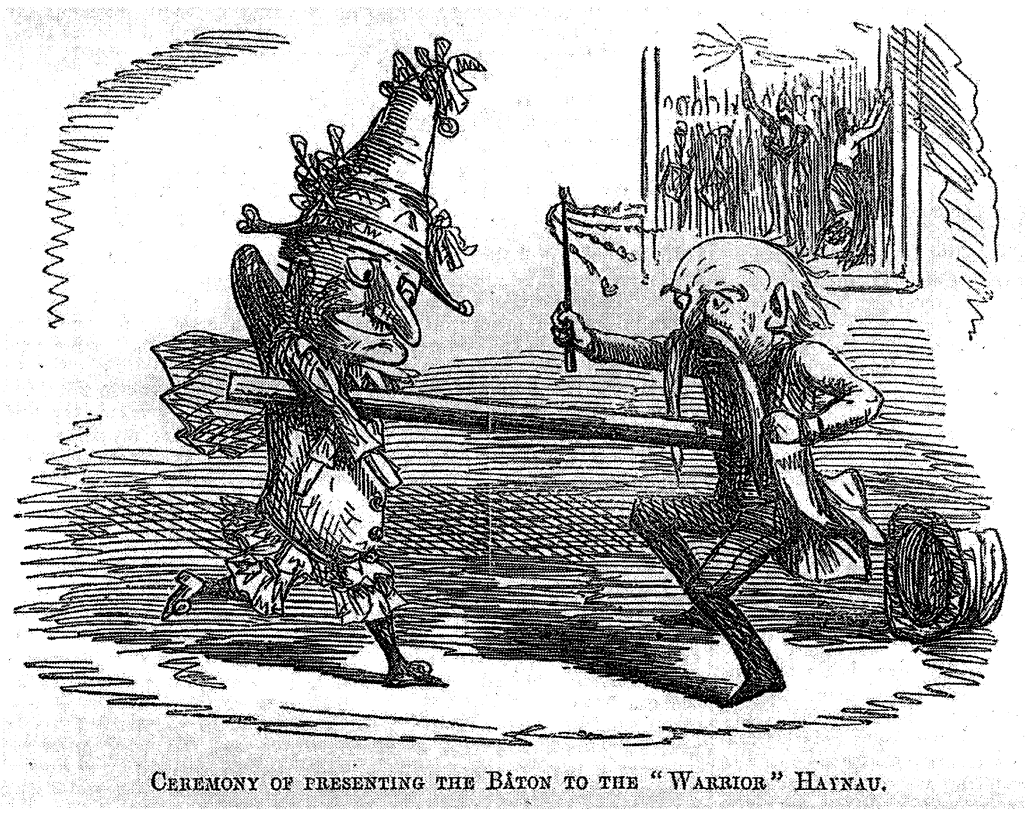


Fig. 6. John Leech (?). "Ceremony of Presenting the Bâton to the 'Warrior' Haynau." *Punch; or, the London Charivari.* Volume 19, 1850: 150.

One of the most remarkable caricatures is a three-picture, color poster published by the London printer, Lepine, of 1850 entitled "The Assault. Marshal Haynau, at Messrs. Barclays, Perkins & Cos. Brewery. On the 4th Sept. 1850." The first image, titled "The Dust Hole," depicts Haynau on his knee while one man is throwing a bale of hay or straw on him. "The assault"-themed picture is in the middle, showing about a dozen workmen -- including several women with sticks, brooms, and forks -- attacking the fleeing Haynau at the gates of the brewery. Perhaps as a reference to Haynau's infamous

actions, one man is depicted as whirling a sizable whip to the right of the picture. No doubt exaggerating the mass demonstration against Haynau, there is even a boy and a dog depicted in the crowd. The smaller, third scene -- "The Bed Room" -- shows Haynau leaning on a bed with two men standing next to him. *The Illustrated London News* obviously believed the story carried some weight, as it also followed on Dec. 8, 1850 (373), with another sensationalized illustration entitled "The Southwark Brewers and the Austrian Butcher." Interestingly, this composite picture shows -- in addition to the middle larger drawing where Haynau is attacked by men carrying whip, shovel, pitchfork, and a knife -- two smaller depictions. In the upper left corner Haynau is putting chains on the neck of a bearded, prostrate man with a gallows in the background, an obvious reference to the Hungarian prime minister who was hanged. On the opposite corner, Haynau is whipping a half-naked woman tied to a pole with cat o' nine tails (which would appear to be the same image as reproduced in *Punch*'s "Ceremony of Presenting the Bâton," mentioned above). Undeniably, this is the most manipulated of the caricatures printed following the mobbing of Haynau, for it depicted him wearing full imperial uniform, even though he never wore it in public after his retirement in 1850. The British traveler and diplomat Andrew Archibald Paton -- who lived in Pest at the time of the war of independence, and who knew Haynau personally -- wrote cool-headedly that the image "appears to be not only false and calumnious, but without the semblance of a vestige of truth...(being)...part and parcel of the organized system of falsification, got up and perseveringly carried on in order to blind the people of England to the real bearings of the Hungarian question" (1851: 311). Another image -- also from the *Illustrated London News* (Sept. 7, 1850: 199), and entitled "Violent Display of Popular Indignation against the Austrian Marshal Haynau, at Bayside"-- has a frightened Haynau (identifiable by his mustache) and his accomplice running on the street from a mob into the safety of a house (as noted above, this was used later, in the Budapest newspaper *Sunday News*, together with the three caricatures copied from the *Illustrated London News*).

Following on from the more conventional, popular printed caricatures and illustrations, an interesting example also appeared on a cotton handkerchief with a lithographic print in magenta ink showing a large crowd in front of the gates of the Barclays brewery in the process of attacking Haynau. Now property of the Museum of London, on the top of the commemorative handkerchief are the words "The escape of Marshal Haynau from Barclays & Perkins's Brewery, London," and on the bottom there is a portrait of Haynau with the inscription: "Portrait of Haynau the Austrian General."

Caricatures are at their best when they stand alone, with only minimal captions, but at the same time, when they speak more clearly to those understanding their relationship to timely local issues. An American caricature -- entitled "Position of the Democratic Party in 1852; 'Freemen of

America, how long will you be ledd by such leaders?'" -- and published by William K. Leach and Bela Marsh (1797-1869) to coincide with that year's campaign for the presidency, reveals the fascinating subtext that the brewery beating incident had become well-known across the Atlantic (**Fig. 7**). The presidential candidates were Louis Cass (1782-1866), Stephen A. Douglas (1813-1861), and Franklin Pierce (1804-1869), and while the Democrat Pierce actually won the race, his sympathy with the slaveholding South caused his eventual downfall in U.S. politics after only one term (1853-1857). The crudely-executed caricature condemns Pierce, who had expressed his support for (and eventually made a compromise with) southern slaveholders who supported enforcing the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Pierce -- standing in the center, on the Mason-Dixon Line -- prostates himself before a bearded slaveholder holding a cat-o-nine-tails with the caption "Save the Union." What interests us here is the person on the right who is no other than Haynau, carrying a whip and -- faithful to the folkloric memory of the London incident --wearing a Barclay's Brewery beer pitcher for a hat. His caption reads: "I feel quite at home in this company give me your hand my good fellow," gesturing to the slave holder. An eerie twist to the entire caricature is the smiling Devil on the left hailing, "Well done my faithful servants!" At least one other American caricature -- possible by the same artist, who is identified only as "T.C." -- was also printed in 1852 with the title "A Grand Slave Hunt, or Trial of Speed, for the Presidency, between the Celebrated Nags Black Dan, Lewis Cass, and Haynau." Just like in the other caricature, Haynau is wearing his famous Barclay's Brewery pitcher hat.

After the first caricatures and news on the attack, more condemnation and wider international circulation followed. Charles Dickens's *The Household Narrative of Current Events* (Aug. 28-Sept. 28, 1850: 193) printed a front-page, sarcastic comment that Haynau's "flight from Bankside will be the culminating point of his career." With such authority on the side of the jubilant workers, reactions on the Continent were analogous. News, of course travelled fast: the duchess De Dino (onetime mistress of the French statesman Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord; wife of his nephew, and thus also known as the Duchess Talleyrand and Sagan) visiting Germany at the time, noted in her diary on Sept. 12: "The newspapers relate a terrible scene of demonstration against General Haynau at London, which is hardly consistent with the much boasted hospitality of mighty Albion… [Haynau] made a journey to London, and as he was visiting the brewery of Barclay and Perkins the workmen hooted him, mobbed him, tore out his moustaches, and threatened to throw him into their barrels" (Radziwill, III,1910: 325-326). The Viennese *Der Wanderer* was quietly critical of the suppression and terror in Hungary by the Austrian general (Rózsa 1991: 83-84); while the German newspapers referred to the London incident as a mistreatment ("*misshandlung*") -- a term utilized regularly (Ghillany, 1853: 198; Rogge,

1872: 267). Other journals were more open about the mobbing of Haynau: the *Wiener Zeitung*, *Ostdeutsche Post*, *Der Wanderer*, and the *Neue Münchener Zeitung* all carried the story.

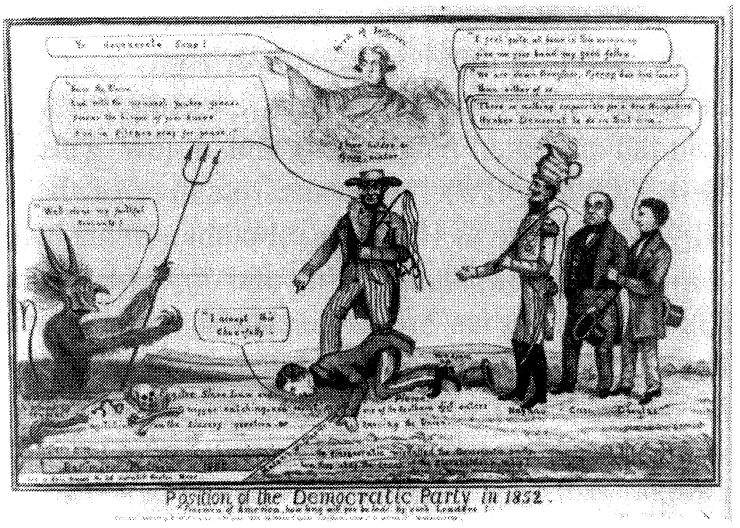


Fig. 7. Anonymous. "Position of the Democratic Party in 1852; 'Freemen of America, How Long Will You Be Led by Such Leaders?" 1852.

German caricaturists had ample opportunities to follow their British colleagues. The Berlin-based comic magazine, *Kladderadatsch* -- which continually celebrated the Hungarian war of independence by ridiculing the Austrians -- had a field-day, and made the general the butt of numerous jokes. On Sept. 22 (152), the magazine asked Haynau not to go to London again, but if he must, he should at all cost avoid breweries. A week later, he was caricatured as hugging his London friend, Rothschild; and yet another one -- without any captions but showing three men with sticks beating a long-mustached uniformed Haynau -- appeared during the last week in October, marking the end of the Haynau-cycle in that magazine (Oct. 27, 1850: 172.). The *Komischer Volkskalender* also printed a few small drawings and many more vicious one-liners about Haynau's "accidental" trip to London (1851: 27, 29, 33, 76, 112, 126), one referred to the general running from the brewery as his special dance called Haynau gallop with the music written by the great composer Richard Wagner.

Official reaction continued to remain quite indignant about the affair (Schönhals, 1853: 116-117). Yet, the caricatures seemed to imprint an image of the Austrian general that lingered on in the minds of many. In the windows of London's swag-shops (bazaars), there were all sorts of toys, brooches, and nick-knacks, but one in particular showed the humor of the British: a pot-figure of "Marshal Haynau, with some instrument of torture in his hand" (Mayhew, I, 1861: 334). On the streets were standing patterers selling stories by pamphlets, books, or simply "board with color pictures upon it"; one in vogue was "Haynau in the hands of the draymen" (Mayhew, I,1861: 232). Street singers, known as "chaunters," were also heard in the 1850s singing folklorized verses and ballads composed about Haynau's beating at the

hands of the draymen. One in particular was composed in a horroristic style: Haynau was murdered in Brussels by an assassin who cut the general's throat in his bed leaving a card with the following words: "Monster, I am avenged at last" (Mayhew, 1861, I: 229).

There are at least four different ballads or street-songs survived about the Haynau incident. Some appeared in *Punch* together with the caricatures, others were printed in other magazines, and a few were distributed as leaflets (Hepburn, 2000, I: 179). While most authors of the broadsides are unknown, one by W. Evernen in 1850 is attributable. In his ballad, the chorus is especially telling: "Hit him, kick him, up and down! Box him, known him round and round! Out of his hat break the crown, Cried Barclay & Perkins' Draymen." The ballad -- accompanied by a curious small caricature (a woman beating Haynau) -- can be viewed online (Evernen, 1850). In one faraway corner of Britain's empire -- the Australian colony of Victoria -- the Melbourne newspaper *The Argus* (Dec. 21, 1850: 4) also printed its own poem with no author identifiable entitled "Lines to Marshal Haynau on his Visiting England, August 1850." For the Irish, the Haynau incident was also seen as an example of justice meted out on a tyrant. The Irish nationalist John Mitchell (1815-1875) also wrote an anti-Haynau poem in 1850 after the brewery incident, entitled "On reading an account of the reception of Haynau at 'Barclay & Perkins' brewery" (Mitchell, 1852: 184-186). Another (London-based) anonymous composition -- "The Southwark brewers and the Austrian butcher" -- was based on a whole cycle of earlier English folksongs and included the well-known line "Derry down, down, down, Derry down!" The song was printed in the *Weekly News* (Saturday, Sept. 7; however, the Broadside Ballads online of the Bodleian Libraries gives the wrong date of 1849).

The Haynau story also leapt off the caricatured page and onto the boards of the theatre, as can be seen in one production that caused a minor political scandal. The Judge and Jury Society at Garrick's Head Hotel, on Bow Street, performed the "The Case of General Haynau v. Barclay & Perkins' Draymen." A featured attraction for the musical parody was the popular actor of the time -- and the hotel's proprietor -- Renton Nicholson (1809-1861). Unfortunately, no description exists of the exact ridicule heaped on the Austrian general but in another production, Haynau also appeared. In 1851, *The Critic* (May 1, 1851: 211) reported that in the burlesque "Arline, or the Fortunes and Vicissitudes of a Bohemian Girl" (known also by its more familiar title, *The Bohemian Girl*), directed by the brothers William (1826-1870) and Robert Brough (1828-1860), some names and the scenery had been purposefully altered. The most important was in the new version of the production Count Arnheim, father of Arline, became the "Austrian butcher of Haynau." The Austrian ambassador instantly requested that such "offensive scenes should be cut out," and censorship worked swiftly: the Lord Chamberlain's office

promptly complied and ordered the theatre management which "expurged two of the best comic scenes in the pantomime" (*The Critic*, Dec. 15, 1851: 69).

The Haynau incident also laid the foundation for the visit of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian rebel leader in 1851. By that time, middle-class Londoners greeted him as a real hero, in contrast to the Austrian general. However, not everyone was so welcoming. *The Times* thought nothing of the man, and according to Queen Victoria herself, Kossuth was nothing but an "ambitious and rapacious humbug" (Porter, 1979: 106). Maybe the differences between middle-class tastes and those of high society were the reasons why -- despite the glare of his opponent -- the unpopular general Haynau remained a featured attraction even at this time. Most papers for example could not wait for new information about the circumstances surrounding Haynau's life. Thus, it is not difficult to notice the enormous sarcasm in the reportage, for instance about "Haynau's conversion" that appeared in *The Examiner* and *Bell's New Weekly Messenger*, ridiculing Haynau's buying of property in -- and taking up residence in -- Hungary itself (Schönhals, 1853: 118). His paternalistic attitude towards Hungarians, in tandem with his bizarre public condemnation of the Habsburg court for the repression of the Hungarian revolution, is described simply as a "remarkable oddity" and "mere madness" (*Bell's New Weekly Messenger*, Aug. 17, 1851: 1). The story was also taken up by the American press. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Oct. 1851: 699) was cautious, printing that "It is difficult to believe all these statements, though the *Examiner* vouches for their accuracy." It just may be true that something had kindled Haynau's conscience about his reign of terror in Hungary; at the end of 1849, he set up a special invalid fund (Haupt-Invaliden-Fonde) by using four other Austrian generals' names (Jelačić, Latour, Radetzky, Welden) to create five military hospitals for those wounded during the Hungarian war of independence, including the Magyar soldiers. The emperor Franz Joseph (r.1848-1916) signed the order allowing the fund to commence work, and by the summer of 1850, the special lottery to collect necessary monies was advertised across Hungary in various newspapers (Hermann, 1999: 102).

The incident and the image of Haynau as a bloodthirsty tyrant survived for some time after the events themselves, and for this the first caricatures can be given credit, especially for the subsequent numerous legends they generated. Edward Sutton (1825-1901) wrote a romantic poem about the Hungarian war of independence in which he described both the Maderspach and the brewery incidents (1858: 59-60). In one story, Haynau received such a severe beating by the brewery workers that he had to be hospitalized, an urban legend that survived well into the 20th century (Walker, 1988: 67). To give another example, John Ward, in his recollections of time spent in Germany, makes sarcastic remarks about a certain street in Kassel where a famous echo of various politicians' name answers; for "Haynau" it is always

"ow! ow!" (the German "au" being pronounced "ow") (Ward, 1872: 100).

These myths and images not only lingered on well-into the next century but arguably also hampered Britain's ongoing relations with Habsburg Austria, and (from 1867 to 1914), Austria-Hungary (Davis, 2008: 157). Haynau's name became associated with brutality and cruelty in politics and military affairs. Even the Queen and her Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, exchanged some vitriolic letters concerning the aftermath of the brewery incident. Palmerston expressing his own indignation over the treatment of Italian and Hungarian prisoners at the hands of Haynau, defended the actions of the draymen by justifying that Haynau was a "moral criminal" deserving the nickname "General Hyaena" (Eyck, 1966: 64; Seton-Watson, 1937: 286). The "mistreatment" of the general by the brewery workers remained on the mind of English politicians for decades to come. The Liberal MP, John Burns (1858-1943) -- in his 1900 "New Imperialism" speech -- remarked:

> I can remember when our old nobility vied with London workmen in their hospitable reception to a Republican like Garibaldi, and it has ever counted to the credit of Barclays, brewers, that they thrashed General Haynau for his tyranny (Burns, 1900: 4).

Of course, Burns himself could remember only Garibaldi's triumphal reception in London and not that of Haynau's defeat (he had not yet been born). Still, his perky attitude and radical leftist views reveal that Haynau's name, and his beating by the brewery workers, provided politicians with plenty of ammunition to speak about English working-class radicalism, as well as their international solidarity against tyrants like Baron von Haynau. There is no wonder then that in such a climate, Haynau's 1852 visits to Paris and Brussels also ended ingloriously; the retired general was heckled by people, and police had to accompany him everywhere he went, and this was gleefully reported in London (*Reynold's London Newspaper*, Sept. 5, 1852: 16).

Haynau's death in March of 1853 did little to end public fascination with his caricatured image. Horrific stories about the death of Julius Haynau were printed, for example, in the Oxford-based journal *Notes and Queries* (Feb. 25, 1854). Apparently, there was a widespread Viennese rumor that at a post-mortem examination of Haynau, his heart was found still to be beating, and blood flowed from it as he groaned. In other versions of the rumor, during the autopsy the coroner saw his brain still working and actually had to kill Haynau with a knife. Such reports being based on a "private letter from Vienna" lessens the likelihood of their accuracy, and according to a later Hungarian historian, were just urban legends that had also been told about other brutal personalities from earlier times (Tóth, 1896: 209-210). The New York newspaper, *Rockland County Messenger* (Aug. 31, 1854: 1) also printed the story about the bleeding extremities of this "human monster."

In Hungary, similar popular legends were also collected (Mogyorósi, 1993, Soltészné, 1991). Fueling continued anti-Haynau feelings, M. A. Castle -- the well-known phrenologist of the time -- published what today would be called "character profiling" of Haynau. Castle, who examined Haynau medically in 1842, summarized that he was a stern and hard-headed person rigorously enforcing discipline on his inferiors as a military officer should, but emphasized that he was also "inflexible and unpitying in the exercise of military justice" (Castle, 1855-1856: 164). While dismissing such psychological profiling, the French writer Paul de Mussat contributed to the negative imagery of Haynau by writing that "the death of General Haynau was terrible as had been his life" (Mussat, 1855: 243-244).

Thanks to the persistent power of the caricatures, and the media hype surrounding the brewery incident, the name of Haynau continued to pop up in both local and colonial British politics. For example, George Byng, the seventh Viscount Torrington (1812-1884) -- who was governor of Ceylon from 1847 to 1850 -- was referred to as the "British Haynau" for his ferocious treatment of the locals and the suppression of the civil uprising on the island during his tenure, actions for which he was recalled by the government (Taylor, 2000: 175). In another instance, Sir Henry George Ward (1797-1860), who was appointed Lord High Commissioner of the British-administered Ionian Islands in 1849, was also compared to Haynau because of the severe punishments he meted out to the islanders, including public flogging, after the uprising there (Fitzroy, 1850: iii-iv). The unnecessary martial law and the following extremely cruel treatment of Kefalonian civilians were discussed in the British Parliament (*Hansard*, July 23, 1850, Vol. 113,cc.178).

What is really intriguing about the entire affair, and the various negative images it generated, is that it also foregrounded British working-class attitudes concerning gender relations. The liberal media saw Haynau as a rude and sadistic male who abused and publicly flogged women and by so doing his name became synonymous with wife-beating and physical abuse rampant in Victorian Britain. A topic close to the hearts and minds of the Victorian free-thinkers and radicals, wife beating escalated into a hotly-debated and unacceptable issue. The pioneer socialist-feminist Helen Macfarlane (1818-1860) was outraged at some of the British press condemning the action of the brewers. Calling Haynau a beast, she suggested that workers should not pollute their hands with such a task but "take mops and brooms, sweep him out as you do other kinds of dirt. Like to like. Filth to filth. Haynau to the common sewer!" (quoted in Black, 2004: 77). Others were equally supportive of the workers. "In no country perhaps are women more cruelly used than among the poorer classes of England, while in no country under the sun is, greater sympathy expressed for the weaker sex; a paradox which was strikingly exemplified in 1850," wrote Graham Everett in his splendid account in the history of English caricaturists (Everett, 1893: 299). That this

was a general feeling can be seen in the 19th Century medical officer and local historian, William Rendle's 1888 recollections of the event as a "case of moral homoeopathy, the cure of cruelty by cruelty" (Rendle, 2013:76). Rendle added: "I have to my horror had occasionally to attend women with face and body mauled by nailed boots; these were almost without exception Irish parish patients in St. Georges, Southwark. I mean by all this that Haynau was, alas, not alone in cruelty to women" (Rendle, 2013: 76).

By continually demonizing and poking fun of Haynau, the English caricaturists achieved their most important aim according to T. A. Allen (1984:95): "prompting group solidarity by providing common objects of ridicule." In fact, the editors of *The Patriot* (Sept. 12, 1850: 582) printed an account of the special meeting of the Chartists -- known then as the Fraternal Democrats -- where the entire affair was discussed (Friedrich Engels being present). The meeting started with a Hungarian singing the "Italian Marseillaise" and ended with "three groans" for *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* for their condemnation of the draymen and "three cheers" for the brewers as well as for Kossuth. The article referred to Haynau simply as an "assassin," a "woman-flogger," and a "human hyena," who is detested by "all true Englishmen." From this we also learn that the site of the attack instantly became a celebrated attraction; as early as the following day, groups of Hungarian and Polish émigrés visited it and welcomed by the proprietor of the George Inn who also offered free concert to workers. According to the London-based *Reynolds Weekly Newspaper* (Sept. 22, 1850: 10), there were several such meetings taking place in London immediately after the event. At one, the famous chair, broom, and a dust-bin involved were also exhibited and became objects of admiration by Londoners. Similar reporting can be also read in *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* (Sept. 15, 1850: 3).

As noted earlier, the final twist in this story is that the English caricatures about Haynau's beating were later published in Hungary itself (although much later, and actually only two years after the Compromise -- known more by its German name *Ausgleich* -- of 1867, that gave Hungary a semblance of autonomy within the Habsburg Empire). Since there were no comic or caricature journals in Hungary in the middle decades of the 19th Century (Buzinkay, 1983; Rubovszky, 2002), they appeared without identifying the author(s)in the *Sunday News* (June 9, 1869: 340), a respected publication with a wide readership in the nation's capital and beyond (**Fig. 8**). For the first time, Hungarians were able to witness the visual testimony of what had happened in London with Haynau, who was by then long-dead. Yet, the story and the uncensored caricatures -- actually amalgamating several into a single coherent narrative -- made the once-feared general a laughing stock of the entire country. The Habsburg censors, however, worked fast and it took almost four decades before the caricatures were allowed to be printed again. This time -- also in the Budapest *Sunday News* (Dec. 13, 1903: 830) -- a short description

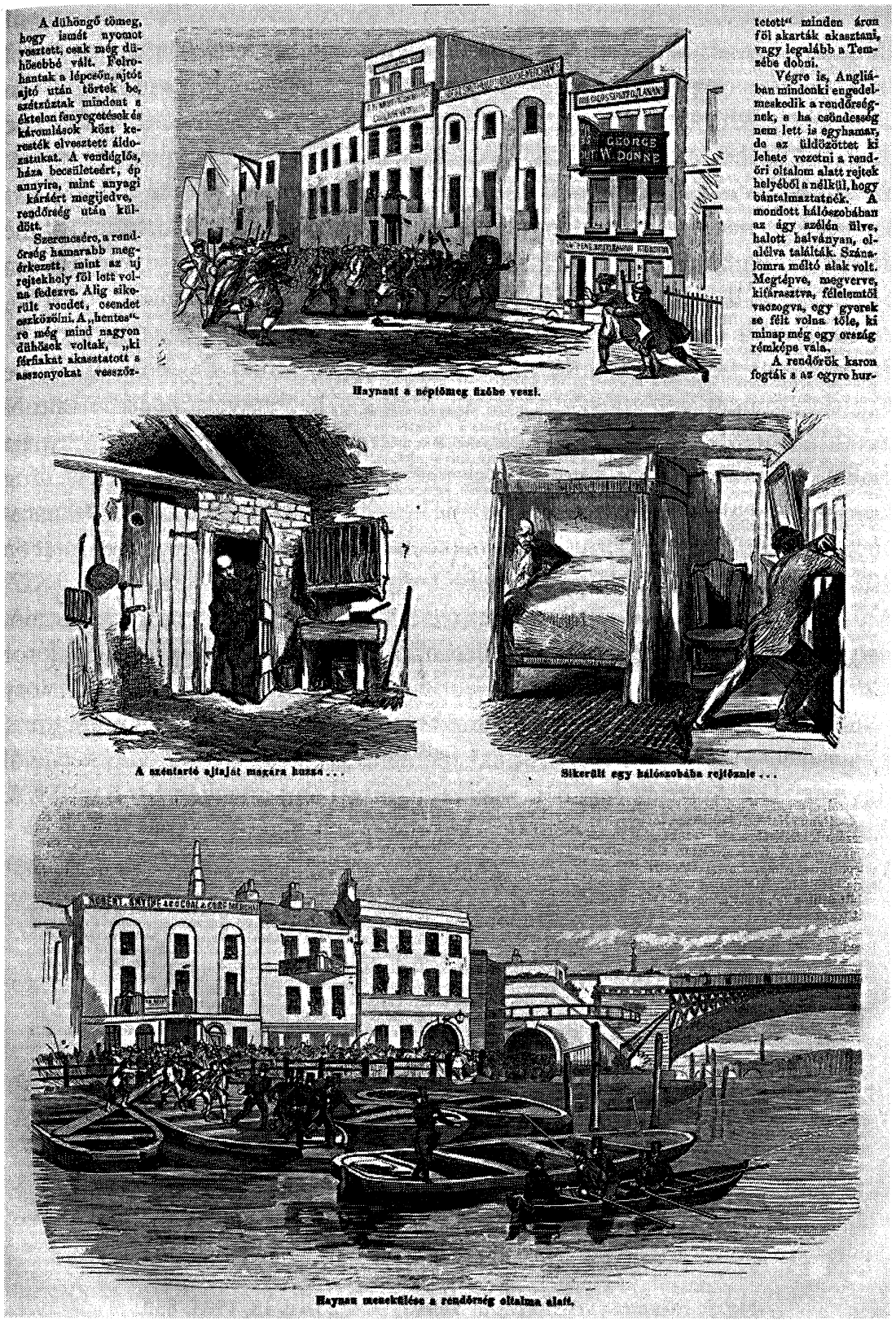


Fig. 8. Haynau caricatures in *Sunday News*. June 9, 1869: 340.

of the Haynau attack , and only two of the smaller caricatures appeared from the 1869 issue, although (and this is also quite telling about the controlled media of the time), without author's name (**Fig. 9**).

While there may be a general agreement that political or military events

and social conflicts provide ample material for caricaturists, the mobbing of General Haynau in London proves how caricatures of even a minor street skirmish immortalized the event reverberating throughout the world. It is also evident how the first caricatures generated further visual representations and related to other art-forms (such as urban legends, songs, collectibles, and theatrical plays), describing the same historical event. Thanks to the workers of Barclay and Perkins' and to the known and anonymous caricaturists of the time, the infamous image of Haynau lives on even in the 21st Century, as can be seen from the words of Christopher Hitchens, the sharp-tongued journalist, whose article in *The Mirror* (April 24, 2002), denounced the former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's visit by recalling the beating of the Austrian general a-century-and-a-half earlier. The brewery became one of London's historic landmarks, with the aforementioned commemorative plate on Park Street where the actual attack took place: an American writer visiting London's famous brewery remarked: "The mention of Barclay and Perkins at once reminds us of the demonstration recently made by the brewers of malt on the person of the tyrant Haynau, and his inglorious retreat" (Saunders, 1852: 220). The famous historical caricatures and their several ramifications, not only made the brewery a famous international site to visit, but the workforce was elevated to the status of celebrity in British working-class history (Walford, 1878: 29-44). Reproducing a fragment of an original caricature, it has the words: "An international incident occurred here, 1850. General Haynau 'The Austrian butcher' was recognized and attacked by Barclay & Perkins draymen."[4]

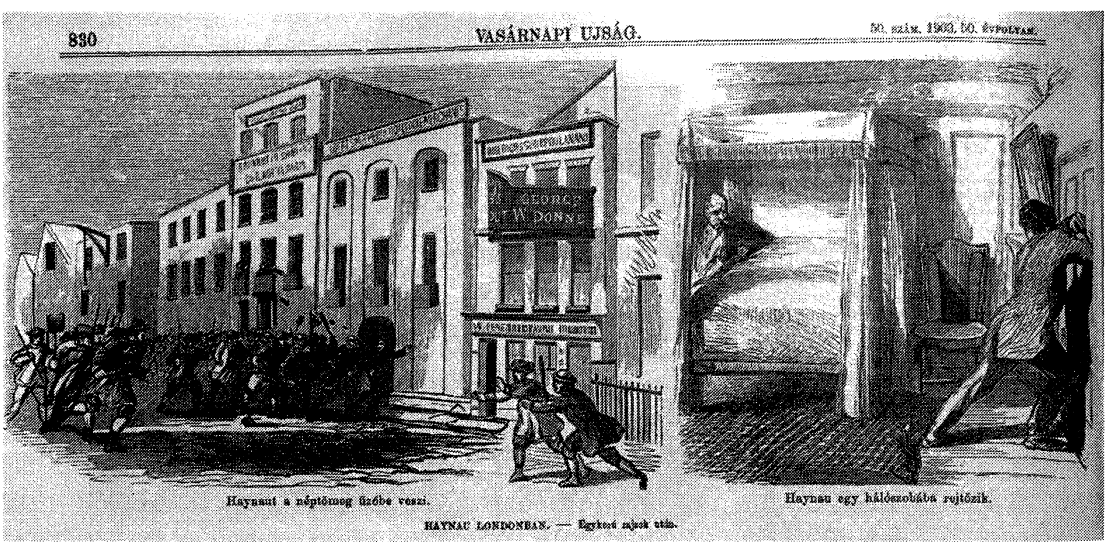


Fig. 9. Haynau caricatures in *Sunday News*. Dec. 13, 1903: 830.

Endnotes

[1] The siege and destruction of Brescia is described in detail by the Italian commander (Pepe, II, 1850: 90-97). In several sentences, Pepe emphasizes

the cruelty and savagery of the Croatian soldiers in the Austrian Army. Haynau, already attacking savagely the cities of Padua and Brescia, causing mayhem among the civilian population, then turned to Venice. His infamy in Italy is described by Henri Martin (II, 1862). An oil painting by Franz Adam, *General Julius Jacob von Haynau Facing onto Venice* (n.d.), depicts the long-mustachioed Haynau among his officers during the attacking of Venice. Haynau's role in the siege of Venice, and his ruthlessness, has been remembered in John Presland's drama *Manain and the Defence of Venice* (1911).

[2] To be fair, however, it must be mentioned that the Germans of Pest and Buda were not so condemning of Haynau, who became the military governor of Hungary. According to the memoirs of Count Sándor Vay, the middle-class citizens offered a nicely painted album signed by four-hundred to Haynau with the usual "*gutgesinn*" (well-wishing) accorded -- with the words "to the greatest honored hero, a knight who was able to break the Hungarian rebels" (Vay, 1907) .

[3] *The Sandusky Register* (Dec. 18, 1849: 2), an Ohio newspaper, reported that in Sopron (also known by its German name, Odenburg), a gentlewoman by the name Madame Schmidt was to be flogged on the order of Haynau for emitting a cry "Long live, Kossuth." Before the public humiliation, the Hungarian lady collapsed and died. I could not verify this case in any sources. See, <http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/37048057>. Accessed May 25, 2014.

[4] As a final note, it should be mentioned that the memory of the Maderspach family is well preserved in Hungary. In 1930, a street was named after Mrs. Maderspach in Budapest; in 2004, a statue was erected to her husband in the Military History Museum also in that city; the couple received a memorial plate on the wall of the Maderspach house in Ruskberg. A documentary film titled *Endless Diary* (*Végtelen napló*, dir. Kinga Maderspach, 2002) retells the ordeal of the Maderspach family; especially that of the woman who suffered all the indignation at the hands of an officer of Imperial Austria, and who never received any condolences for her pain and losses while she was alive. Visitors and relatives to the Kerepesi Cemetery in Budapest regularly tie a tricolor ribbon on the lonely grave-post of Mrs. Maderspach. Haynau also had a street named after him in Budapest (Haynau Gasse), a name revoked already in the 1850s but no streets preserve his name in Vienna. Haynau's unkempt grave can be visited in the Saint Leonhard Cemetery in Graz Letters on the gravestone are quite faded but readable.

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