

# Sport of Kings



## The War in Germany 1740-1745

## Historical Commentary

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## THE WAR IN GERMANY

### PRELUDE

*"If peace had lasted beyond 1740, [the soldiers] would probably now have rouge and beauty spots."*

*Frederick the Great*

The War of the Austrian Succession was very much to the Seven Years War what the Great War was to the Second World War. Like the Great War, those in the know saw it coming. Like the Great War, it proved unstoppable. Like the Great War, some welcomed it as a purge of the European body politic. It was the first *ancien régime* cabinet war to blend old style dynastic ambitions with the rising ideology of State Nationalism.

Officially, the War lasted from December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1740 until October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1748, ultimately involving all the important European powers. It was not a single conflict. Its flames flared, died, and flared again, all over Europe. The Seven Years War lays claim to be the "first world war", but the title really belongs to the War of the Austrian Succession. From India to America, the world was in its grip. The First Silesian War, the Second Silesian War, the Austro-Bavarian War, the Russo-Swedish War, the War of Jenkin's Ear, King George's War... all come under the heading of the War of the Austrian Succession.

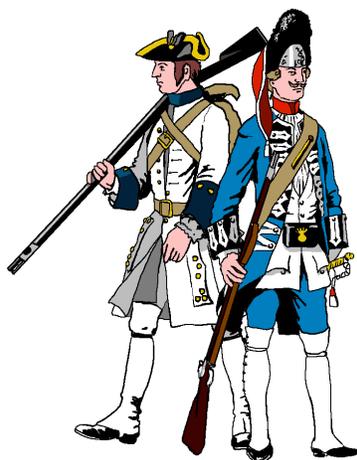
Placing all these conflicts under one umbrella is more than a historian's crutch. From 1740 to 1745 at least, the fate of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty was at the centre of the struggle. Maria Theresa von Habsburg was the daughter of Charles VI, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and much else besides (Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, various parts of Italy, part of the Balkans, Belgium). More importantly, she was his heir – for the Emperor had no sons. And when Charles' expected demise occurred, on October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1740, those with an interest in the Imperial succession, or in grabbing bits of Habsburg property, had their plans well laid.

### **Origin of the Pragmatic Sanction**

Maria Theresa's succession was supposed to be guaranteed by a device called the Pragmatic Sanction. This document confirmed that a) the Habsburg dynastic lands could not be shared among multiple heirs, and b) inheritance of said lands was permitted through a female line, which was not usual in Germanic legal systems. This inheritance included a right to the supposedly elective Empire. Maria Theresa would not be an Empress in her own right – that was impossible – but her husband could be Emperor.

Nearly two hundred years before, when the great Habsburg Emperor Charles V abdicated in 1556, he had divided his vast holdings in half. Spain, the Low Countries, most of Italy, and America went to his son Phillip II (of Armada fame). Austria and the Holy Roman Empire went to Charles' brother, Ferdinand I. Troubles with the succession started with Phillip's descendant, King Charles II of Spain, who reigned at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Charles II had no children, and since the Habsburgs had no official laws of succession at that time, a wide variety of contenders could be expected, including the French *Dauphin* (the son of Louis XIV, who in the event died before his father), Maximilian II of Bavaria, and the Duke of Savoy.

Strong efforts were made by the European powers to avert a crisis. The Maritime Powers (England and Holland) were



opposed to the French acquisition of Spain; France and the Maritime Powers were opposed to Charles II's own idea of reuniting the Habsburg family – which was a real possibility since his wife was an Austrian Habsburg. The first solution arrived at was the Treaty of The Hague (1698) or First Partition Treaty, in which the Spanish holdings were to be divided between the *Dauphin* and Joseph Ferdinand, the son of Maximilian II of Bavaria. The former would get Naples and Sicily. Joseph Ferdinand would get Spain itself, plus the Spanish Netherlands and America. A son of the Emperor Leopold was to receive Milan. Unfortunately, the Bavarian duke died unexpectedly, so, in 1699, a Second Partition Treaty (the Treaty of London), gave the *Dauphin* Naples, Sicily, and Tuscany. Charles of Austria (the man who would have received Milan the first time) was to receive Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and America. Duke Leopold of Lorraine was to give up Lorraine *et Bar* to the *Dauphin* in exchange for Milan. But Emperor Leopold (the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs, remember) vetoed these ideas, as the scheme would break up the Spanish Empire.

When Charles II died, matters were further complicated, since he simply willed all his possessions to Phillip of Anjou, the second son of the *Dauphin*. This set off the War of the Spanish Succession, which lasted from 1701 to 1713. During this war, Emperor Leopold died (1705 – he had begun his reign as Emperor in 1658) and was succeeded by his son Joseph I. The latter in turn died in 1711, leaving two unmarried daughters. It was at this point that Charles of Austria, Joseph's younger brother, became Emperor Charles VI.

In 1703, Leopold had made his sons sign a Succession Pact with a clause explicitly stating that females could only succeed to the family lands when all the male lines were extinct. Within this restriction, the elder line came (as might be expected) first. However, when Charles VI came to the throne, he wrote his own will, and this document placed *his* daughters ahead of his elder brother's in the line of succession. Charles VI overrode the political storm this created by having the "Pact of 1703" read aloud at Vienna with his modifications inserted; this declaration was the Pragmatic Sanction of April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1713.

It is vital to note that the two daughters of Joseph married into the Saxon and Bavarian Houses. Both ducal electors waived their claims and agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction when Charles asked them to, but there were qualifications. The Saxon Elector, August the Strong, demanded Imperial support for his candidacy for the Polish crown; this led to the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735), after which he did indeed become King of Poland, ousting the French-backed Lesczinski (mainly because Russia also supported the Saxon claim – they were not about to have a Polish King who was supported by a great power like France as well as by his own people). Lesczinski in turn became Duke of Lorraine, ousting Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen, who was given Spanish-owned Tuscany in compensation, thus irritating the Spanish Royals beyond measure and contributing to their own involvement in the War of the Austrian Succession! (Whose idea was this? – oh, the British, old boy, to be sure).

The Bavarian Elector, on the other hand, while openly agreeing to the Sanction, as early as 1714 signed a secret treaty with France in which Louis XIV pledged French support for Wittelsbach claims to both the Bohemian crown and the Imperial throne. Technically, this was not a repudiation of the Sanction; it was claimed that there was a clause in Emperor Ferdinand's will that provided for the Wittelsbachs to inherit these titles once the male line of Habsburgs went extinct – as it

was to do in 1740. The claim was a forgery, since the clause really referred to the extinction of the entire Habsburg House; nevertheless, it was the basis for Bavaria's surprising actions on the accession of Maria Theresa.

### Lighting the Fuse

By the time of his death, Charles VI thought he had the agreement of Europe on the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction, having spent much of his life running around getting people to sign on to it, but France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria all decided they had better ideas. Europe noted that the Habsburgs were losing their grip. Their "empire" was nothing more than a loose collection of territories, each determined to uphold its own prerogatives and acquire more. Perhaps most importantly, the Hungarians had been told they could go back to an elective kingship if the Austrian Habsburgs had no male heir; they now had to decide if they would do so. And to top it off, Charles VI had just had his army shattered by the Musselmén.

With regard to the Holy Roman Empire, the Habsburgs claimed a hereditary right to what was in fact another elective position; historical precedents could be drawn showing where a strong challenger had made a lasting change to the imperial dynasty, Rudolf I of Habsburg not the least of them. Maria Theresa's husband, *Großherzog* Franz Stephan von Toscana, late von Lotharingen, who would be the actual Emperor, was of French descent. Not good for Germany, cried his opponents.

But did there have to be a war over the Empire? Or, if there were, why should it exceed all bounds? After all, the Imperial Diet was supposed to resolve questions of succession at a political level. The use of force might be threatened. But a full scale war? The Habsburg dynasty might appear to be collapsing, offering opportunity for some... but then again, would it? There were voices calling for stability and moderation, too. Which of the jackals would make the first move and risk a stick across the back?

It will disappoint fans of the socioeconomic approach to history, but the War of the Austrian Succession was to a large extent the product of the decisions of two men: Friedrich II, *König im Preußen*, and M. Fouquet, *Maréchal le Comte de Belle-Isle*, of France. The rest of Europe contributed according to its station in life, but these two men ensured the conflict would be a major one.

The sociological angle comes when one remembers that the states of Europe were by and large governed by individuals belonging to a warrior aristocracy, supported to a varying degree by a civilian bureaucracy, and, to a small extent, by their subjects at large, but mainly supported by like-minded aristocrats with the same warrior traditions. War was both the prerogative of this elite, and its *raison d'être*. Of course such men would employ military might in the pursuit of their political ambitions – "political" aims equating to dynastic aims in their thinking. If one was hoping to acquire title to a property that the owner refused to sell, trial by combat was a valid option, and could bring glory to one's own house in the eyes of rivals. For such men, war was very much playing at toy soldiers on a large scale.

Frederick II thought no different than his peers. He was more ambitious perhaps, more dynamic certainly, but his goals were similar to those of the rulers around him. He wanted the secularised bishoprics of Jülich and Berg, to which he had some legitimate title; he wanted certain counties in Silesia for the same reason (the last Duke of Silesia had conferred them on his House in 1675 but the Habsburgs "stole" them when they annexed the entire duchy directly to the Bohemian crown). The

Habsburgs refused to sell these items, so Frederick went to war. He *did* know that his actions would precipitate a European crisis, and he *did* gamble that in the general confusion he would be able to grab a few extras – just as the Habsburgs would have done if his own House had been in a state of flux. And besides, he was a young king, newly crowned, and anxious to show his stuff. Perhaps, at times, Frederick also caught a vision of a Germany centred on Brandenburg-Prussia, rather than on Austria-Hungary – enough of a vision for him to mutter about the dismemberment of the Habsburg House, and not merely as a diplomatic diversion. But most of the time he was simply trying to gain what he could and hold onto it, through offensive action when possible, through manoeuvre and diplomacy when not.

Belle-Isle, too, was a product of his environment, but his aims and ambitions were amazingly grandiose (one is tempted to add “in the classic French manner”). The problem was his dreams were out of date. A generation had passed since the glory days of Louis *Quatorze*. The new king was of age, but seemed disinclined to play the part of monarch to the greatest nation on Earth. French prestige was slipping. Here was an opportunity to deal a mighty blow to the greatest *perceived* enemy of France – the House of Habsburg. Belle-Isle also dreamed of a dismembered Habsburg Empire. In advocating such a course, he would unwittingly trade a single enemy in decline for two enemies whose vitality would allow them to surpass France, one on land, and the other at sea. But in 1740, such a thing could scarcely be conceived. The inimical Habsburgs must go.

The House of Wittelsbach had produced an Emperor in the not too distant past, why not again? Bavaria had become something of a friend to France – not that France ever really had any friends in Germany, but it was within the French orbit at least. There was also Louis XIV’s promise of 1714, to aid the Bavarian Elector in obtaining the crown of Bohemia and the Imperial diadem. Geopolitically, Bavaria would provide an alternative flag for the smaller states, such as Brandenburg, to rally around.

The other candidates were not suitable catspaws. George of Hanover was also King of England – definitely *not* a good idea to support him. August III of Saxony might do (after all, he had a legitimate claim, sort of), but Saxony was too prone to bullying by Hanover, Brandenburg, and Austria, and August was too prone to mooning over his collection of Meißer crockery. The duchy was also too far away. Frederick of Brandenburg was a cypher, and his resources were dispersed across northern Europe. Minor candidates, like the Wittelsbach Elector Palatine, lacked the means or the desire. Only Charles Albert of Bavaria had the desire, a ready excuse, a strong army, and compact lands lying close to the French border. The Wittelsbach family owned most of the Rhineland, too, and had ties with many other princely houses.

France had no territorial ambitions. So said the King’s chief minister, Cardinal Fleury, and for once, Belle-Isle agreed. But a generation after the wars of Louis XIV, France still suffered from the “encirclement” syndrome that would later plague the Germans; she “needed” a zone of influence beyond her borders. Since Spain was ruled by a Bourbon dynasty, the south was relatively safe. If the Dons did try anything, the British would ally with France to prevent a united Bourbon state. The Italian frontier was also pretty solid. France had a long history of involvement in Italy, a Bourbon sat on the throne of Naples, and the North Italian states were usually more sympathetic to France than to the heavy-handed Habsburgs. Only the lands along the Rhine needed additional protection. A Bavarian

Emperor upheld by French arms would guarantee security for France’s German frontiers and give her a much greater say in the affairs of Central Europe.

The question remained, how best to arrive at this state of affairs? An Imperial Election really ought to be held soon, lest the political stars fall out of alignment – the various Electors having been persuaded, bought, or intimidated into dropping Maria Theresa, they might as easily change their minds again. The most dramatic option would be to take Vienna by force and drive Maria Theresa into exile, but this would not be easy. Vienna was the most heavily fortified city in Europe. A better solution, and one that would fulfil the promise of 1714, would be the conquest of the Kingdom of Bohemia.

Bohemia was a nominally independent kingdom. But as a possession of the Habsburgs, it came under the umbrella of their personal Empire (as opposed to the Holy Roman Empire, of which it was *not* a part). Prague, the capital, was the second city of the Habsburg dynasty. And the family was not popular with the Bohemians. No foreign dynasty was popular with the Czechs, especially a *Catholic* dynasty. The nobility, forcibly transplanted to Bohemia in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, was loyal to Maria Theresa only because it had no support in the country itself. In contrast, many people remembered the previous Wittelsbach dynasty with fondness (the latter being Protestant Rhenish relations of the Bavarian Charles Albert). By taking Bohemia, Charles Albert would not only become a king (like his peers George of Hanover, Frederick of Brandenburg, and August of Saxony), but he would gain a second electoral vote – or at worst, and as it actually fell out, the Bohemian vote would be discounted in the final tally.

Belle-Isle’s plan had its detractors, of course, chief among them being Cardinal Fleury, King Louis XV’s boyhood tutor. Fleury agreed with the need to increase France’s influence in Germany, but he was old and cautious, and France had agreed to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction. However, he absented himself when the vote for war was cast in council, so Belle-Isle got his way – more or less. Because of the Cardinal’s foot-dragging, the first of the 40,000 French “auxiliaries” sent to help Bavaria did not cross the Rhine until late in the summer of 1741. They did not all arrive at once, either, but in dribs and drabs, as the Cardinal saw fit.

Fleury took care that Belle-Isle should move at *his* pace, with exactly the forces required and no more. Opinions vary on whether the Cardinal really was an old dotard, as Belle-Isle’s circle claimed, or whether he was playing a deep political game in Germany that needed Belle-Isle’s involvement, but on a short leash. (Why did he abstain from voting on the course of action, for instance?) Simple jealousy of Belle-Isle may have played a part. And it may have been that, like everyone except the Prussians, the French were several months behind on their mobilisation schedule.

There were other factors that made war a virtual certainty. One was the Spanish desire for additional lands in Italy. The Spanish Queen wanted a duchy for one of her sons. Italy had been within the Spanish orbit until recently; the Queen was also Italian herself – Elisabeth Farnese. Another factor was the current British war with Spain over the latter’s monopoly of Caribbean trade. Britain would be sure to aid Austria in the Mediterranean in order to score off Spain. Up in the Alps, the King of Piedmont-Sardinia was interested in acquiring additional lands at somebody’s expense. But ultimately, for the explosion that was soon to come, it was Frederick of Prussia who provided the spark, and Belle-Isle of France who provided the powder.

## OF STATES AND DYNASTS

### **Prussia**

No, I'm not going to write a biography of Frederick, not even a short one. There are too many already. Go to the library. Really, the only choice is whether you want the 42-volume concordance or the 700-page abridged paperback in 3-point font – and the only difference of opinion seems to lie in whether Frederick was a god or merely a genius (although a few daring souls admit he had faults). <Sigh> All right, here are two camp stories that you are probably familiar with:

*A young French soldier once joined the Prussian Army and soon had to take part in a review. Since he was in the front rank, it was possible that the King might stop and talk with him, so his NCOs coached him on what to say (German being the language of the parade ground, you understand, even though French was the language of the Court). Frederick invariably asked three questions: "How old are you?" "How long have you been in my service?" and "Are you satisfied with your pay and treatment?", so the coaching was pretty easy. Well, the King did stop and talk to the young man. Unfortunately, he began with the second question first:*

*"How long have you been in my service?"*

*"Twenty-one years, an' it please Your Majesty"*

*Frederick, struck by the soldier's youth, then asked,*

*"How old are you?"*

*"One year, an' it please Your Majesty"*

*The King thereupon cried,*

*"Either you or I must certainly be mad!"*

*"Both, an' it please Your Majesty"*

*To which Frederick replied, "this is the first time I ever was treated as a madman at the head of my army!" He questioned the soldier again and finally the man spoke in French, at which point, the mystery cleared up, the King laughed, and passed on.*

The second story goes like this:

*During one of the campaigns of the First Silesian War, Frederick planned to make some covert relocations to his forces; he had ordered that no light should be shown in the camps after a certain hour. On making his rounds of the encampments, as he always did, Frederick spotted a candle burning and went to investigate. He found the man in charge of that particular camp writing a letter to his wife. "What are you doing there – do you not know the orders?" The captain begged for mercy, and was told to finish his letter, but Frederick said he wanted him to add a few words, which he would dictate. After the captain had finished, the King dictated the following to him: "Tomorrow I shall perish on the scaffold". The officer was hanged the next day.*

Actually, good biographies of Frederick tend to be quite critical of his performance, though any way you look at it, he still stands head and shoulders above his peers, if only on dynamism. But historians still fall out. Part of the problem is whether to accept Frederick's own version of events. If his memory seems faulty, is he deceiving his enemies, posterity, or himself, or perhaps all three? And was that memo, duly docketed as an historical relic in the *Bundsarchive*, intended for his ministers' perusal, or as a plant for the French envoy? Plus he wrote so prolifically that it's impossible not to use his material (his one-liners are great stuff), some of which gets taken out of context. I recommend Asprey's work (see the bibliography) as an easily obtained and entertaining English version. Thomas Carlyle's 19<sup>th</sup> Century compendium is also an enjoyable read despite its age. Volumes 12 through 15 deal with the War of the Austrian Succession. Carlyle's prose does not suffer greatly from the usual "stiltification" of his day, and his descriptions of people and events are vivid. Bear in mind,

however, he not only a major philosophical writer, but the founding father of the Frederician Cult.

The Hohenzollerns came originally from southwest Germany (they were near neighbours, and rivals, of the Habsburgs). The name is derived from the lands and castle of Zollern, near Stuttgart. The family early acquired territory in Swabia and Franconia (including Bayreuth and Nuremberg), but rose to prominence when Friedrich I became an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire through the acquisition of Brandenburg (Margrave in 1411, Elector in 1415). The latter territory became their power base for the next 500 years. Like all the princely families, the dynasty split, in this case into Swabian and Franconian branches; the latter became the rulers of Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

In 1525, a junior member of the Franconian branch became Duke of Prussia, a backward frontier region lying outside the Empire. It was not until 1701 that Friedrich III, "The Great Elector", received from the Emperor the right to be called "King in Prussia" (i.e. "you can be a king in Prussia, but not in Germany"). Frederick the Great became King of Prussia, but not until 1772. With Napoleon's reforms, the Hohenzollerns lost the title to Brandenburg in 1806, and their power base shifted to Prussia. The later history of the Hohenzollerns is the history of Germany to the end of the Great War in 1918. The Swabian branch gave kings to Romania until 1947.

### **The Prussian Army**

The Prussian Army of the Frederician period has been extensively examined for the last two hundred years – it became, after all, the model for most European armies. An excellent primer is Duffy's *The Army of Frederick the Great*; another useful book is Showalter's *The Wars of Frederick the Great* (see the bibliography).

At the beginning of Frederick's reign, Prussia's strength lay exclusively in her infantry, which for general discipline and steadiness in battle could not be matched, except perhaps by the British. (While observing at a Prussian field day, a British officer was asked by King Frederick William – the Drillmaster of Europe – if he thought an equal number of British troops could beat the Prussian Guards; the officer replied that he wasn't sure it was possible, but he knew that half the number would try!) The other arms began in a neglected state, but were improved as they were shown to be necessary for the winning of battles, beginning with the cavalry. By the end of the Second Silesian War, the infantry was still better than the other arms, with the cavalry slowly catching up.

Before the war, Prussia's military reputation was low in comparison with, say, Austria or France. Belonging to a "middle-rank" power, Prussia's army was seen as a useful adjunct to the Imperial one – its traditional role under the Great Elector and his son. Indeed, in the late War of the Polish Succession, it had done the Emperor good service as one of his corps. But behind the scenes the old king, Frederick William I, had raised the Prussian Army to an efficiency that even his own successor was to find amazing.

Tactically and technologically, developments such as iron ramrods (versus wooden ones) and the use of a three-rank line instead of the normal four are cited as important advantages for the Prussians. The Prussian Army also benefited from its command structure being homogeneous; from the colonels on up, everyone was (usually) "on the same page". Since Frederick was both King and commander, he had a higher degree of control over whether the army's campaigns went as he desired – subject to the normal frictions of war.

But the real advantage that the Prussians enjoyed did not lie in battlefield drills, or better weaponry. It lay in the fact that Prussia had, earlier than anyone else, developed a truly militarized state. Austrian campaign preparations took ages, because of the time needed to acquire fresh drafts of cannon fodder; and in consequence, they were hesitant to risk battle. In contrast, the Prussians had a ready reserve of troops at hand, thanks to their habit of training more men than actually required – these men were demobilised, but remained eligible for active service, and conducted refresher training every year (the numbers involved were still tiny compared with the *levee en masse*, but huge in comparison with other states). Mobilisation from peace to war thus took under six weeks, and they could restore a battered army comparatively quickly.

The weakness of Prussia sounds familiar – she could not afford a long war, and therefore had to strike pre-emptively and hard. At the same time, Frederick never ceased his diplomacy, and was always ready to make a deal for even a temporary respite. Another weak point was a lack of resources (the King was forced to rely on imported Swedish iron for his cannon, for

example). This problem was eased somewhat after Silesia was conquered, but the province was not truly developed until the Seven Years War. At an operational level, the Army suffered from a nearly complete lack of light forces. Not only were the Prussians thus incapable of dealing with the inroads of the Austrian Hussars and Pandours, they could not conduct effective reconnaissance (except where the population was friendly), and were surprised on a number of occasions, only being saved by Austrian ineptness.

### Austria

The Habsburgs original seat was in northeast Switzerland, with lands extending into Swabia, but it only took two or three generations after their emergence onto the European stage in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century for them to secure the imperial throne and hold it (with a few interruptions) until the Napoleonic era. The first Habsburg Emperor was Rudolf I. Emperor Charles V was the greatest of the family, owning lands that extended around the world – Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, Spain, America, and the Philippines. However, this grand empire broke into two

## General Feldmarshal Leopold I, Prinz von Anhalt-Dessau (der Alte Dessauer) (1676-1747) & Sons, Ltd.



Born July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1676, at Dessau. Only surviving son of John George II of Anhalt-Dessau. Trained to the profession of arms from earliest youth. Colonel of a Prussian regiment in 1693; his father's death that year made him head of the principality of Anhalt-Dessau, bordering Brandenburg. For the rest of his life he combined the duties of sovereign prince and Prussian officer. Campaigned in the Netherlands 1695-97 and was present at the siege of Namur. Married an apothecary's daughter (Anna Luise Fose) in 1698 (it took until 1701 to obtain her the title of princess). His wife exerted a benign influence on him and proved capable of acting as Regent in his many absences; she sometimes took the field with him.

The Old Dessauer was the man responsible for the introduction of iron ramrods into Prussian service. Leopold commanded a Prussian corps during the Rhine campaign of 1703 (Prussia fighting on behalf of the Empire in the War of the Spanish Succession). He was present at the sieges of Kaiserswerth and Venlo. Distinguished at the battle of Hochstadt (1703), despite it being an Imperial defeat. Served under *Prinz* Louis von Baden in 1704, and then under the great Eugene; his performance at Blenheim was outstanding. In 1705 he took a Prussian corps to Italy to serve under Eugene again; he fought bravely at the battles of Cassano (1705) and Turin (1706), being the first man into the enemy entrenchments at the latter affray. After another Italian campaign (1707), Leopold followed Eugene to the Netherlands and fought at the siege of Tournai, and at Malplaquet (1709). In 1710 he was made the overall commander of the Prussian contingent; and at the express wish of *Kronprinz* Friedrich Wilhelm (serving under him as a volunteer) he was made *General Feldmarshal* in 1712. He earned kudos for his brilliantly executed coup de main against the castle of Mors, where the garrison was captured without a shot. Under Friedrich Wilhelm I, Leopold became a key figure in the government. He accompanied the Prussian king during the war with Sweden in 1715, commanding the 40,000-man Prussian army and defeating Charles XII in the tough battle of Riigen Island. Prosecuted the siege of Straslund with great success and helped to place Prussia in a good bargaining position *vis a vis* the Swedes. During the War of the Polish Succession, Leopold served again under Eugene, this time as a Marshal of the Empire, with a reputation (after Eugene's death) as the greatest living soldier of his age.

During the 1720's, after a quarrel and duel with General von Grumbkow, Leopold buried himself in the training of the Prussian Army. He is generally acknowledged to be the author of its lasting fame. A stern disciplinarian, the Old Dessauer was primarily an infantry soldier, with little regard for the horse, and even less for the guns. Even more important than his influence on the army was his influence on the Prussian, and ultimately German political scene. Through Leopold's intervention, *Kronprinz* Friedrich was spared execution for desertion and eventually rehabilitated into the army. Leopold thus ensured the eventual succession of Frederick the Great.

After Frederick's accession and during the subsequent War of the Austrian Succession, the Old Dessauer held independent commands, partly because Frederick could trust him in that role, and partly because he had a hard time dealing with him face to face. Leopold's last victory was against the Saxons at Kesseldorf, on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1745. Although faulted for a dilatoriness that could have cost him the battle (he didn't think much of Frederick's master plan), his success ensured a speedy end to the Second Silesian War. A devout Lutheran, in contrast to Frederick's avowed Atheism, before the battle he prayed, "O Lord God, let me not be disgraced in my old days. Or if Thou wilt not help me, do not help these scoundrels, but leave us to try it ourselves." After the war Leopold retired to Dessau, following his beloved wife, who had died in 1745, on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1747.

Leopold had three sons, all princes of Anhalt-Dessau, who rose to high command in the Prussian service: Leopold II Maximilian (1700-1751), Dietrich (d. 1769), and Moritz (1712-1760). Dietrich's service was good but undistinguished. Leopold Maximilian, the Young Dessauer, was one of Frederick's most able generals; he captured Glogau in 1741, and fought at Mollwitz, Chotusitz, Hohenfriedburg, and Soor (all under the King). He received a field promotion to *Feldmarshal* at Chotusitz. Moritz (Maurice) was the most famous. He served as a volunteer during the War of the Polish Succession and soon went on to hold important commands under Frederick William. Under Frederick II, Moritz distinguished himself at Hohenfriedburg and Kesseldorf (where his wing broke through the Austrian portion of the line). After the war, Moritz supervised the colonization of Pomerania and the Oder Valley. During the Seven Years War, he commanded a column at Pirna (1756) and received the Saxon surrender there. An aggressive person under any circumstances, the foulmouthed Moritz muffed the battle of Kolin, attacking prematurely against orders. He redeemed himself at Leuthen (1757), where he earned his marshal's baton. Distinguished again at Zorndorf (1758), he was wounded and captured at Hochkirch. Two years later he was released, only to die of the wound he had received in his last battle.

branches after his abdication in 1556. The two lines were the Spanish and Austrian, with the former holding the overseas empire, the Low Countries, and much of Italy. The Spanish line ended in 1701, and was supplanted by a Bourbon nephew of Louis XIV of France, sparking the War of the Spanish Succession. The Austrian branch held the Holy Roman Empire – without interruption in this period – until death of Charles VI in 1740. Apart from their imperial holdings, several Italian provinces, and the region of modern Belgium (recovered during the War of the Spanish Succession), the Austrian branch also ruled the nominally independent kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia (of which Silesia was a province). Strictly speaking, the family, from the accession of Maria Theresa, should be called the Habsburg-Lorraine branch, since her husband was Grand Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine (confusingly he is also known as the Duke of Tuscany, since he exchanged Lorraine for the latter as a result of the War of the Polish Succession).

When Napoleon dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 and took the title of Emperor for himself, the current Habsburg, Francis II, countered by declaring himself the Emperor of Austria; this title was held by the family until 1918 when the post-war German revolutions forced them to abdicate. (The name Austro-Hungarian Empire was adopted in 1867).

The Habsburgs never really ruled a united nation state; the central bureaucracy was imposed on a federation of provinces, duchies, and kingdoms. A partial list of Maria Theresa's titles later in her reign runs as follows: Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, Duchess Moravia and Schlesia (even though it was now Prussia's), Queen of Croatia and Dalmatia, Princess of Transylvania and Grand Duchess of Siebenbürgen, Duchess of Gelders, Limburg, Jülich, Luxembourg, Brabant, Quilon, Bar and Franche-Comté, Margravine of Higher-Elsass, Breisgau, Lower-Elsass and

Antwerpen, Countess of Flanders, Hainault, d'Artois, Boulouge, Namur, Ponthieu, Picardie, d'Eu, Vermandôis, Charolais, Macon, Montbeliard, Zutphen, Nevers and Rethel, and Baroness d'Ilês, Bar-sur-Seine, etc. One can see why her contemporaries thought it would be easy to collect a few of those items, but the Habsburg Empire proved amazingly resilient.

The character of the late Charles VI did much to harm the Habsburg cause. He was slightly less bigoted and narrow-minded than his father, Joseph I, but not as well educated, or as intelligent. Fortunate in having a string of superior diplomats at his command, he still managed to negate a large part of their efforts. He also neglected to reform the Army, and was ultimately responsible for the defeats that he blamed on his generals. Finally, he lacked the supreme requirement of a ruler – the ability to make a decision.

Under his father Leopold's reign, the western realms were neglected in favour of eastern affairs, which a) drew the Habsburgs into conflict with the Turks, b) helped weaken the position of the western (Spanish) branch of the family, and c) contributed to the rise of France under Louis XIV. The War of the Spanish Succession was the first great clash between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons since the Thirty Years War. When Charles VI took over toward its end, he continued the ineffectual policies of his father. Wanting to reunite the old Habsburg lands in such an obvious manner, he found himself abandoned by the British and forced to make a poor peace – a peace that could have been arrived at much earlier and on much better terms if he had simply been willing to do a deal with the Bourbons. Instead, though France's ambitions were checked, Charles had made a powerful enemy and lost half the Habsburg dominions.

This trait of stubbornness continued throughout his reign. He

### Otto Ferdinand Graf von Abensperg und Traun (August 27<sup>th</sup> 1677- February 18<sup>th</sup> 1748)



Born at Oldenburg, the young von Traun was sent to Halle to finish his education, but left university in 1693 to serve with the Prussians in the Low Countries (they were a contingent of the Imperial Army fighting the French). He saw much service in this War of the Grand Alliance, and joined the Imperial Army of the Habsburgs at its conclusion. Served again in the War of the Austrian Succession in Italy and on the Rhine. In 1709, Traun became a Lieutenant Colonel and aide-de-camp to Field Marshal Starhemberg (1654-1737) at Spairf. In 1710, he was promoted to Colonel due to his distinguished services, and in 1712 became colonel of an infantry regiment. At the end of the war he found himself employed again at the action of Francavilla in Sicily (War of the Quadruple Alliance – 1719), where he was wounded severely. For his services he received a promotion to *General-Feldwachtmeister* in 1723. Governor of Messina in 1727; *Feldmarshall-Lieutenant* in 1733.

In 1734 Traun became famous for his defence of the Pass of S. Germano, and then of the fortress of Capua. Despite surrendering the latter (the place was in ruins), his men received the honours of war and he received a promotion to *Feldzugmeister* (General of Infantry), after which he was given a political role in Hungary, which proved very difficult. Later he was made commander in chief in north Italy and an interim governor of the Milanese. In this post he received the homage of the army and civil bureaucracy on Maria Theresa's accession in 1740. In 1741 he was made *Generalfeldmarshall*.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, Traun served in Italy until 1743, with great success. On the death of Marshal Khevenhüller, he was moved to the German theatre and made Prince Charles' principle military advisor. Traun was responsible for executing the crossing of the Rhine (in both directions) and removed of the Prussians from Bohemia in 1744 without fighting a battle.

His last active service was in 1745, when he commanded an army sent to Frankfort am Main to pressure the Diet into electing Francis Stephen as Emperor (thus allowing Duke Charles to blow the whole anti-Prussian campaign at one go). Traun died at Hermannstadt in February 1748.

persisted in holding on to the dream of a reunited Habsburg Empire (hence the emphasis on Italian possessions and the acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands) and now neglected the East – not just Turkish affairs, but Russian affairs too. He focused almost exclusively on guaranteeing his daughter Maria Theresa's accession – to the point that he broke off her projected marriage into the Spanish Bourbon house (!) because the British and Prussians would not sign on to the Pragmatic Sanction if the marriage went through.

Maria Theresa was eventually married to Francis Stephen in 1736. It was an unusually happy match for the period. Recently awarded the Duchy of Tuscany, together they ruled this small patch of the world until the Emperor's death. Two months later the twenty-three-year-old Duchess of Tuscany found herself running an empire at war with most of Europe.

A biography of Maria Theresa would be a history of the Habsburg Empire over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. She reigned for 40 years, and was probably the greatest member of her House – the only woman ever to rule the Habsburg dynasty. An attractive woman, she reportedly had a warm personality and a strong will (sharing the Habsburg trait of stubbornness that plagued her father). She was conservative in outlook and very religious, her Court being “the most moral in Europe” (very surprising for an *Austrian* court). She was also a true “*Küche und Kinder*” *hausfrau*, devoted to her children, indeed loving children in general (especially babies). She also loved her husband, though she came to recognise his lack of ability in certain areas, notably on the battlefield. During this, her first war, she suffered greatly from lack of experience, forcing her to rely on her late father's choice of councillors (mainly narrow-minded ones like himself). Educated to be a woman of the Court, with all the expected accomplishments from coquetry to needlepoint, she was forced to learn diplomacy, strategy, and imperial administration the hard way.

### The Habsburg Army

*“In our service you descend at once from the grands seigneurs to the parvenus”*

*The Prince de Ligne*

Without a Prussian-style cantonal system, the Austrian regiments depended for their strength on a combination of recruiting drives, peasant levies, and the personal efforts of the *inhabers* (colonel-proprietors) – who often recruited men from their own estates in a semi-feudal manner.

Infantry regiments were posted to new locations on a three-year rotation, usually to areas other than where they were recruited. The cavalry was mainly stationed in Hungary, due to the availability of cheap and plentiful forage.

A standard, or “German” infantry regiment consisted of three battalions, one of which was a *dépôt* battalion used for storing recruits and gathering stragglers. “Foreign” regiments – including Hungarian, Netherlandish, and Italian – had four battalions. A few rogue units, like the Tyrolers, had different establishments.

The cavalry was organised into regiments of cuirassiers and dragoons, plus an increasing number of hussars. In practice, cuirassiers and dragoons were both medium cavalry, but the cuirassiers used heavier horses and wore breastplates. The hussars were a step up from the typical pandour warband, but still rowdy and hard to control. In large numbers they could be very effective, but could also be driven off by artillery or steady infantry fire. The regular horse regiments were the

cream of the Army, and considered the best in Europe at this date.

At the start of the war, the Austrian artillery, though numerous, was outdated and cumbersome, and still relied on civilian contractors for transport. Such people were not interested in remaining on a battlefield any longer than necessary, so the guns were often rendered immobile once battle commenced. *Prinz* Liechtenstein was given the task of reforming the branch in 1744, but his efforts did not pay off until the Seven Years War. The associated “technical services”, such as engineers and pontooneers, were also rudimentary during the early part of Maria Theresa's reign; there were no pioneer units, merely pioneer files in the infantry companies.

The Habsburgs never employed guard formations. With all the nationalities involved, it would be too easy for a group of praetorians to engineer a coup.

The light troops were a mixed bag of mercenaries (*frei-korps*) and *insurrection* (militia) units, and the famous *grenz* corps. The latter were only regularised toward the end of the war, originally serving as tribal units. They fought for booty rather than regular pay. The huge numbers employed in Central Europe were a fraction of the total available, since only a third could be called up at any one time (they were also permitted to go home every autumn); some 20,000 were permanently stationed on the Turkish border. Despite their motley appearance and organisation, and a near total lack of discipline off the battlefield (and sometimes on it), the Pandours, Croatsians, and other *grenz* units made a sizable contribution. The Austrian war effort would have collapsed without them.

As to tactics, the Habsburg armies employed the normal linear deployments, based on easily defended terrain and/or fieldworks, with lots of artillery support. They tended to favour the defensive and to be somewhat slower than their opponents. Partly this was due to the fact that they usually fielded larger armies, and partly it was due to an overloaded command structure, but mostly it was because each regiment had its own way of doing things. Fire drills in particular were atrocious, but marching drills were little better.

The cavalry was taught to countercharge – never to receive a charge at the halt – and to go for the enemy's flanks. Most cavalry actions of the period consisted of each side passing through the other, turning round, and going again, then taking a break to rest the horses. Only if one side panicked and fled would a general meleé occur. Although both cuirassiers and dragoons carried firearms, these were only to be used in the meleé, or on piquet duty.

Light troops (foot and horse) were most effective in large swarms, but because they were so effective, every commander just *had* to have some, which diluted their effect. Converged grenadier battalions only became popular later in Maria Theresa's reign, after the Prussians had demonstrated their effectiveness. This was in part because the *inhabers* did not want their best men siphoned off.

### France

France was unquestionably the most powerful nation in Europe. And it truly was a nation, even if the Bretons did choose to speak their own language and Swiss mercenaries were considered to be the only reliable elements in the Army. By developing a bureaucracy to assist the King and harnessing the unruly nobility to his service, a succession of brilliant officers of the Court (most prominently Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin) had forged a unified central administration. Louis

XIV had used his machinery of power to wage wars of aggrandisement and dynastic ambition; he nearly beggared the country doing so, but he made Europe tremble. Louis XV gave the country a breathing space, but as he matured, France went

into decline and a power vacuum appeared in Germany. France's old enemies began to think of revenge and new powers were on the rise.

### M. Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet, Maréchal le Comte de Belle-Isle (1684-1761)



*Maréchal* Belle-Isle was one of the prime movers, perhaps *the* prime mover, of the war of the Austrian Succession – certainly as far as the French were concerned. He was born at Villefranche de Rouergue, the grandson of Nicholas Fouquet, Louis XIV's Superintendent of Finances, the man made famous by Alexandre Dumas' portrayal in *The Man in the Iron Mask* (you remember, he was arrested by d'Artagnan for throwing more lavish parties than the King – a true case of *lèse majesté*). Although the son lived in disgrace, by keeping out of politics he enabled the grandson, the present Belle-Isle, to prosper in a military career. Colonel of a dragoon regiment in 1708, Belle-Isle fought in the War of the Spanish Succession, becoming successively a Brigadier and (in 1718) a *Maréchal de Camp*. Fought in the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-19), being present at the capture of Fontarabia (1718) and St. Sebastian (1719). Belle-Isle was imprisoned in the Bastille when the Duc de Bourbon took office as prime minister, and was later exiled to his estates. Under Cardinal Fleury, however, he was restored to favour and made *Lieutenant Général*. Fought in the War of the Polish Succession, under James Stuart's brother, *Maréchal* Berwick, and participated in the capture of Trier and Trarbach, as well as the siege of Phillipsburg (1734). At the end of the war, Belle-Isle, in recognition of his military and diplomatic services (he assisted at the negotiations over the fate of Lorraine), was made perpetual Governor of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. By now he had become a principle advisor to the government.

Thus, in 1741, as a new *Maréchal de France*, he was appointed France's plenipotentiary to Germany in order to carry out a grandiose reorganisation of the "decaying" Holy Roman Empire by supporting the Wittelsbach bid to replace the Habsburgs on the imperial throne. Ultimately he failed miserably, less from lack of ability (which he had in spades) than from a lack of resources – given the limitations of the *ancien régime*, even the most powerful nation in Europe proved incapable of effecting the changes that Napoleon would later institute with the help of the *levée en masse*. The action for which Belle-Isle became most famous was the Retreat from Prague. Despite the heroism and skill demonstrated here, Belle-Isle was held up to ridicule in France and his star went into decline. Things were not helped by his capture by the Hanoverians in 1744. After a year in Britain, Belle-Isle was exchanged and sent to command on the Piedmontese front. Here he restored a demoralised Army of Piedmont, and, with inferior forces, defeated a combined Austrian-Piedmontese offensive.

At the peace, Belle-Isle was created a Duke and Peer of France. By 1757 he had restored his credit at Court and was named Secretary for War, a post he held for three years. In this position, Belle-Isle managed to implement many much-needed reforms – such as suppressing the awarding of colonelcies to boys who were too young to command. He also instituted the Order of Merit. He died at Versailles, 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1761. An intellectual with literary tastes, Belle-Isle was elected a member of the French Academy in 1740 and founded the Academy of Metz in 1760. His only son being killed at Crefeld in 1758, the Dukedom lapsed with his death.

Belle-Isle had a younger brother, Louis Charles Armand Fouquet, known as le Chevalier de Belle-Isle (1693-1746), who was his partner in his endeavours (they were nicknamed "Thunder and Lightning"). A junior officer in the War of the Spanish Succession, the Chevalier served as a Brigadier during the Rhine-Moselle campaign of 1734, and won promotion to *Maréchal de Camp*. The Chevalier carried out political missions in Bavaria and Swabia during 1741-42, was promoted to *Lieutenant Général* in 1743, campaigned in Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Palatinate in 1742-43, and was arrested with his brother in 1744. On his release, the Chevalier again accompanied his brother and was given a command in the Army of Piedmont. He was killed leading the assault on the Col de l'Assiette position, 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1746.

Thomas Carlyle's epitaph on *Maréchal* Belle-Isle is worth quoting at length:

"A man of such intrinsic distinction as Belleisle, whom Friedrich afterwards deliberately called a great Captain, and the only Frenchman with a genius for war; and who, for some time, played in Europe at large a part like that of Warwick the Kingmaker: how has he fallen into such oblivion? Many of my readers never heard of him before; nor, in writing or otherwise, is there symptom that any living memory now harbors him, or has the least approach to an image of him! "For the times are babbly," says Goethe, "And then again the times are dumb –

*Denn geschwatzig sind die Zeiten,  
Und sie sind auch wieder stumm."*

"Alas, if a man sow only chaff, in never so sublime a manner, with the whole Earth and the long-eared populations looking on, and chorally singing approval, rendering night hideous, – it will avail him nothing. And that, to a lamentable extent, was Belleisle's case. His scheme of action was in most felicitously just accordance with the national sense of France, but by no means so with the Laws of Nature and of Fact; his aim, grandiose, patriotic, what you will, was unluckily false and not true. How could "the times" continue talking of him? They found they had already talked too much. Not to say that the French Revolution has since come; and has blown all that into the air, miles aloft, – where even the solid part of it, which must be recovered one day, much more the gaseous, which we trust is forever irrecoverable, now wanders and whirls; and many things are abolished, for the present, of more value than Belleisle! –

"For my own share, being, as it were, forced accidentally to look at him again, I find in Belleisle a really notable man; far superior to the vulgar of noted men, in his time or ours. Sad destiny for such a man! But when the general Life-element becomes so unspeakably phantasmal as under Louis XV, it is difficult for any man to be real; to be other than a play-actor, more or less eminent, and artistically dressed. Sad enough, surely, when the truth of your relation to the Universe, and the tragically earnest meaning of your Life, is quite lied out of you, by a world sunk in lies; and you can, with effort, attain to nothing but to be a more or less splendid lie along with it! Your very existence all become a vesture, a hypocrisy, and hearsay; nothing left of you but this sad faculty of sowing chaff in the fashionable manner! After Friedrich and Voltaire, in both of whom, under the given circumstances, one finds a perennial reality, more or less, – Belleisle is next; none FAILS to escape the mournful common lot by a nearer miss than Belleisle."

*Taken from Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great, Book XII, Chapter Seven*

The Bourbons were a relatively new dynasty for France. They were descended from Louis I, *Duc de Bourbon* (1327-1342), who was the grandson of the Capetian French king of that day, Louis IX. The Capetians died out in 1328, but a senior branch of the family, the Valois, blocked the accession of the Bourbons. Historians thus call the Bourbons the “third race” of French kings. It was the Valois who promoted the Salic Law, which said that inheritance could only pass through the male line, and under this law, Henry IV of Navarre became the first Bourbon monarch of France, in 1589.

Prior to their accession as kings, the Bourbons ruled the region later known as the Bourbonnais, plus La Marche and the Vendôme. In 1503, Charles de Bourbon-Montpensier became *Duc de Bourbon*; he was famous as Constable of France, and also because of his arrest for treason. The line of La Marche-Vendôme then took over the title. This family continued to divide and subdivide while acquiring new holdings; the Vendômes, who were also heads of the House of Bourbon, acquired Navarre (as “king-consort” to the Navarrese queen) in 1555. The son of this marriage was Henry IV of France (1553-1610, King in 1589). Henry himself is famous for changing his religion in order to become King. The equally famous Condé family, who owned Soissons and Conti as well, were descended from an uncle of Henry IV.

The heirs of Henry IV ruled from 1610 to 1792. As everyone knows, the monarchy was “suspended” during the Napoleonic era – according to diehard monarchists, Louis “XVII” ruled through this period. His son, Louis XVIII, ruled after the Napoleonic wars, followed by the reactionary Charles X, and a pretender, Henry V. The House of Orléans replaced the Bourbons in 1830, with the accession of Louis-Philippe (reigned 1830-1848). The Orléans are related to the Bourbons. The Brazilian Portuguese-French dynasty of Bourbon-Braganza traces its descent through Louis-Philippe. The Bourbons also supplied monarchs to Spain (1700-1808, 1814-1868, 1874-1931, and from 1975 on), Naples and the Two Sicilies (1734-1808, 1816-1860), Etruria (1801-1807), and dukes to Lucca (1815-1847 and Parma (1731-1735, 1748-1802, and 1847-1859).

The accession of a Bourbon (Philippe *Duc d'Anjou*, a grandson of Louis XIV) to a previously Habsburg Spain in 1700 sparked the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713). The Italian Bourbons are also of Spanish origin; Parma and Naples were of some importance in the War of the Austrian Succession.

The monarch who reigned during the War of the Austrian Succession, Louis XV, *le Bien-Aimé* – Louis the Well-Beloved – was born in 1710, and ruled from 1715 to 1774, though during his minority his regime was controlled by a Regent, the *Duc d'Orléans* (his cousin twice removed). It should be noted in passing that Louis’ grandfather had married into the House of Wittelsbach, and that his father was Duke of Savoy. He himself married the Duke of Lorraine’s daughter; the present Duke of Lorraine was the old King of Poland, Stanislaus Leszcinski. In other words, he had connections.

Louis has been described as an indolent monarch who had great potential, but never used it. He displayed flashes of kingship on the battlefield, but preferred women and the chase as his “active” pursuits. At other times he was sunk in lethargy. A large part of the problem lay in his upbringing. Orphaned at age five, he had been a pawn between the powerful *Duc d'Orléans* and the even more powerful Madame de Maintenon. To keep him out of their hair, his education was entrusted to the Jesuits. A common tag of that order was “give us the child until age five, and we will give you the man”. As a result, Louis grew

into a deeply religious person, but his religion cast back to a Medieval-seeming superstition.

A pious king would have been a good thing, but in order to keep him under control, the worldly factions at Court saw to it that he received an education from them as well. Thus Louis was constantly going off on a tangent. His latest mistress would encourage his martial ardour; Louis would go to the war. Tired of camp life, Louis would return to the fleshpots of Paris. Remorse for his conduct with another mistress would send her to a convent and him back to the war. And so on.

Up until 1743, France was in effect governed by Cardinal Fleury, a man who took office at the age of 70 and died at the age of 90. Since Louis’ early youth he had acted as his mentor and was a restraining influence on him. In general, the government throughout this period was feeble but predictable. There was no attempt to “do great things” as in the time of Louis XIV. Under the Regent, domestic affairs had been somewhat unsettled by Court intrigue until Fleury stepped in. With the death of the latter in early 1743, it was generally felt that the reins had been loosened, and that it was time for Louis to prove himself a true king. Men of greater daring and ambition, like the Belle-Isle brothers and the visionary new Foreign Minister d’Argenson, came to the fore.

In this new period, Louis chose as his primary counsellor the *Duc de Noailles*. This man, one of France’s better marshals, has been described as a farsighted and able man, and he proved so in the realms of both politics and strategy. But Louis had to be driven to greatness by his associates, who wanted him to behave like his great-grandfather the Sun King. Thinking he was copying his ancestor’s grand manner, he rarely informed his ministers of his plans, nor kept himself informed of theirs. In consequence, each government department ran itself in isolation from all the others, ministers jockeying for the King’s ear (the last man to talk to him usually getting what he wanted). As d’Argenson once wrote:

*“never have the Ministers been so deeply at variance as now. If they are in harmony it is by chance... Such ministerial jealousy... would be an advantage to a Prince who should administer, overrule all others, and make plans freely on his own account. But, instead... what reigns is a vacuum”.*

Louis took the field every year from 1744 to 1748, but after contracting a near-fatal illness in the summer of ’44, did not make a habit of prolonged stays at the front. In general, he let his marshals conduct affairs as they sought fit, with only minor, yet still irritating, interference – the summer campaign generally could not open until he had arrived in camp, for example. Germany did not see much of him, since Flanders was a safer stomping ground, but he did travel down to Metz in that fateful summer of ’44, in order to deal with the Austrian menace on the Rhine. With his death appearing immanent, the French counteroffensive lost momentum, allowing the Austrians to escape and go home to deal with Frederick.

An older and even lazier Louis took yet less interest in the campaigns of the Seven Years War. In fact, his former mistress and close friend, Mme. de Pompadour, had a greater influence on that war than he did. He had little interest in domestic affairs either, and under his rule, taxation and the costs of bureaucracy rose tremendously, despite efforts at reform, while the aristocracy gained back some of the strength they had lost under Louis XIV. Although he was not the author of the phrase “après moi, le déluge”, it aptly describes his reign. Only a general prosperity among the common people held back the revolution that was to come with the next king.

## The French Army

Louis XIV bequeathed to his great-grandson Louis XV one of the mightiest armies the western world had ever seen. It was a curious blend of the progressive and the feudal. Weapons, equipment, uniforms – all were standardised. Efforts were made to practice large-scale manoeuvres on a regular basis. On at least one occasion it is recorded that storming parties carried out dress rehearsals on full-scale mock-ups of the sections of the fortress they were to assault. Very modern indeed. A formidable artillery train was established, strictly under army control. In theory the medical services were among the best in Europe – enough so that King George abandoned his wounded at Dettingen, trusting they would receive better care from the French.

But the regiments were still the property of feudal magnates owing individual fealty to the King, jealous of their privileges and envious of their rivals. A regiment might be the best-dressed formation in the army, and yet be no better than a rabble off the square (or on it, for that matter). Or its men might be ferocious fighters, but much given to looting. Among the international clique that was the European officer corps, the French were considered dauntless in the attack, but lacking tenacity in defence. Army wisdom said that the men always knew when they were beaten and would never fight to the bitter end.

The line infantry was divided into home and foreign regiments (*régiments étrangère*), of which there were about 140 by the war's end (very few new regiments were raised during the war). Men were supposed to be enrolled into the regiments belonging to their country or province of origin, except for the Alsations, who could join French, German, or Swiss units. Walloon and Lotharingian units were treated as native French. Each regiment had from one to four battalions (later standardised into two battalions for most and four battalions for the more senior and/or larger – *Régiment d'Irlandois* had six).

Brigades were invariably composed of four battalions for native French and six battalions for foreign; regiments were not normally split. Thus the Irish regiment also constituted a brigade, as did large home regiments such as Picardie, while some brigades would be composed of regiments of three and one battalions, and so forth. Foreign and native regiments rarely brigaded together.

Generally, battalions averaged 500 effectives prior to battle. After a battle the unit might be as weak as the one whose strength after Roucoux (1746) is listed at one officer and four men! Battalions were divided into twelve companies of fusiliers of 42 men each, and one of 48 grenadiers. Not only were the grenadiers often detached to form assault battalions, they were also required to act as skirmishers.

In 1740, there were 57 regiments of line horse (including six *régiments étrangère*), three hussar regiments, and fifteen dragoon. These numbers remained fairly constant throughout the war, except for the hussars, which were expanded to seven regiments.

The “*chevaux-légers*” (line) regiments were organised into two squadrons apiece, with each squadron being divided into four companies of 32 men. Exceptions were *Colonel Général* (the senior regiment) with three squadrons, and *Les Carabiniers du Roi*, with ten squadrons of 120 men.

[One regiment, *Royal-Cravattes* – *Royal Croatiens* – originated the use of the cravat as a fashion statement.]

The dragoons were given lighter horses than the line, and organised as mounted infantry. Their regiments consisted of five companies each, and could number up to 1,000 men in all. They were also equipped with muskets rather than carbines, and dressed in a similar fashion to the infantry, with concessions to the needs of the horses. They were equipped to fight with swords on horseback as well.

The hussars naturally attracted the wilder and more dashing spirits, and the regiments were used as scouts and skirmishers. The men were dressed and equipped in typical hussar fashion, and the units were quite large, with 7 squadrons apiece.

There were a variety of foot guard units, but only *Les Gardes Françaises* and *Suisses* served in action. Apart from fancier uniforms, they were equipped as line troops. The French Guards consisted of six battalions, and the Swiss of three (a few sources say 4 Swiss).

As with the foot, the king's mounted guard included a number of ceremonial units, but, when Louis took the field in person, so did his *Maison du Roi*. All its members were of noble stock, excepting the *Grenadiers à Cheval*, who, being commoners, were treated as mounted infantry and wore black stocks in contrast to the white cravats of the nobility. The *Maison* were the only true heavy cavalry in the French army.

The *Garde du Corps* consisted of four squadrons (companies) of 336 men and formed the King's Escort. Sister units were *Les Gens d'armes du Roi*, consisting of a single squadron of 300 men, *Les Chevaux-légers du Roi* the same, and *La Gendarmerie de France*. Also known as *La Gendarmerie du Roi et des Princes*, this unit consisted of sixteen companies (ten of gendarmes and six of *chevaux-légers*) of 175 men each. The men were dressed in red and mounted on the best blacks available. This unit was not technically part of the Guard; its nearest equivalent would be the British Royals – neither Line nor Household. *Les Mousquetaires de la Garde* consisted of two companies of 300 men, one mounted on grey horses, the other on blacks. The musketeers were a separate class of horsemen, neither *chevaux-légers*, nor dragoon, nor cuirassier.

The *Régiment Royal-Artillerie* dated from 1670, and ranked as the 46<sup>th</sup> regiment of the infantry of line. In 1720 it was organised into five battalions. Depôts were at Grenôble, Besançon, Metz, Strasbourg, and Fère. The first three locations also fielded 100-man fusilier companies (as “train guards” – fusils being safer to use around gunpowder). Each artillery battalion had eight companies of 90 men each. Five companies were gunners who served both the battalion guns and the field pieces (with help from the infantry); two companies were called bombardiers and were responsible for the mortars and howitzers. Each battalion also had a company of sappers and labourers.

By the 1730's the ordnance had been reduced to five calibres, of which only three were field pieces: 4-lbers, 9-lbers, and 12-lbers. However, standardisation was still not complete when war broke out. In particular, the gun carriages remained atrociously awkward and heavy and batteries could only be moved about the battlefield with great difficulty.

There were 226 engineer officers in 1741. The arm, a branch of the artillery, was well respected and a path of choice for the career officer. The Engineer Corps had two sapper companies of its own, and its own labourers. Contrary to what might be expected, labourers were supposed to be of “above average intelligence”, as they might have to take over from the gunners or sappers.

## The Maritime Powers

At this time, Britain was officially a Monarchy, ruled for practical purposes by an oligarchy of the leading landed and merchant families. The United Provinces (The Netherlands) was a Republic ruled in practice by an oligarchy of the leading landed and merchant families. Both were Protestant sea powers, trading in much the same items – particularly wool. The two thus had great affinity, although there was always competition, and occasionally war between them. But Holland was losing ground to her more dynamic rival/partner. Exhausted by the War of the Spanish Succession a generation before, the Dutch only wanted to be left in peace. Unfortunately, the British insisted on the partnership; worse, the rest of Europe insisted on pigeonholing the Dutch as one half of the “Maritime Powers”.

Dutch society was riven at the best of times, and the divisions were exacerbated by the war. One group favoured continuing the strong ties with Britain emanating from the wool trade. These would have been the wool merchants. Another faction favoured joining a French trading block, since they could do little to hinder British Trade while remaining yoked to it. The people who advocated this course sold luxuries to French Society and cordage to French shipyards.

Then there were the nobles – the usual internationalist set, concerned only for their estates and whether Madame D- would be taking the waters at Aix this year. And there were the common people, who had something of a voice in Holland – the usual yokel set: foreigners are evil tools of the Pope; foreigners are stealing our jobs; foreigners won't learn Dutch and wear wooden shoes; the British Pound is devaluing our wages; British Manufactures are destroying the economy; French Officialdom is pushing our worthless government

around; the French want to test-fire their new cannon across our border; what we pay taxes for I don't know, etc. etc. All of which is to say that the situation in the United Provinces was very confused.

There was great fear of France The Catholic Power, based on her earlier attempts to annex Holland; for this reason, the Dutch were permitted (or forced, depending on the factional view) to man a series of fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) called the Barrier Forts. Ironically, the French feared the Dutch as well; they were unhappy when Holland agreed to raise an expeditionary corps to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction. Officially, the United Provinces remained neutral until 1747, when the French decided to invade. But in accordance with custom (and as practiced by the French in Germany), they were permitted to act as auxiliaries, in this case as part of the international Army of the Pragmatic Sanction.

The British view of the world was... well, British. The great division in Society (ignoring the proles, who didn't have views of their own that mattered) was between Town and Country – merchants and the landed aristocracy. In broad terms, the former were represented by the Whig Party and the latter by the Tories. For a generation, the Whigs, thanks to astute political machinations which any of us would instantly recognise, had held the reigns of power, and would continue to do so for some time to come – Stability being a cornerstone of British life and what not. However, the Tories still had a muted voice, and their voice was similar to the majority of the people, if the people had had a voice. The Whigs were keen on war, because war fostered trade (and, to a very small extent at this date, the armaments industry). Apart from the insular view of the world that they shared with the commoners, the Tories were not keen on war, because war fostered taxes. And since the only taxes in those days were on land...

### John Dalrymple, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Stair (1673-1747)



A Scotsman, Lord Stair began a military career in the Netherlands, but on his father's death returned home. In 1707 he was elected as one of the original Scottish Peers in the new Parliament of Great Britain. After becoming an assistant to the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders, in 1709 he was sent as envoy to King Augustus II (The Strong) of Poland. Made General in 1710, but fell out of favour when his patron did. At the accession of George I in 1714, Lord Stair was sent as envoy to Paris. From 1715 to 1720 he built up a counter-espionage network that effectively thwarted the intrigues of the minions of the exiled House of Stuart. He was Vice Admiral of Scotland from 1720 to 1733, but he lost the office because of his opposition to Robert Walpole's Excise Bill.

After Walpole fell from office in 1742, Lord Stair was made a Field Marshal. He commanded the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1743, but resigned because King George, after ignoring his advice, claimed a brilliant victory for what was at best a failed French ambush. Stair protested in writing, in a manner obviously intended for publication. However, his standing recovered in 1745 and he was again attached to the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction as advisor to the Duke of Cumberland. He also assisted King George in dealing with the Jacobite Rising.

Lord Stair then got into trouble politically, supporting the Opposition Party to Lord Newcastle, a party known as the Patriots (basically Little Englanders). However, he died before any fall from grace could occur. Stair was probably the greatest British diplomat of his age. He had a genius for intrigue. He was less impressive as a soldier. He is said to have lacked patience, tact, and strategic insight, which is strange, given his reputation as diplomat and spymaster. Part of the reason for this conflict of impressions may be the contrast of his sound political insights with an apparent desire to smash the French at all costs. As the Prussian King wrote to his minister, Podewils:

*"I understand that he is a wild man... and he must be mad, for it is inconceivable that a man of good sense would be able to have ideas parallel to his own".*

Podewils: *"I replied that in other matters he did not lack good sense, even genius; but when one touched this chord, he was no longer the same man."*

However, not all the Whigs were warmongers. The leader of the Whigs (whom we would call the Prime Minister), Robert Walpole, tried to keep Britain in “splendid isolation”. He had justified his ways of doing business by invoking the “Jacobite Threat”, or, alternatively, the “Jacobite Menace”. The Jacobites were those who favoured the restoration of the Stuart dynasty – a dynasty inimical to everything Whig. A war would give France, as an ally of the Catholic Jacobites, the pretext for interfering in England’s internal affairs (i.e. conducting a regime change). Walpole lasted until 1741, by which time his antiwar stance had given his enemies enough ammunition to remove him from power. From 1742 onwards, Britain would be drawn deeper and deeper into Continental affairs, first as auxiliaries of Austria, and eventually as enemies of France.

This was all to King George’s liking. George II of Britain was also Elector of Hanover, and thus a player within the Holy Roman Empire. As King of England, his options were limited by the constitutional nature of his monarchy (and by a frighteningly aggressive Parliament). As Elector of Braunschweig-Lüneburg – “Hanover” – he had as much freedom as any other prince of the Empire, which was quite a lot. With the new Ministry of ‘42, Britain’s purse strings would be loosened.

The Anglo-Austrian relationship was ambivalent and frequently strained. The two powers were allies of necessity; a shared desire for a balanced Europe was a commonality between them. But the Austrians distrusted the British, having been “sold out” in previous wars – though why they should ever have expected the British to put Austrian war aims first is a mystery. King George, too, as an imperial Elector, was an unruly “subject” of Maria Theresa’s – he voted against her at the Diet. Taken all together, the present war and subsequent peace strained the Anglo-Austrian relationship so severely that for the Seven Years War the two switched sides.

### **The British Army**

At this time, British units were generally thought of as “English”, even though a high proportion of the officers and men were Scots or Irish. At its peak, the infantry mustered 83 regiments, but this includes guards, colonial and garrison units, as well as the emergency “regulars” raised for the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Only 61 regiments were line infantry, nearly always of a single battalion.

Each battalion had ten companies of 75 men each, for a paper total of 750 (usually down to 300-500 in practice). One company was grenadiers, capable, as usual, of being grouped into special assault or skirmish units. Three regiments (7<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>) were Fuzileers, originally equipped with fusils for the protection of the artillery. They were still considered élite units, and had Royal status. All such regiments, and there were several others, wore “royal blue” facings.

The six most senior regiments constituted the Old Corps, dating back to the time of Charles II and James II. The next six were the Young Corps. The 32<sup>nd</sup> was originally a marine unit. Similarly, the 44<sup>th</sup> to 53<sup>rd</sup> were marine regiments that did not serve in Flanders (neither did a large number of regiments on garrison duty at Gibraltar, Minorca, and in the New World). One regiment on the list, the 41<sup>st</sup>, was actually a scattered set of “companies of invalids”.

The 43<sup>rd</sup> was the Royal Highland Regiment (the Black Watch), formed from loyal Highlanders. The 64<sup>th</sup> was a similar unit formed in 1745, but less successfully. These units wore traditional Highland dress, with standard red tunics and basic

kit plus personal weapons. Naturally, their bandmen consisted of pipers rather than the usual drums, fifes, and oboes.

The Foot Guards consisted of three regiments. The first had three battalions and the others two, although during the war additional battalions were raised. These units tended to be oversized and over-officered, as service in the Guards was seen as an essential steppingstone to high command. Additionally, the extra officers were treated as a pool of experienced ADCs.

There were four types of cavalry, but all were used in the same manner. Horse and Dragoons were the older varieties; Dragoon Guards and Light Dragoons the new ones. The Horse were descended from Cromwell’s Ironsides, but they no longer wore the cuirass. Each of the seven regiments consisted of eight troops of 68 men. Blacks were the mount of choice, except for the Scots Greys and the 11<sup>th</sup> (who used brown horses).

The last time the dragoons were used dismounted was in 1704. Since that date they had been used as medium cavalry, although they still retained a “mounted infantry” appearance, including musket – and received lower pay. There were 14 regiments, organised in the same manner as the Horse. There were no mounted grenadiers (apart from the independent troops of Grenadier Horse Guards).

The dragoon guards were a classic example of Parliamentary penny-pinching. In 1747 the first three regiments of horse were classified as dragoons, in order to lower their pay scale, but as a sop to their pride were titled “dragoon guards”. The remaining Horse regiments were placed on the Irish Establishment, which had the same effect without a sop to anyone’s pride.

The light dragoons were formed late in the war, by converting the 15<sup>th</sup> Cumberland’s or Kingston’s Light Horse. Light dragoons were sorely needed, as the British were dependent on their allies for units capable of scouting and harassment duties. They were unique in having a curved sabre and plumes in their hats, as well as an extra-short carbine.

The cavalry of the Guard consisted of four Horse Guard troops and two attendant Horse Grenadier troops. Half of these units were disbanded in 1747. The “Scotch Troop” of grenadiers survived, but lost its title. This is where the expression “scotched” is derived from.

The Royal Regiment of Artillery was formed in 1716, after the Jacobite Rising of the previous year had demonstrated the need for a unified arm. To be perfectly accurate, the regiment did not come under the Army at all, being run by the Ordnance Board (only in Britain – and we still acquired an empire!) In 1741 the regiment had ten companies of 90 men. In the same year, the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich was established. The cadet class became the senior company.

Like the foot, with its administrative regiments and fighting battalions, the artillery was, on campaign, broken up into “brigades” that varied with the task at hand. Heavy weapons were grouped into batteries and placed at the disposal of the senior commanders, while other gunners were sent to serve the battalion guns of the infantry. Line battalions had two such pieces, and guards battalions six. The British battalion gunners were famous for the rate of fire they could achieve.

As to engineers and the like, the British had neglected this area of military science (the last refuge of cranks and people who didn’t know the first thing about huntin’, shootin’, and fishin’) and were generally forced to rely on their allies. Like the artillery, engineers were seconded from the Ordnance Board. The infantry did its own sapping and general labour.

## The Dutch Army

The Dutch Army had a reasonable reputation, but the Estates were not keen on war, the losses of the previous generation had been made good with mercenaries, and a high proportion of both troops and officers were well inclined toward the French and not so well inclined toward the Austrians. The Army was a collection of regiments raised on the normal *ancien régime* model of colonel-proprietorships (documentation of the various units is extremely hard since there was no numbering system until the 1750's) and they took a pasting during the war. The large foreign element included Swiss, Scots (i.e. British), German, and Walloon regiments. Many of the German units came from the Upper Saxon Circle of the Empire, which was extremely poorly administered and thus farmed most of its units out.

Most foot units had a single battalion, with its own grenadier company, file of pioneers, and attached battalion guns (provided by the artillery but crewed by the infantry). Uniforms were "Dutch Blue" in most cases (slightly lighter than Prussian Blue), including for the Swiss and Walloons, but some units kept the older Pearl Grey colour; the Saxons retained their light grey, and the Scots wore red. As the war dragged on, the number of original regiments shrank, while new ones were formed, but a typical "slice" c. 1744 yields 1 Guards regiment, 4 Swiss, 3 Scots, 1 Walloon, 2 Grenadier regiments, 1 Marine, and 54 Line regiments.

The Horse was divided into the usual Guards, Cuirassier (*Reiter*), and Dragoons, though the latter was no different than the Cuirassier, and in fact, even the name "dragoon" had fallen into disuse. Breastplates were not worn, due to the poor quality of mounts. It was a very weak arm, amounting to no more than 19 regiments: 2 Guards (of 4 and 5 squadrons), and 17 Line (3-4 troops each – i.e. no more than 2 squadrons each). Like the infantry, the uniforms were a mix of blue and white (grey), with older cloth being more prevalent. They tended to splurge when it came to facing colours, however. The regiments' performance was mixed, with some displaying great gallantry on the battlefield, and others being employed as garrison units.

The gunners were equipped as line infantry; a distinction was made between canoniers (direct fire weapons) and bombardiers (mortars & howitzers). The Dutch had a large quantity of artillery, but it was a real mishmash, much of it "fortress" quality. However, the arm had a long tradition of service, and a good stock of indirect-fire weapons (the Coehorn mortar, after all, was a Dutch invention). The other technical services, such as sappers and pioneers, were well regarded; one unique element was the large corps of pontooneers and boatmen, which had sufficient equipment to build twenty bridges.

## Hanover

The Welf (Guelph) dynasty began in Bavaria, as rivals of the Hohenstaufens (the Guelph and Ghibelline conflict). This line is the Elder House, while King George's is a junior or cadet branch. A 9<sup>th</sup> Century Count Welf had two daughters who married the Emperor Louis the Pious and the East Frankish King Louis the German (grandsons of Charlemagne). One line from this union became Kings of Burgundy during the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries. One of these, named Welf III, of the 5<sup>th</sup> generation, was powerful enough to defy the emperors. Welf IV received the Welf German possessions (including the Duchy of Carinthia) from his uncle Welf III (this uncle-nephew pattern seems fairly common with this dynasty) and was the founder of the Younger Branch. Welf IV was also a scion of the House of Este, and became Duke of Bavaria (1070). He abandoned the

Emperor to support the Pope and became heavily involved in Italian affairs.

By the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, the Welfs controlled much of the Empire through marriage alliances and in their own right; this is the period when they rivalled the imperial Hohenstaufens, and in fact, one of them became Emperor – Otto IV. After this, their fortunes declined. However, in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century they made up with the Hohenstaufens and received the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg (a mere fraction of the Saxon possessions they had once owned).

In 1692 the "Hanoverian" Welfs became Electors of the Empire. In 1714, George Ludwig was made King of Britain (George I); his dynasty lasted until Queen Victoria. The dynasty also became kings of Hanover in 1814, and the Russian Czar Ivan VI (who reigned in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century, was a Welf of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel on his father's side. The Welfs lost Hanover in 1866. They could have claimed Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in 1884, but refused to admit they had lost their title to Hanover, and so got neither. However, after a marriage with the daughter of the Emperor William II, the Welfs were permitted to rule Hanover – until the German revolution at the end of the Great War forced them to abdicate.

At the time of the War of the Austrian Succession, the Elector was George Augustus (George II of England). Poor George was torn in several directions by the conflict. Fear of a two-front war against Prussia and France, as well as a coolness toward Maria Theresa (a woman running an empire? Faugh!) led him to vote for Charles Albert of Bavaria. At the same time the British Parliament was voting to render assistance to Austria while quixotically opposing any Continental involvement of British arms. On the other hand, George refused to join forces with Prussia because of Frederick's dishonourable first-strike policy, and talked big about chastising his nephew by partitioning Brandenburg. Ultimately, Hanover maintained an uneasy truce with Prussia (the Alte Dessauer's large Prussian contingent based at Magdeburg was a guarantee of this) while contributing a large proportion of its army to the fight in the Low Countries; this force increased in size once Prussia had withdrawn from the war in 1745.

## The Hanoverian Army

George of Hanover fancied himself as a military leader. He devoted a great deal of time and money to his electoral army, and whatever his talents as a commander, his efforts in administration and training paid off. The Hanoverian Army was a comparatively recent phenomenon, coming into being only in 1715 (the year of George I's accession to the throne of Britain) when the Brunswick duchies were amalgamated.

In 1740, Hanover had the third largest army in the Empire, after Austria and Prussia. It lacked battle experience (having opted out of the War of the Polish Succession) but made up for it with training. During the War of the Austrian Succession it fought with distinction at Dettingen and in the battles of the Low Countries.

The Army consisted of a Guards regiment (2 battalions), 18 Line regiments (1 battalion each), 3 troops of Horse Guards, 7 regiments of heavy cavalry, 4 regiments of dragoons, and an Artillery Regiment. Additional battalions were raised during the war, though one regiment was disbanded when its colonel defected to the French.

The Army's dress was red, but unlike the British, was relatively uniform in appearance (George having total control; when a colonel thought to introduce some embellishments, he was

reminded “who owns you”). The infantry used locally manufactured muskets, rather than those produced in Britain. As was typical in the armies of the period, regimental grenadier companies were often used to form converged grenadier battalions.

The cavalry, though divided into heavy and dragoon, in practice functioned without distinction of type. Somewhat unusually, the dragoons had files of horse grenadiers who could be detached in the same manner as their infantry counterparts.

The Hanoverian Artillery Regiment was excellent. Its guns were modern, though heavier than usual, and came in only three classes: 3-lber, 6-lber, and 12-lber. This was remarkable for the period. The Colonel of the regiment, General Brückmann, was responsible for its high state of readiness, and was an innovator of some note; he was *almost* successful in his experiments with breechloaders. As with the artillery in other armies, the gunners provided the infantry with battalion guns and technicians to supervise them, as well as serving the heavier pieces, organised into batteries on the field of battle. The regiment had 6 companies of gunners in all, plus a company of sappers and miners. There were also Officers of Engineers. The technical services were dressed in light blue-grey, with scarlet breeches.

### **The Danish Expeditionary Corps**

The king of Denmark had an obligation to support Britain and Hanover by a treaty made in 1731. They were required to provide an auxiliary corps for use in Germany or the Low Countries, for which the Danish government would be paid handsomely. Although never in action, they were prepared for it (and apparently excited by the prospect); instead they spent their time protecting various Hanoverian fortifications, mostly in the north and east of the Electorate. Commanded by the Hanoverian General von Schulenburg, the Danes entered the theatre of operations in October of 1741, reached Hanover and assumed their garrison duties in March of 1742, and were withdrawn (to deal with a Swedish threat) sometime after August 1743. The corps was disbanded in mid-1745. A key indicator of the force’s professionalism was its extremely low desertion rate.

The composition of the corps was as follows: 2 brigades of foot, 1 of horse, and a reserve. 8 regiments of foot were employed, including the *Garden til Fods* and *Grenaderkorpset* regiments; since infantry regiments consisted of 2 battalions of line (or guard) and 2 of *landwehr*, it is possible that each infantry brigade had 4 regiments (8 battalions), and that the Reserve consisted of some or all of the *landwehr* battalions (maximum of 16). A more probable suggestion is that each brigade had 3 regiments (6 line battalions), and the Reserve consisted of the guard units (4 battalions), with the *landwehr* remaining at home. There were 3 regiments of cavalry, including the *Livregimentryttere* (Life Cuirassier) regiment. The corps amounted to 10% of the Danish-Norwegian OoB.

Danish units were organised along the same lines as those of other states. Their uniform colour was red, without exception. Cuirassiers wore breastplates (no other types were present in the expeditionary corps). Denmark had a similar system to the Swedes, in that each regiment had its own regional recruiting base (and regiments were, in Danish at least, known by territorial titles): hence the addition of *landwehr* battalions to the regimental structure. Infantry battalions had grenadier platoons, and these could be used in the typical “converged” manner.

The corps included no field or siege train, but battalion guns were seconded to the infantry in the usual way, 2 guns per battalion. Uniquely, the corps was accompanied by some ‘Engineer Officials’. These were members of the Court, not the Army, and dressed in blue uniforms.

### **Saxony**

The Wettins were one of the most powerful royal lines in Germany. The Wettin name comes from a castle near the town of the same name, on the River Saale. The earliest proven ancestor is one Dietrich (d.982). His sons received lands from the Wends (a pagan tribe living to the east of the Saale), including the Gau of Wettin. Dietrich II (mid 11<sup>th</sup> Century), the grandson of Dietrich I, acquired the Saxon East Mark and Lower Lusatia for his own son through war with the eastern tribes, and through marriage into the Markgraf of Meissen’s family. The Wettins were a driving force in the eastern expansion of Germany. The aforementioned son, Dedo II (d.1075), lost the newly acquired lands in a quarrel with Emperor Henry IV, but the lands were returned to the next generation, at which time the family castle was built. In 1089 the family was formally given the Mark of Meissen.

The county, town, and castle of Wettin were actually lost in the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, when the dynastic holdings were divided up amongst several sons. That particular line died out and the property wound up in the hands of the Bishops of Magdeburg, from whence it eventually passed to the Electors of Brandenburg. However, the Wettin possessions in general were greatly expanded, at their height reaching from the Oder to the Werra and from the Erzgebirge to the Harzberg.

In 1263, the family had acquired the Landgravate of Thuringia, and in 1423, Frederick “the Warlike” of Meissen was granted Saxony proper, becoming Elector of Saxony as Frederick I. In 1485 the dynasty made an important split into two branches. The elder Ernestine Branch lost the Electorate to the younger Albertine Branch in 1547; the Albertines went on to become Kings of Poland (1697-1763) and Saxony (1806-1918), as well as heading Napoleon’s creation, the Polish Duchy of Varsovie (1807-1814). The Ernestines retained overlordship of Thuringia, dividing the region into several familial states (e.g. the duchies of Saxe-Meiningen and Saxe-Altenburg, and the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, not to mention Saxe-Coburg-Gotha). Saxe-Coburg-Gotha gave kings to Belgium (1831 on) and Bulgaria (1908-1946), plus consorts to the queens of Portugal and Britain. Thus the British throne is a possession of the Wettin family – in fact, the British Royal Family’s name, prior to the politic change made in 1917, was *Wettin von Saxe-Coburg-Gotha*. However, upon the next succession, the House will change to that of *Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg*.

Friedrich Augustus II von Sachsen – King August III of Poland from 1733 – was the ineffectual son of August the Strong (1694-1733). The Scottish poet Robbie Burns used a phrase that could easily describe August III: “as feckless as a withered rush”. The government was left in the hands of favourites – the Saxon government, that is. The Polish government was virtually nonexistent. One envoy to August’s Court described it as a depressing place, full of fear and secret backstairs deals.

The sort of person who practically invites bullying, August’s sense of timing was impeccably horrible. Not that it helped having his court overrun with the envoys of both sides. Studiously polite English diplomats suavely jingling their pockets while looking down their long noses at haughty French diplomats rattling their sabres with Gallic élan. Emissaries of

the Austrian Iron Lady, sporting foot-wide moustaches waxed to needlepoints, meeting scar-faced, bullet-headed minions of the Über-Junker in dank corridors and engaging in solemn bouts of heel-clicking and ejaculations of “Zo”. Living in constant dread that in the process someone would accidentally knock over his collection of Meißen porcelain.

But occasionally August would confound the critics and irritate the calculators (the Prussian King, for one) by making a play for world domination (his corner of it, anyway) – until some lacquey could be prevailed upon to summon a travelling salesman and interest the prince in a new tea service.

Saxony was traditionally an Austrian ally, and a state powerful enough for Frederick of Prussia to worry about. However, as Maria Theresa’s reign appeared to be going down the tube in ’41, August III decided to get his hooks in before the Bavarians and Prussians gobbled everything up. Once the Prussian King got the measure of him, enticements such as a Moravian toll road were presented, mixed with threats. “*A shame it would be, Mein Prinz, if that music box should anything happen to... crash, tinkle... ach, such a pity... now, how many men can you spare for the siege of Brünn?*”

The Saxon officer corps, which was better than August deserved, did not like the idea of wading chest deep through snow on behalf of the Prussian king’s operational requirements, and withdrew the Saxon expeditionary forces from Moravia and Bohemia in 1742, once it was clear that neither the Prussians nor the French could cope with the Austrian colossus. Saxony remained neutral until the Second Silesian War, when they fell in with the Austrians again and attempted to crush Prussia by overrunning Berlin (a plan as dumb as it sounds). The Saxon Army, though it fought manfully against the Prussians, was virtually obliterated during the campaigns of 1745, leading to a Saxon surrender at the end of the year, which, in turn, forced the Austrians to make peace with Prussia.

### **Saxon Army**

Of the middle powers in Germany, Saxony was considered to have one of the best armies. It was well trained and equipped, and quite large. But this was all due to the current elector’s father, Augustus the Strong. Because August III could not decide what to do, the Army found itself at the wrong place, on the wrong side, at the wrong time, on more than one occasion. The Army’s last battle of the war, Kesseldorf, was nearly its destruction as well.

At the outbreak of war, the Elector’s army consisted of 34,000 men. In the Foot there were 2 Guard regiments, 1 Guard Grenadier Regiment, a detachment (“regiment”) of Swiss Guards (that later entered Dutch service), 10 Line, and 4 *Kreis* regiments. All the regiments apart from the Swiss had 2 battalions. There were also a number of garrison formations (at least 8 companies worth). The Horse consisted of a Garde du Corps regiment, 8 cuirassier regiments, 1 regiment of Carabiniers, and 6 regiments of dragoons and *chevaux-légèrs*. 3 regiments of infantry and 2 of *chevaux-légèrs* were raised during the war. There was also a large artillery train.

In the Saxon Army, battalions on active service were divided into 4 “divisions” of 4 platoons each (fusiliers), with the grenadiers (2 platoons per battalion) amalgamated into converged battalions. The line cavalry was organised into 3 squadrons of 2 troops each; nominally a regiment had 621 mounted men, but regiments of 200 were common under field conditions.

The colour of the Saxon infantry uniform was white, except for the *Leibgrenadiere* and *Kreis* units, which wore red. An exception was the Fusilier Regiment, which, honouring its original role as an artillery unit (fusils were safer for guarding gunpowder) wore green – as did the artillery arm as a whole.

The cavalry wore a mix of white and buff coats, except for the *chevaux-légèrs*, which wore a variety of colours, and the *Garde du Corps*, which wore red. The cuirassiers wore breastplates, and looked very much like their Prussian counterparts. The *chevaux-légèrs* were considered medium cavalry, but were made up of August’s unruly Polish subjects; their mounts were “Polish” ponies. The rest of the arm was, in general, considered the best mounted in Europe. Three regiments were considered to be elites: the *Garde du Corps*, the *Karabiniers*, and the *Leibregiment*. The last was uniformed like any other cuirassier regiment, but the first two were decked out like commissionaires at a swank hotel.

As with the armies of other states, the Artillery provided battalion guns, and also included companies of miners, and engineer officers. There were also a fair number of larger calibre field pieces, and a siege train.

### **Bavaria**

The Wittelsbach realms (primarily Bavaria and Pfalz) were a force to be reckoned with. They had a long history of alliance with France, and an even longer history when it came to unsuccessful attempts to gain the imperial throne.

The Wittelsbachs ruled Bavaria from 1180 to 1918; the family name comes from the ancestral castle in Upper Bavaria. The founder of the dynasty was one Luitpold (d. 907), a cousin of the reigning Carolingian Emperor Arnulf. The dynasty was related by marriage to the Counts Palatine of Swabia. The Wittelsbachs superseded the earlier Welf dynasty at the desire of Emperor Frederick I, as part of the ongoing struggle between the Welfs and Hohenstaufens (Guelphs and Ghibellines). The Wittelsbachs had a legitimate claim to the dukedom through their Swabian connections.

They acquired the Rhenish Palatinate (Pfalz) through marriage as well; this also brought them “privileges” in western Franconia. The patrimony was divided in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, with an elder line received Pfalz and western Bavaria and a younger taking the rest, but the lands were reunited again in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. The man who divided the inheritance, Ludwig III (1229-1294), was the first Wittelsbach to be appointed an Elector of the Empire (1275); this privilege went to the elder line (Rudolf) of Pfalz. The younger son, also called Ludwig “III” (or possibly “IV”) of Bavaria became Emperor Ludwig IV (1324-1373). This was the high point of the Wittelsbach fortunes. He went so far as to add Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, and Brandenburg to his personal holdings, plus additional Bavarian lands upon the death of a brother. But the Wittelsbach lands were soon redivided, until the accession of Duke Albert IV of Bavaria; he introduced succession by primogeniture. Philip the Good of Burgundy took Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland from the Wittelsbachs in 1443.

Initially, the privilege of Elector alternated between the two families, but the Golden Bull of 1356 that established the College of Electors permanently awarded it to the Palatinate branch. At the Reformation, however, the Bavarian branch supported the Roman Catholic cause while the Palatinate branch became leading Protestants. When Frederick, the Elector Palatine and “Winter King of Bohemia”, was defeated early in the Thirty Years War, the Electoral vote was transferred to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1623); the latter

also had the Upper Palatinate (Bavaria north of the Danube) ceded to him. With the Peace of Westphalia (1648) Frederick's son was restored to the Rhenish Palatinate and a new electorate was created for Bavaria – the Wittelsbachs now held two votes.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, Charles Albert of Bavaria (1697-1745) was elected King of Bohemia and Emperor as Charles VII (1742), but he died in 1745. His son, Maximilian III, was persuaded not to contest the Imperial Throne; he died in 1777. With his death, the Bavarian branch vanished and the Palatinate-Sulzbach line acceded to Bavaria. This line itself died out in 1799, so the dukedom went to the Duke Palatine of Zweibrücken as senior member of the Palatinate branch of the Wittelsbachs. This man became King of Bavaria as Maximilian I in 1806. The last King of Bavaria was deposed in 1918.

The Wittelsbachs, like all the European nobility, intermarried with many royal lines, among them the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, wife of Francis Joseph, and Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians, consort of Albert I. The Zweibrücken line was the one from which Frederick the Winter King came; his youngest daughter was Sophia, the wife of George I of Hanover, who became King of England in 1715. It was also the line, which, through a female branch, produced Charles X, Charles XI, and Charles XII of Sweden (all of them concurrently Dukes of Zweibrücken). This connection with the Swedish Crown was broken at Charles XII's death in 1718.

Another branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty is the Löwensteins, a powerful Princely House that has right of primogeniture should the main Wittelsbach line fail. The Löwensteins had connections with Baden, Würzburg, Nassau, Württemberg, Hesse, Mainz, Frankfurt, and La Marck (in Belgium) to name a few territories. The heads of this line were entitled to be called *Fürst* (Prince) and *Durhlaucht* (Serene Highness), which is a significant honour.

After 1918 the Wittelsbachs maintained their claim to the Bavarian throne. They still have the right to be called "Prince" and "Royal Highness", and they still have a claim on the British throne through the Stuart bloodline.

Charles Albert (1697-1745, Elector from 1726) was born in Brussels, to Maximilian II Emmanuel, the then Elector of Bavaria, and Teresa Kunegunda Sobieska. During the War of the Spanish Succession, the family was divided, and Charles Albert found himself under house arrest in Austria for several years. The family was reunited in 1715. Charles Albert had married a daughter of the Emperor Joseph I, and, although he publicly agreed to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, secretly made a deal with France to back him (when the time was right) in the acquisition of Bohemia and the Imperial Purple.

Charles Albert's brother's family were the Electors and Archbishops of Cologne; normally they favoured Austria, but his brother did cast a crucial vote for Charles to become Emperor, though he later changed sides. (The brother, Klemens August, also held the titles of Bishop of Regensburg, Prince-Bishop of Münster, Hildesheim, and Osnabrück, and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order).

Politically speaking, 1740 was the perfect year to reveal Bavaria's secret ambitions. Militarily, however, the electorate had not yet recovered from the efforts of the War of the Spanish Succession a generation earlier. And Charles Albert was living in a dream world if he thought that the Austrians would let him be Emperor without a fight. But of course, they would be too busy with Prussia – plus, Bavaria had the backing of the French war machine...

## The Bavarian Army

The Bavarian Army (technically the Imperial Army from 18<sup>th</sup> October 1743 to 20<sup>th</sup> January 1745) is even more difficult to document than the Dutch. Many of its units were ephemeral levies; some have been confused with French units (the more so since they were often under French command, and some even transferred to French service). The pre-war establishment ran to 13 regiments of foot (2 of "Guards" – *Lieb* and *Kurfürst*). Most had two battalions; the *Lieb* and *Kurfürst* had 3 and a Swiss loan (1742-1746) regiment had 4. Each battalion had a company of grenadiers that was usually detached for service with a converged grenadier battalion. It is known that 16 *Landfahnen* (emergency militia) battalions were raised during the Austrian invasion – all pretty much useless.

The cavalry consisted of 4 Cuirassier, 3 Dragoon, and 2 Hussar regiments (the latter amalgamated in 1744). These units retained the traditional distinctions based on their classification, in that the cuirassiers wore breastplates and the dragoons wore infantry coats. The Artillery arm provided battalion guns. There is little record as to whether heavier pieces were in use, and the only technical services appear to have been a company of miners plus 12 engineer officers.

The foot was uniformed in either white or Savoy Blue (the "traditional" Bavarian Blue was not used until after the merger with Pfalz in the 1770's). An exception was the Swiss regiment, Diesbach von Signau's, which wore red. The cuirassiers wore white and the dragoons red, while the hussars wore strikingly coloured "Hungarian" pattern clothing. The Artillery wore bluish-grey.

The performance of the Bavarian Army was mediocre, but this was probably due more to a) preference for their traditional Austrian ally, and b) the lacklustre performance of the superannuated officer corps, compounded by c) being under French control much of the time. The Austrian turncoat, Marshal von Seckendorff, got more mileage out of them than any of the hometown boys.

## The Army of Pfalz & Other Imperial Forces

Since the ruler of Pfalz was a close relation of Charles Albert's, the Army of Pfalz joined the war on Bavaria's side; the two officer corps were closely integrated. The forces of Pfalz assisted *Maréchal* Maillebois in Westphalia, comprising up to half of his 40,000-man army. The OoB included 21 battalions of foot (12 regiments, most of which had 2 battalions), one of which was Guard. Except for the Guard, which wore white, the foot regiments were dressed in the blue erroneously ascribed to Bavaria. The horse consisted of 2 Cuirassier, 2 *Reiter* (in Bavarian service a different classification than cuirassier), and 2 Dragoon regiments. Operationally, there was little difference between the cavalry units. Most of the uniforms were white, with the Liebgarde (*reiter*) wearing dark blue and the Leibdragoner wearing crimson. The artillery, which wore bluish-grey, provided 3-lbers to the infantry, but there is no record of anything heavier. Like the Bavarian Army, the only technicians were a company of miners; Engineer officers were seconded to Bavarian service. In general, the units of Pfalz were regarded more highly than those of Bavaria, but they were not as heavily engaged, either.

Many of the territories lying in the Rhine basin, such as Osnabrück, Cologne, Trier, Hildesheim, and so forth, were Wittelsbach owned or influenced, and these places had a few regiments between them, but there is not much information as to whether any saw active service. A partial list has been

compiled under the OoB for the Holy Roman Empire (found after the section detailing the course of the war).

The Hessian States are a special case, providing a reasonably large contingent of soldiers on a contract basis, mainly to Britain. In general, they supported the Habsburg cause to begin with, but after Charles Albert became Emperor, the states had some qualms about serving against him – he had been elected properly, after all. Hesse-Darmstadt, in particular, raised men to fight for Prussia, and some Hessian units supported the Bavarians during Austria's campaigns on the Upper Rhine. One Hessian unit even served in the Swedish Army!

Hessian foot regiments were usually of 2 battalions; uniforms were mostly Prussian Blue or white (white being the older "Imperial" style, and blue the newer "Prussian"). Like nearly everyone else, they used their grenadiers in elite converged companies or battalions. Hesse-Cassel provided 12 regiments of foot (including Guards). Hesse-Darmstadt 8 regiments, of which 1 was a *Kreis* (imperial contingent) unit, 4 were militia, and 1 was the unique *Liebgrenadierkorps* (comprising a dragoon "battalion" and 2 foot battalions). Hesse-Hanau and Hesse-Homburg each provided an infantry regiment (serving with Cassel and Darmstadt, respectively).

Hesse also provided cavalry and artillery, in small quantities. The Hessian States did not have artillery regiments, but did employ battalion gun teams. Hesse-Cassel had 3 regiments of horse, including 1 *reiter* and 2 dragoon regiments. Hesse-Darmstadt had only a single Garde du Corps squadron, plus the guard dragoon battalion of the *Liebgrenadierkorps* (known as the *Garde de Dragons* or *Reitende Leibgrenadiere*).



## ERBFOLGEKRIEG IN DEUTSCHESLAND

*Vivat Hoch die Kaiserine Maria Theresal  
Unser Feldzug so Beginne,  
Dass sie hat Viktoria.*

### **Gott Mit Uns**

*"First of all a horse was shot from beneath him, and then he took a cut across his face which left an eye hanging half-way down the cheek. He applied a handkerchief in an attempt to stanch the blood, but when he mounted a fresh horse a flying shot smashed through his head and stretched him on the ground".*

*The death of General von Schulenburg, at Mollwitz (recorded in Duffy's Army of Frederick, p. 237). This is the Prussian Schulenburg, not the Hanoverian Schulenburg.*

Frederick II, at 28 the new Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia, was determined to make a name for himself at any price. After the death of the old Emperor, it seemed that a little war with Austria might be in order. Silesia, the "jewel in the Habsburg crown", and source of a full quarter of the Austrian tax revenues, was eminently suited as a target of acquisition.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of December, 1740, without declaration of war (a superfluous gesture in the mind of the Pure Rational Man), Frederick's army, roughly 27,000 strong – 30 battalions and 54 squadrons – left its assembly point at Croßen and in three columns drove deep into Silesia. Frederick's best operational marshal, Graf von Schwerin, took a detached corps and swept down the Bohemian border. The King himself moved up the Oder valley with the main body, bypassing the fortress of Glogau and marching directly on the provincial capital, Breslau. Frederick's other reliable marshal, and friend, Leopold von Anhalt-Dessau, was left in the west with a 30,000-man corps of observation, in case the Saxons, or perhaps the Hanoverians, tried to pull a fast one.

Frederick's timing was perfect. Secrecy had been maintained until the last minute, and surprise was total. The Prussian King had even gone so far as to give assurances to the Austrian envoy that he intended no harm to the House of Habsburg; within his own circle, very few knew what was afoot. What the King feared most was a Grand Coalition against him – Austria, Hanover, Saxony, Russia, plus Britain and Holland leagued with Hanover. Certainly Europe was bound to be outraged and frightened by his actions. But Austria's historical ally on the eastern front, Russia, was embroiled in one of her many coups, while in the west, Uncle George was successfully intimidated by the Alte Dessauer's 30,000 men. With Hanover out of the picture, the Maritime Powers would not intervene; Saxony, coveting Prussian land, coveted Austrian land too, and would wait to see how the chips fell. There would be no coalition.

The weak Austrian forces, directed by General Ulysses von Browne, retreated steadily south, or shut themselves up into the fortified cities. (Although Silesia was the richest Habsburg province, it was a cultural backwater, never visited by dignitaries sufficiently exalted in rank to push for a strong defence – Neißé was the only modern "Vauban"-style fort). Frederick, sure that the Austrians would cave in, had not ceased in his attempts to negotiate, even after joining his army. But his offer to recognise Francis Stephen as Emperor in return for Silesia was rejected by the feisty Maria Theresa. On January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1741, Frederick entered Breslau. By the end of January, Schwerin was on the Moravian border. Satisfied with his

progress, the Prussian King ordered his men into winter quarters. It was wishful thinking.

The Austrians, their army demoralised and in disarray after the late disastrous war against the Turks, were trying to scrape together enough men (and the money to pay them) to deal with this shocking new blow. At the same time, the Franco-Bavarian party appear to be preparing for an advance of its own – possibly on Vienna. *Feldmarshal* Neipperg was selected to go up against Frederick, mainly because he claimed he could do the job with fewer men than his rival, Marshal Khevenhüller. The latter was sent to block the Danube valley against the expected Bavarian advance.

Thus in the Spring of 1741, Marshal Neipperg marched north from Olmütz in Moravia, brushed past Schwerin's thin cordon (the latter's corps was responsible for the entire frontier, from the Jablunka Pass to Glatz), and, linking with a small Austrian corps coming from Bohemia via Glatz, placed himself between the Prussians billeted on the Moravian border and their supply dumps at Breslau. His position was anchored by the fortresses of Brieg and Neiße, both still in Austrian hands. Because the scattered Prussians outnumbered him two-to-one in foot and three-to-one in horse, Neipperg next sought to add some of the Neiße garrison to his field command, and marched on that location – Brieg being blockaded by the Prussians. The Prussians were now in a bad way. Naturally, they retreated precipitately, and, in order to prevent Neipperg from doing even more damage moved to block him before Neiße. Recalled in haste to the main army, on March 9<sup>th</sup>, General Leopold M. von Anhalt-Dessau (the Young Dessauer) managed a swift storm of Glogau before he hurried off (taking only an hour for the assault, with frightening precision).

Frederick had a terrible time massing his forces. The ground was deep in snow, the weather atrocious (at one point, the opposing armies were marching close by, on parallel routes, but thick fog hid them from each other). Neipperg relieved Neiße and began to march on Brieg. But, he too was having difficulties with the weather and the terrain. His army was managing only a few miles a day. The Prussians were moving at twice his speed. Neipperg's attempt to lever Frederick out of Silesia without a fight was thwarted, but only just. Now aware of each other's nearness, the two armies began their dance of death, manoeuvring closer and closer, until one morning the skies cleared and with a shock they realized they were close enough to engage. Thus on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1741, was fought the Battle of Mollwitz, named for a small village lying to the west of Neiße. Thomas Carlyle, in his *History of Friedrich II* (Book 12, Chapter 10) paints a vivid portrait, beginning on the previous day [note that the author passes into the present personal tense for dramatic reasons; he was not actually there]:

*Sunday, did not prove the Day of Fight, after all. Being a day of wild drifting snow, so that you could not see twenty paces, there was nothing for it but to sit quiet. The King makes all his dispositions; sketches out punctually, to the last item, where each is to station himself, how the Army is to advance in Four Columns, ready for Neipperg wherever he may be, – towards Ohlau at any rate, whither it is not doubted Neipperg is bent. These snowy six-and-thirty hours at Pogarell were probably, since the Custrin time, the most anxious of Friedrich's life.*

*Neipperg, for his part, struggles forward a few miles, this Sunday, April 9th; the Prussians rest under shelter in the wild weather. Neipperg's head-quarters, this night, are a small Village or Hamlet, called Mollwitz: there and in the adjacent Hamlets, chiefly in Laugwitz and Gruningen, his Army lodges itself; – he is now fairly got between us and Ohlau, – if, in the blowing drift, we knew it, or he knew it. But, in this confusion of the elements, neither party knows of the other: Neipperg has appointed that to-morrow, Monday, 10th, shall be a rest-day; – appointment which could by no means be kept, as it turned out!*

*Friedrich had despatched messengers to Ohlau, that the force there should join him; messengers are all captured. The like message had already gone to Brieg, some days before, and the Blockading Body, a good few thousand strong, quitted Brieg, as we saw, and effected their junction with him. All day, this Sunday, 9<sup>th</sup>, it still snows and blows; you cannot see a yard before you. No hope now of Holstein-Beck. Not the least news from any quarter; Ohlau uncertain, too likely the wrong way: What is to be done? We are cut off from our Magazines, have only provision for one other day. "Had this weather lasted," says an Austrian reporter of these things, "his Majesty would have passed his time very ill."...*

[Carlyle quotes a source of his own, "the Schoolmaster", one Fuchs]

*"MOLLWITZ, SUNDAY, 9<sup>th</sup> APRIL. Country for two days back: was in new alarm by the Austrian Garrison of Brieg now left at liberty, who sallied out upon the Villages about, and plundered black-cattle, sheep, grain, and whatever they could come at. But this day (Sunday) in Mollwitz the whole Austrian Army was upon us. First, there went 300 Hussars through the Village to Gruningen, who quartered themselves there; and rushed hither and thither into houses, robbing and plundering. From one they took his best horses, from another they took linen, clothes, and other furnitures and victual. General Neuburg [Neipperg] halted here at Mollwitz, with the whole Army; before the Village, in mind to quarter. And quarter was settled, so that a BAUER [Plough-Farmer] got four to five companies to lodge, and a GARTNER [Spade-Farmer] two or three hundred cavalry. The houses were full of Officers, the GARTE [Garths] and the Fields full of horsemen and baggage; and all round, you saw nothing but fires burning; the ZAUNE [wooden railings] were instantly torn down for firewood; the hay, straw, barley and haver, were eaten away, and brought to nothing; and everything from the barns was carried out. And, as the whole Army could not lodge itself with us, 1,100 Infantry quartered at Laugwitz; Barzdorf got 400 Cavalry; and this day, nobody knew what would come of it." [Extract in FUCHS, p. 6.]*

*Monday morning, the Prussians are up betimes; King Friedrich, as above noted, had not, or had hardly at all, slept during those two nights, such his anxieties. This morning, all is calm, sleeked out into spotless white; Pogarell and the world are wrapt as in a winding-sheet, near two feet of snow on the ground. Air hard and crisp; a hot sun possible about noon season. "By daybreak" we are all astir, rendezvousing, ranking, – into Four Columns; ready to advance in that fashion for battle, or for deploying into battle, wherever the Enemy turn up. The orders were all given overnight, two nights ago; were all understood, too, and known to be rhadamanthine; and, down to the lowest pioneer, no man is uncertain what to do. If we but knew where the Enemy is; on which side of us; what doing, what intending?*

*Scouts, General-Adjutants are out on the quest; to no purpose hitherto. One young General-Adjutant, Saldern, whose name we shall know again, has ridden northward, has pulled bridle some way north of Pogarell; hangs, gazing diligently through his spy-glass, there; – can see nothing but a Plain of silent snow, with sparse bearding of bushes (nothing like a hedge in these countries), and here and there a tree, the miserable skeleton of a poplar; – when happily, owing to an Austrian Dragoon–Be pleased to accept (in abridged form) the poor old Schoolmaster's account of a small thing; –*

*"Austrian Dragoon of the regiment Althan, native of Kriesewitz in this neighborhood, who was billeted in Christopher Schonwitz's, had been much in want of a clean shirt, and other interior outfit; and had, last night, imperatively despatched the man Scholzke, a farm-servant of the said Christopher's, off to his, the Dragoon's, Father in Kriesewitz, to procure such shirt or outfit, and to return early with the same; under penalty of – Scholzke and his master dare not think under what penalty. Scholzke, floundering homewards with the outfit from Kriesewitz, flounders at this moment into Saldern's sphere of vision: 'Whence, whither?' asks Saldern: 'Dost thou know where the Austrians are?' (RECHT GUT: in Mollwitz, whither I am going!' Saldern takes him to the King, – and that was the first clear light his Majesty had on the matter." [Fuchs, pp. 6, 7.] That or something equivalent, indisputably was; Saldern and "a Peasant," the account of it in all the Books.*

*The King says to this Peasant, "Thou shalt ride with me to-day!" And Scholzke, Ploschke others call him, – heavy-footed rational biped*

knowing the ground there practically, every yard of it, – did, as appears, attend the King all morning; and do service, that was recognizable long years afterwards. "For always," say the Books, "when the King held review here, Ploschke failed not to make appearance on the field of Pogarell, and get recognition and a gift from his Majesty." At break of day the ranking and arranging began. Pogarell clock is near striking ten, when the last squadron or battalion quits Pogarell; and the Four Columns, punctiliously correct, are all under way. Two on each side of Ohlau Highway; steadily advancing, with pioneers ahead to clear any obstacle there may be. Few obstacles; here and there a little ditch (where Ploschke's advice may be good, under the sleek of the snow), no fences, smooth wide Plain, nothing you would even call a knoll in it for many miles ahead and around. Mollwitz is some seven miles north from Pogarell; intermediate lie dusty fractions of Villages more than one; two miles or more from Mollwitz we come to Pampitz on our left, the next considerable, if any of them can be counted considerable.

"All these Dorfs, and indeed most German ones," says my Tourist, "are made on one type; an agglomerate of dusty farmyards, with their stalls and barns; all the farmyards huddled together in two rows; a broad negligent road between, seldom mended, never swept except by the elements. Generally there is nothing to be seen, on each hand, but thatched roofs, dead clay walls and rude wooden gates; sometimes a poor public-house, with probable beer in it; never any shop, nowhere any patch of swept pavement, or trim gathering-place for natives of a social gossipy turn: the road lies sleepy, littery, good only for utilitarian purposes. In the middle of the Village stands Church and Churchyard, with probably some gnarled trees around it: Church often larger than you expected; the Churchyard, always fenced with high stone-and-mortar wall, is usually the principal military post of the place. Mollwitz, at the present day, has something of whitewash here and there; one of the farmer people, or more, wearing a civilized prosperous look. The belfry offers you a pleasant view: the roofs and steeples of Brieg, pleasantly visible to eastward; villages dotted about, Laugwitz, Barzdorf, Hermsdorf, clear to your inquiring; and to westward, and to southward, tops of Hill-country in the distance. Westward, twenty miles off, are pleasant Hills; and among them, if you look well, shadowy Town-spires, which you are assured are Strehlen, a place also of interest in Friedrich's History. — Your belfry itself, in Mollwitz, is old, but not unsound; and the big iron clock grunts heavily at your ear, or perhaps bursts out in a too deafening manner, while you study the topographies. Pampitz, too, seems prosperous, in its littery way; the Church is bigger and newer,"— owing to an accident we shall hear of soon; — "Country all about seems farmed with some industry, but with shallow ploughing; liable to drought. It is very sandy in quality; shorn of umbrage; painfully naked to an English eye." That is the big champaign, coated with two feet of snow, where a great Action is now to go forward.

Neipperg, all this while, is much at his ease on this white resting-day. He is just sitting down to dinner at the Dorfschulzeis (Village Provost, or miniature Mayor of Mollwitz), a composed man; when – rockets or projectiles, and successive anxious sputterings from the steeple-tops of Brieg, are hastily reported: what can it mean? Means little perhaps; — Neipperg sends out a Hussar party to ascertain, and composedly sets himself to dine. In a little while his Hussar party will come galloping back, faster than it went; faster and fewer; — and there will be news for Neipperg during dinner! Better here looking out, though it was a rest-day?—

The truth is, the Prussian advance goes on with punctilious exactitude, by no means rapidly. Colonel Count von Rothenburg, — the same whom we lately heard of in Paris as a miracle of gambling, — he now here, in a new capacity, is warily leading the Vanguard of Dragoons; warily, with the Four Columns well to rear of him: the Austrian Hussar party came upon Rothenburg, not two miles from Mollwitz; and suddenly drew bridle. Them Rothenburg tumbles to the right-about, and chases; — finds, on advancing, the Austrian Army totally unaware. It is thought, had Rothenburg dashed forward, and sent word to the rearward to dash forward at their swiftest, the Austrian Army might have been cut in pieces here, and never have got together to try battle at all. But Rothenburg had no orders; nay, had orders Not to get into fighting; — nor had Friedrich himself, in this his first Battle, learned that feline or leonine promptitude of spring which he subsequently manifested. Far from it! Indeed this punctilious deliberation, and slow exactitude as on

the review-ground, is wonderful and noteworthy at the first start of Friedrich; — the faithful apprentice-hand still rigorous to the rules of the old shop. Ten years hence, twenty years hence, had Friedrich found Neipperg in this condition, Neipperg's account had been soon settled! — Rothenburg drove back the Hussars, all manner of successive Hussar parties, and kept steadily ahead of the main battle, as he had been bidden.

Pampitz Village being now passed, and in rear of them to left, the Prussian Columns halt for some instants; burst into field-music; take to deploying themselves into line. There is solemn wheeling, shooting out to right and left, done with spotless precision: once in line, — in two lines, "each three men deep," lines many yards apart, — they will advance on Mollwitz; still solemnly, field-music guiding, and banners spread. Which will be a work of time. That the King's frugal field-dinner was shot away, from its camp-table near Pampitz (as Fuchs has heard), is evidently mythical; and even impossible, the Austrians having yet no cannon within miles of him; and being intent on dining comfortably themselves, not on firing at other people's dinners.

Fancy Neipperg's state of mind, busy beginning dinner in the little Schulze's, or Town-Provost's house, when the Hussars dashed in at full gallop, shouting "DER FEIND, The Enemy! All in march there; vanguard this side of Pampitz; killed forty of us!" — Quick, your Plan of Battle, then? Whitherward; How; What? answer or perish! Neipperg was infinitely struck; dropt knife and fork: "Send for Romer, General of the Horse!" Romer did the indispensable: a swift man, not apt to lose head. Romer's battle-plan, I should hope, is already made; or it will fare ill with Neipperg and him. But beat, ye drummers; gallop, ye aides-de-camp as for life! The first thing is to get our Force together; and it lies scattered about in three other Villages besides Mollwitz, miles apart. Neipperg's trumpets clangor, his aides-de-camp gallop: he has his left wing formed, and the other parts in a state of rapid genesis, Horse and Foot pouring in from Laugwitz, Barzdorf, Gruningen, before the Prussians have quite done deploying themselves, and got well within shot of him. Romer, by birth a Saxon gentleman, by all accounts a superior soldier and excellent General of Horse, commands this Austrian left wing, General Goldlein, a Swiss veteran of good parts, presiding over the Infantry in that quarter. Neipperg himself, were he once complete, will command the right wing.

[Duffy points out that the Prussians, led by men who, except for Schwerin, had never commanded formations larger than regiments, took ages to deploy. Everything had to be parade-ground-perfect. They would have used theodolites to dress the ranks if such things had been available. Then they found that there was not enough space to fit everyone in according to the drill manual. This gave the Austrians time to recover from their surprise].

Neipperg is to be in two lines, as the Prussians are, with horse on each wing, which is orthodox military order. His length of front, I should guess, must have been something better than two English miles: a sluggish Brook, called of Laugwitz, from the Village of that name which lies some way across, is on his right hand; sluggish, boggy; stagnating towards the Oder in those parts; — improved farming has, in our time, mostly dried the strip of bog, and made it into coarse meadow, which is rather a relief amid the dry sandy element. Neipperg's right is covered by that. His left rests on the Hamlet of Gruningen, a mile-and-half northeast of Mollwitz; — meant to have rested on Hermsdorf nearly east, but the Prussians have already taken that up. The sun coming more and more round to west of south (for it is now past noon) shines right in Neipperg's face, and is against him: how the wind is, nobody mentions, — probably there was no wind. His regular Cavalry, 8,600, outnumbers twice or more that of the Prussians, not to mention their quality; and he has fewer Infantry, somewhat in proportion; — the entire force on each side is scarcely above 20,000, the Prussians slightly in majority by count. In field-pieces Neipperg is greatly outnumbered; the Prussians having about threescore, he only eighteen. And now here ARE the Prussians, close upon our left wing, not yet in contact with the right, — which in fact is not yet got into existence; — thank Heaven they have not come before our left got into existence, as our right (if you knew it) has not yet quite finished doing!—

The Prussians, though so ready for deploying, have had their own difficulties and delays. Between the boggy Brook of Laugwitz, on their left, and the Village of Hermsdorf, two miles distant, on which their right wing is to lean, there proves not to be room enough; and then, owing to mistake of Schulenburg (our old pipe-clay friend, who commands the right wing of Horse here, and is not up in time), there is too much room. Not room enough, for all the Infantry, we say: the last three Battalions of the front line therefore, the three on the utmost right, wheel round, and stand athwart; EN POTENCE (as soldiers say), or at right angles to the first line; hanging to it like a kind of lid in that part, – between Schulenburg and them, – had Schulenburg come up. Thus are the three battalions got rid of at least; "they cap the First Prussian line rectangularly, like a lid," says my authority, – lid which does not reach to the Second Line by a good way. This accidental arrangement had material effects on the right wing. Unfortunate Schulenburg did at last come up; – had he miscalculated the distances, then? Once on the ground, he will find he does not reach to Hermsdorf after all, and that there is now too much room! What his degree of fault was I know not; Friedrich has long been dissatisfied with these Dragoons of Schulenburg; "good for nothing, I always told you" (at that Skirmish of Baumgarten); and now here is the General himself fallen blundering! – In respect of Horse, the Austrians are more than two to one; to make out our deficiency, the King, imitating something he had read about Gustavus Adolphus, intercalates the Horse-Squadrons, on each wing, with two Battalions of Grenadiers, and SO lengthens them; – "a manoeuvre not likely to be again imitated," he admits.

[Interspersing grenadiers and horse might have worked, but the two arms had not been trained together].

All these movements and arrangements are effected above a mile from Mollwitz, no enemy yet visible. Once effected, we advance again with music sounding, sixty pieces of artillery well in front, – steady, steady! – across the floor of snow which is soon beaten smooth enough, the stage, this day, of a great adventure. And now there is the Enemy's left wing, Romer and his Horse; their right wing wider away, and not yet, by a good space, within cannon-range of us. It is towards Two of the afternoon; Schulenburg now on his ground, laments that he will not reach to Hermsdorf; – but it may be dangerous now to attempt repairing that error? At Two of the clock, being now fairly within distance, we salute Romer and the Austrian left, with all our sixty cannon; and the sound of drums and clarinets is drowned in universal artillery thunder. Incessant, for they take (by order) to "swift-shooting," which is almost of the swiftness of musketry in our Prussian practice; and from sixty cannon, going at that rate, we may fancy some effect. The Austrian Horse of the left wing do not like it; all the less as the Austrians, rather short of artillery, have nothing yet to reply with.

No Cavalry can stand long there, getting shivered in that way; in such a noise, were there nothing more. "Are we to stand here like milestones, then, and be all shot without a stroke struck?" "Steady!" answers Romer. But nothing can keep them steady: "To be shot like dogs (WIE HUNDE)! For God's sake (URN GOTTES WILLEN), lead us forward, then, to have a stroke at them!" – in tones ever more plangent, plaintively indignant; growing ungovernable. And Romer can get no orders; Neipperg is on the extreme right, many things still to settle there; and here is the cannon-thunder going, and soon their very musketry will open. And—and there is Schulenburg, for one thing, stretching himself out eastwards (rightwards) to get hold of Hermsdorf; thinking this an opportunity for the manoeuvre. "Forward!" cries Romer; and his thirty Squadrons, like bottled whirlwind now at last let loose, dash upon Schulenburg's poor ten (five of them of Schulenburg's own regiment, – who are turned sideways too, trotting towards Hermsdorf, at the wrong moment, – and dash them into wild ruin. That must have been a charge! That was the beginning of hours of chaos, seemingly irretrievable, in that Prussian right wing.

For the Prussian Horse fly wildly; and it is in vain to rally. The King is among them; has come in hot haste, conjuring and commanding; poor Schulenburg addresses his own regiment, "Oh, shame, shame! shall it be told, then?" rallies his own regiment, and some others; charges fiercely in with them again; gets a sabre-slash across the face, – does not mind the sabre-slash, small bandaging will do; – gets a bullet through the head (or through the heart, it is not said which); and falls down dead; his regiment going to the winds again, and HIS care of it

and of other things concluding in this honorable manner. Nothing can rally that right wing; or the more you rally, the worse it fares: they are clearly no match for Romer, these Prussian Horse. They fly along the front of their own First Line of Infantry, they fly between the two Lines; Romer chasing, – till the fire of the Infantry (intolerable to our enemies, and hitting some even of our fugitive friends) repels him. For the notable point in all this was the conduct of the Infantry; and how it stood in these wild vortexes of ruin; impregnable, immovable, as if every man of it were stone; and steadily poured out deluges of fire, – "five Prussian shots for two Austrian:" – such is perfect discipline against imperfect; and the iron ramrod against the wooden.

The intolerable fire repels Romer, when he trenches on the Infantry; however, he captures nine of the Prussian sixty guns; has scattered their Horse to the winds; and charges again and again, hoping to break the Infantry too, – till a bullet kills him, the gallant Romer; and some other has to charge and try. It was thought, had Goldlein with his Austrian Infantry advanced to support Romer at this juncture, the Battle had been gained. Five times, before Romer fell and after, the Austrians charged here; tried the Second Line too; tried once to take Prince Leopold in rear there. But Prince Leopold faced round, gave intolerable fire; on one face as on the other, he, or the Prussian Infantry anywhere, is not to be broken. "Friedrich," one of the Margraves of Schwedt, King's Cousin, whom we did not know before, fell in these wild rallyings and wrestlings; "by a cannon-ball, at the King's hand," not said otherwise where. He had come as Volunteer, few weeks ago, out of Holland, where he was a rising General: he has met his fate here, – and Margraf Karl, his Brother, who also gets wounded, will be a mournful man to-night.

The Prussian Horse, this right wing of it, is a ruined body; boiling in wild disorder, flooding rapidly away to rearward, – which is the safest direction to retreat upon. They "sweep away the King's person with them," say some cautious people; others say, what is the fact, that Schwerin entreated, and as it were commanded, the King to go; the Battle being, to all appearance, irretrievable. Go he did, with small escort, and on a long ride, – to Oppeln, a Prussian post, thirty-five miles rearward, where there is a Bridge over the Oder and a safe country beyond. So much is indubitable; and that he despatched an Aide-de-camp to gallop into Brandenburg, and tell the Old Dessauer, "Bestir yourself! Here all seems lost!" – and vanished from the Field, doubtless in very desperate humor. Upon which the extraneous world has babbled a good deal, "Cowardice! Wanted courage: Haha!" in its usual foolish way; not worth answer from him or from us. Friedrich's demeanor, in that disaster of his right wing, was furious despair rather; and neither Schulenburg nor Margraf Friedrich, nor any of the captains, killed or left living, was supposed to have sinned by "cowardice" in a visible degree! –

[Frederick never forgave Schwerin for being told to leave the battle, though it was not without precedent and was certainly the prudent thing to do; it seems the King's life was endangered by the firing of his own infantry, who were beginning to think all horsemen were the enemy].

Indisputable it is, though there is deep mystery upon it, the King vanishes from Mollwitz Field at this point for sixteen hours, into the regions of Myth, "into Fairyland," as would once have been said; but reappears unharmed in to-morrow's daylight: at which time, not sooner, readers shall hear what little is to be said of this obscure and much-disfigured small affair. For the present we hasten back to Mollwitz, – where the murderous thunder rages unabated all this while; the very noise of it alarming mankind for thirty miles round. At Breslau, which is thirty good miles off, horrible dull grumble was heard from the southern quarter ("still better, if you put a staff in the ground, and set your ear to it"); and from the steeple-tops, there was dim cloudland of powder-smoke discernible in the horizon there. "At Liegnitz," which is twice the distance, "the earth sensibly shook," – at least the air did, and the nerves of men.

"Had Goldlein but advanced with his Foot, in support of gallant Romer!" say the Austrian Books. But Goldlein did not advance; nor is it certain he would have found advantage in so doing: Goldlein, where he stands, has difficulty enough to hold his own. For the notable circumstance, miraculous to military men, still is, How the Prussian Foot (men who had never been in fire, but whom Friedrich Wilhelm

had drilled for twenty years) stand their ground, in this distraction of the Horse. Not even the two outlying Grenadier Battalions will give way: those poor intercalated Grenadiers, when their Horse fled on the right and on the left, they stand there, like a fixed stone-dam in that wild whirlpool of ruin. They fix bayonets, "bring their two field-pieces to flank" (Winterfeld was Captain there), and, from small arms and big, deliver such a fire as was very unexpected. Nothing to be made of Winterfeld and them. They invincibly hurl back charge after charge; and, with dogged steadiness, manoeuvre themselves into the general Line again; or into contact with the three superfluous Battalions, arranged EN POTENCE, whom we heard of. Those three, ranked athwart in this right wing ("like a lid," between First Line and second), maintained themselves in like impregnable fashion, – Winterfeld commanding; – and proved unexpectedly, thinks Friedrich, the saving of the whole. For they also stood their ground immovable, like rocks; steadily spouting fire-torrents. Five successive charges storm upon them, fruitless: "Steady, MEINE KINDER; fix bayonets, handle ramrods! There is the Horse-deluge thundering in upon you; reserve your fire, till you see the whites of their eyes, and get the word; then give it them, and again give it them: see whether any man or any horse can stand it!"

Neipperg, soon after Romer fell, had ordered Goldlein forward: Goldlein with his Infantry did advance, gallantly enough; but to no purpose. Goldlein was soon shot dead; and his Infantry had to fall back again, ineffectual or worse. Iron ramrods against wooden; five shots to two: what is there but falling back? Neipperg sent fresh Horse from his right wing, with Berlichingen, a new famed General of Horse; Neipperg is furiously bent to improve his advantage, to break those Prussians, who are mere musketeers left bare, and thinks that will settle the account: but it could in no wise be done. The Austrian Horse, after their fifth trial, renounce charging; fairly refuse to charge any more; and withdraw dispirited out of ball-range, or in search of things not impracticable. The Hussar part of them did something of plunder to rearward; – and, besides poor Maupertuis's adventure (of which by and by), and an attempt on the Prussian baggage and knapsacks, which proved to be "too well guarded," – "burnt the Church of Pampitz," as some small consolation. The Prussians had stripped their knapsacks, and left them in Pampitz: the Austrians, it was noticed, stripped theirs in the Field; built walls of them, and fired behind, the same, in a kneeling, more or less protected posture, – which did not avail them much.

[An interesting technique that one does not normally hear of from this period. There is some debate over the quality of the Austrian foot. Some sources say they were raw recruits, others that they were veterans of the Turkish War. Probably they were a mix – recruits were scraped up along the way – but even then, there is the question of whether the "veterans" were demoralised or full of fight. It all seems very much like an excuse – the skin of a lie stuffed with reasons. The Austrian war machine was simply outclassed – not in its individual components, but taken as a whole].

*In fact, the Austrian Infantry too, all Austrians, hour after hour, are getting wearier of it: neither Infantry nor Cavalry can stand being riddled by swift shot in that manner. In spite of their knapsack walls, various regiments have shrunk out of ball-range; and several cannot, by any persuasion, be got to come into it again. Others, who do reluctantly advance, – see what a figure they make; man after man edging away as he can, so that the regiment "stands forty to eighty men deep, with lanes through it every two or three yards;" permeable everywhere to Cavalry, if we had them; and turning nothing to the Enemy but color-sergeants and bare poles of a regiment! And Romer is dead, and Goldlein of the Infantry is dead. And on their right wing, skirted by that marshy Brook of Laugwitz, – Austrian right wing had been weakened by detachments, when Berlichingen rode off to succeed Romer, – the Austrians are suffering: Posadowsky's Horse (among whom is Rothenburg, once vanguard), strengthened by remnants who have rallied here, are at last prospering, after reverses. And the Prussian fire of small arms, at such rate, has lasted now for five hours. The Austrian Army, becoming instead of a web a mere series of flying tatters, forming into stripes or lanes in the way we see, appears to have had about enough.*

*These symptoms are not hidden from Schwerin. His own ammunition, too, he knows is running scarce, and fighters here and there are searching the slain for cartridges; – Schwerin closes his ranks, trims and tightens himself a little; breaks forth into universal field-music, and with banners spread, starts in mass wholly, "Forwards!" Forwards towards these Austrians and the setting sun.*

*An intelligent Austrian Officer, writing next week from Neisse, confesses he never saw anything more beautiful. "I can well say, I never in my life saw anything more beautiful. They marched with the greatest steadiness, arrow-straight, and their front like a line (SCHNURGLEICH), as if they had been upon parade. The glitter of their clear arms shone strangely in the setting sun, and the fire from them went on no otherwise than a continued peal of thunder." Grand picture indeed; but not to be enjoyed as a Work of Art, for it is coming upon us! "The spirits of our Army sank altogether", continues he; "the Foot plainly giving way, Horse refusing to come forward, all things wavering towards dissolution:" – so that Neipperg, to avoid worse, gives the word to go; – and they roll off at double-quick time, through Mollwitz, over Laugwitz Bridge and Brook, towards Grotkau by what routes they can. The sun is just sunk; a quarter to eight, says the intelligent Austrian Officer, – while the Austrian Army, much to its amazement, tumbles forth in this bad fashion.*

*They had lost nine of their own cannon, and all of those Prussian nine which they once had, except one: eight cannon MINUS, in all. Prisoners of them were few, and none of much mark: two Field-marsals, Romer and Goldlein, lie among the dead; four more of that rank are wounded. Four standards too are gone; certain kettle-drums and the like trophies, not in great number. Lieutenant-General Browne was of these retreating Austrians; a little fact worth noting: of his actions this day, or of his thoughts (which latter surely must have been considerable), no hint anywhere. The Austrians were not much chased; though they might have been, – fresh Cavalry (two Ohlau regiments, drawn hither by the sound) having hung about to rear of them, for some time past; unable to get into the Fight, or to do any good till now. Schwerin, they say, though he had two wounds, was for pursuing vigorously: but Leopold of Anhalt over-persuaded him; urged the darkness, the uncertainty. Berlichingen, with their own Horse, still partly covered their rear; and the Prussians, Ohlauer included, were but weak in that branch of the service. Pursuit lasted little more than two miles, and was never hot. The loss of men, on both sides, was not far from equal, and rather in favor of the Austrian side; – Austrians counted in killed, wounded and missing, 4,410 men; Prussians 4,613; but the Prussians bivouacked on the ground, or quartered in these Villages, with victory to crown them, and the thought that their hard day's work had been well done. Besides Margraf Friedrich, Volunteer from Holland, there lay among the slain Colonel Count von Finkenstein (Old Tutor's Son), King's friend from boyhood, and much loved. He was of the six whom we saw consulting at the door at Reinsberg, during a certain ague-fit; and he now rests silent here, while the matter has only come thus far.*

[Browne was a good general, but he was never given sufficient resources – which was "his own fault", of course since it couldn't be his tightfisted Queen's. Schwerin's reputation is one of operational excellence and battlefield confusion, while *der Alte Dessauer's* is the reverse.]

*Such was Mollwitz, the first Battle for Silesia; which had to cost many Battles first and last. Silesia will be gained, we can expect, by fighting of this kind in an honest cause. But here is something already gained, which is considerable, and about which there is no doubt. A new Military Power, it would appear, has come upon the scene; the Gazetteer-and-Diplomatic world will have to make itself familiar with a name not much heard of hitherto among the Nations.*

After the battle very little happened for the rest of the campaigning season. Neipperg was glad to make his escape (because the Prussian horse was so disorganised, there was virtually no pursuit), and Frederick was happy to claim the victory; but not keen to provoke his enemy until he had rectified the problems with his own army. Both sides had also taken heavy casualties – nearly 5,000 men apiece. However, the real reason that no important actions occurred was political.

The first result of Mollwitz was that Frederick secured Brieg, while Neipperg retired on Neiße. The summer was spent manoeuvring and training, which sounds boring, but Neipperg, despite his low reputation as a general, caused Frederick no end of grief. Having cleaned the Prussians out of Central and Upper Silesia, he proceeded to defy the Prussian King's every effort to remove him from the province. Frederick ultimately massed 60,000 out of his 81,000-man army against Neipperg's 25,000, but failed miserably.

The second result of Mollwitz was the political one. Frederick needed help, although he would never admit it publicly. Mollwitz had impressed Europe, and particularly the French. Perhaps the Prussians would prove useful after all. Cardinal Fleury hesitated no longer and sent *Maréchal* Belle-Isle to do a deal with the Prussian King; a 15-year defensive alliance was agreed upon. At the same time, the Saxons made their choice and came in against Maria Theresa on their own account.

However, Frederick was not keen to participate in a wider war. At her coronation as Queen of Hungary in September, the Hungarians had sworn loyalty and promised Maria Theresa a new army. On the one hand, the House of Habsburg had not folded, on the other, France was gaining undue influence. Time for the Prussian King to play it cool; hopefully the Austrians would be so distracted by the French that they would recognise his *fait accompli*. So, once the French were in motion in the west – satisfied that Prussia was pinning the Austrians – on October 9<sup>th</sup>, Frederick – satisfied that the French were distracting the Austrians – arranged a temporary truce, known as the Convention of Kleinschnellendorf. Neiße was surrendered after a mock siege (at which Frederick grew impatient of the lengthy Austrian playacting and ordered a real bombardment). For a few months, at least, the Austrians would be free to deal with the French. Frederick scored Lower Silesia for Prussia.

### **Wiener Blut**

*"We have beaten the enemy, but everyone mourns, the one for a brother, the other for a friend; in short we are the most distressed victors that you can imagine. God preserve us from such another bloody and murderous affair".*

*Frederick to brother William, after Mollwitz.*

The respite of Kleinschnellendorf did not last long. Austrian success elsewhere emboldened Maria Theresa. The terms of the convention were deliberately leaked to the Prussian King's allies, who were much dismayed by his perfidy in coming to a separate arrangement with the common foe. Unable to win formal recognition of his gains, and fearful of the unexpected resurgence of Austrian arms against the Franco-Bavarians, Frederick decided to act. He had not been idle during the truce, training his army mercilessly throughout the harsh winter. The cavalry was still not up to snuff, but many bugs had been ironed out.

In the west, the French and Bavarians had invaded Austrian property, threatened Vienna and actually taken Prague, second city of the Empire, in company with the Saxons. With this prize, the Bavarian Elector, Karl Albrecht, was able to acquire the imperial diadem. But by the time this occurred, he no longer had a home – the Austrians had bounced back and advanced as far as Munich. Desperate and ill, Karl Albrecht asked Frederick for a diversion against Moravia. The Prussian King was nothing loath; Austria was doing *too* well.

The Prussians swiftly overran the rest of Silesia again (a portion of the Prussian Army being billeted there to begin with, as allowed by the fine print of the truce). The reliable Schwerin

slipped an advance guard over the southern border into the Duchy of Oppavia, easily taking the capital, Troppau, as well as Freudental. By early January he was ensconced in the fortress of Olmutz – a flagrant violation of the convention, but one the Austrians could do little to prevent. The marshal settled down to await his master's pleasure.

Frederick, meanwhile, had marched the bulk of his field army through Glatz (which duchy he also coveted) and into Bohemia, quartering his forces around Chrudim. Glatz's Austrian garrison was placed under siege, but although the town was taken, the citadel refused to capitulate – did not surrender until late into February in fact, by which time its 2,000 men had been reduced to 200. Despite this setback, Frederick was in a good position, able to receive assistance from the French and the Saxons at Prague.

A delay in operations now ensued as the Prussian King attempted to persuade the allies to join him in a drive on Vienna. He had a hard time of it. Always thinking big, Frederick promised that Bavaria would get Bohemia, and Saxony would get Moravia (while Frederick would get a handy buffer zone opposite the irate Austrians). But his partners in crime were not sanguine about a winter campaign. The Saxons had no interest in a deep penetration of Austrian territory; the French were already at the end of a very long supply line and had had to release the Bavarian contingent (more than half the army), to whom they were nominally subordinate, to go fight the Austrians on the Danube. The Emperor was now asking for the relief of Linz instead, it being the capital of Upper Austria, and a recent Bavarian acquisition. But Linz in turn was soon lost.

*Général* de Saxe told Frederick bluntly that he was asking for trouble undertaking a winter campaign in Moravia; de Saxe's superior, *Maréchal* Broglie (replacing Belle-Isle, who had been deprived of military command on the grounds that he was getting to big for his boots) went so far as to lend 5,000 soldiers – all horse, by the way, with a better chance of escape from any debacle. The Saxons eventually agreed to provide 16,000 men, and actually sent 12,000, under a grumpy Marshal Rutowsky (who had been looking forward to a comfortable wintering in Prague).

As January turned into February, King Frederick rejoined his army, ordered to muster at Wischau, on the road from Olmutz to Brünn (Brno). The French and Saxons similarly rendezvoused at Trebicz. The first task was to be the taking of Iglau, in the hill country of the Bohemian-Moravian border, mainly because of the Austrian magazine there. Frederick had not laid in a great deal of supplies for his offensive. But the Austrians, led by the vitriolic Marshal Lobkowitz, evacuated the town, taking their stores with them. Rather than follow and risk an engagement with the Austrian main body, Frederick and his allies marched southeast to join with the Prussian forces in Moravia.

Schwerin had swept through Moravia with a select body of 6,000 foot and horse, bringing fire and sword to all and sundry. He made his way to Krems on the Danube without meeting any resistance; Prussian hussars even approached within sight of the spires of Vienna. Frederick himself brought up the main body as far as Znaim, on the Austrian-Moravian border. But at this point the King's plans began to unravel. First, with the taking of Iglau, the French returned to Prague (the action was all the *Maréchal* Broglie had required of them). Marshal Rutowsky had already left in a huff, putting the Saxons under the command of the Chevalier de Saxe, who shared his more illustrious half-brother's pessimistic view of the whole affair.

The Saxons sat at Iglau for some time, going neither forward nor back. Eventually they followed the Prussians to Krumlov, halfway between Brünn and Znaim.

More serious than his allies' dilatoriness were the actions of Frederick's enemies. *Großherzog* Karl von Lotharingen – Charles of Lorraine – had taken over command of the Austrian forces in southern Bohemia. Collecting the scattered forces wintering between Budweis and Iglau, he soon amassed a daunting 40,000 (or so rumour made them) at Waidhofen. Additional forces were deployed to screen the French in the west. If Frederick did not withdraw, he risked being outflanked. To make matters worse, the Prussians had carelessly bypassed the key city of Brünn. The Austrians had then been given the opportunity to squeeze some 6,000 men into the fortress, and Frederick did not have sufficient artillery to lay siege. Belatedly, he put the Saxons to the task, but they had no guns either – their train was still in Dresden.

At the moment, however, the greatest threat came not from these conventional forces, but a much more unpredictable source. The Moravian peasantry, their homes burnt, their farms stripped clean, their relatives outraged or cut down, began a deadly insurgency against the Prussians. Brünn lay at the heart of the rising. Worst of all, to the scattered and ill-trained efforts of these peasant militias were added those of thousands of irregulars, Hussars and Pandours, now sweeping over the Hungarian border.

It was time to leave. The Saxons had already left; they did not stop until they had reached Dresden, much reduced in number. Frederick called up reserves from Brandenburg – another 20,000 men – and marched on a circuitous route through the Landskron hills to his base at Chrudim. By now, Glatz had fallen to his forces, opening the way for the Old Dessauer and his reinforcements to join him. The Young Dessauer was sent east again with some of these men, to clear the roads of Pandours and collect the forces left behind at Olmutz. Pursued by Prince Charles, he escaped into Silesia via Troppau.

All in all the campaign had been a singularly foolish waste of resources, although there is an alternate explanation for Frederick's motivation. Generally, it is assumed that he was merely inexperienced, or that he presumed too much on his allies' goodwill. Some say, however, that Frederick himself lacked the desire to actually take Vienna. If the Habsburgs had fallen, France would have had held too great a sway in Europe; the Saxons, also, would have become overly powerful neighbours. Accordingly, Frederick made a big deal over a united offensive against the Austrian capital, knowing that his allies would balk. He then went to great lengths to complain of his allies' faithlessness to the cause (remember they were reproaching him for Kleinschnellendorf), when as expected, they failed to support him. In this way he showed himself as the strongman while ensuring the Austrians did not collapse after all. Proof of this might be indicated by the fact that the Prussians were not prepared for the siege of Brünn, let alone Vienna; they were "merely pretending to conquer Moravia" in order to simulate a grand coalition against the Habsburgs.

The justification for Frederick's Moravian adventure then becomes the fact that Maria Theresa became more inclined to give Frederick Upper Silesia at the end of the First Silesian War. This would be *because* he played the strongman and showed unity with the Franco-Bavarians; she hoped that by this "gift" she would separate him from his French allies. The Queen was successful, but Frederick was thus to be paid for (and given a legitimate excuse for) doing what he wanted to do anyway. France, who had complained the loudest over

Kleinschnellendorf, was placed in a bad light. All of which may be too Machiavellian for "Young Frederick" – or perhaps not. He did study Machiavelli, after all.

Moravia had been cleared of Prussians, but the country was devastated, so Charles marched his army back to Budweis to "rest and refit". And so it was from the south, not the east, that the Austrian offensive to retake Bohemia commenced. While Marshal Lobkowitz took some forces to deal with the French around Pilsen, Prince Charles moved north against Frederick. Attempting to swing west over the bridge at Kolin in order to take the Prussian magazines at Königgratz in the rear, he was neatly intercepted by the Prussian King and brought to battle at Chotusitz, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1742.

Thomas Carlyle describes the events (Book 13, Chapter 13):

*Kuttenberg, Czaslau, Chotusitz and all these other places lie in what is called the Valley of the Elbe, but what to the eye has not the least appearance of a hollow, but of an extensive plain rather, dimpled here and there; and, if anything, rather sloping FROM the Elbe – were it not that dull bushless brooks, one or two, sauntering to NORTHWARD, not southward, warn you of the contrary. Conceive a flat tract of this kind, some three or four miles square, with Czaslau on its southern border, Chotusitz on its northern; flanked, on the west, by a straggle of Lakelets, ponds and quagmires (which in our time are drained away, all but a tenth part or so of remainder); flanked, on the east, by a considerable puddle of a Stream called the Dobrowa; and cut in the middle by a nameless poor Brook ("BRTLINKA" some write it, if anybody could pronounce), running parallel and independent – which latter, of more concernment to us here, springs beyond Czaslau, and is got to be of some size, and more intricate than usual, with "islands" and the like, as it passes Chotusitz (a little to east of Chotusitz); this is our Field of Battle. Sixty or more miles to eastward of Prag, eight miles or more to southward of Elbe River and the Ford of Elbe-Teinitz (which we shall hear of, in years coming). A scene worth visiting by the curious, though it is by no means of picturesque character.*

*Uncomfortably bare, like most German plains; mean little hamlets, which are full of litter when you enter them, lie sprinkled about; little church-spires (like suffragans to Chotusitz spire, which is near you); a ragged untrimmed country: beyond the Brook, towards the Dobrowa, two or more miles from Chotusitz, is still noticeable: something like a Deer-park, with umbrageous features, bushy clumps, and shadowy vestiges of a Mansion, the one regular edifice within your horizon. Schuschütz is the name of this Mansion and Deer-park; farther on lies Sbislau, where Leopold happily found his Bride unbroken yesterday.*

*The general landscape is scrubby, littery; ill-tilled, scratched rather than ploughed; physiognomic of Czech Populations, who are seldom trim at elbows: any beauty it has is on the farther side of the Dobrowa, which does not concern Prince Leopold, Prince Karl, or us at present. Prince Leopold's camp lies east and west, short way to north of Chotusitz. Schuschütz Hamlet (a good mile northward of Sbislau) covers his left, the chain of Lakelets covers his right: and Chotusitz, one of his outposts, lies centrally in front. Prince Karl is coming on, in four columns, from the Hills and intricacies south of Czaslau – has been on march all night, intending a night-attack or camisado if he could; but could not in the least, owing to the intricate roadways, and the discrepancies of pace between his four columns. The sun was up before anything of him appeared – drawing out, visibly yonder, by the east side of Czaslau; 30,000 strong, they say. Friedrich's united force, were Friedrich himself on the ground, will be about 28,000.*

[Duffy gives 24,500 Prussians and 29,000 Austrians.]

*Friedrich's Orders, which Leopold is studying, were: "Hold by Chotusitz for Centre; your left wing, see you lean it on something, towards Dobrowa side – on that intricate Brook (Brtlinka) or Park-wall of Schuschütz, (SBISLAU, Friedrich hastily calls it) which I think is there; then your right wing westwards, till you lean again on something: two lines, leave room for me and my force, on the corner nearest here. I will start at four; be with you between seven and eight, – and even bring a proportion of Austrian bread (hot from these ovens of Kuttenberg) to refresh part of you." Leopold of Anhalt, a much-comforted man, waits only for the earliest gray of the morning, to be up*

and doing. From Chotusitz he spreads out leftwards towards the Brlinka Brook – difficult ground that, unfit for cavalry, with its bog-holes, islands, gullies and broken surface; better have gone across the Brlinka with mere infantry, and leant on the wall of that Deer-park of Schuschitz with perhaps only 1,000 horse to support, well rearward of the infantry and this difficult ground? So men think – after the action is over. And indeed there was certainly some misarrangement there (done by Leopold's subordinates), which had its effects shortly.

Leopold was not there in person, arranging that left wing; Leopold is looking after centre and right. He perceives, the right wing will be his best chance; knows that, in general, cavalry must be on both wings. On a little eminence in front of his right, he sees how the Enemy comes on; Czaslau, lately on their left, is now getting to rear of them; – "And you, stout old General Buddenbrock, spread yourself out to right a little, hidden behind this rising ground; I think we may outflank their left wing by a few squadrons, which will be an advantage."

Buddenbrock spreads himself out, as bidden; had Buddenbrock been reinforced by most of the horse that could do no good on our LEFT wing, it is thought the Battle had gone better. Buddenbrock in this way, secretly, outflanks the Austrians; to HIS right all forward, he has that string of marshy pools (Lakes of Czirkwitz so called, outflowings from the Brook of Neuhoof), and cannot be taken in flank by any means. Brook of Neuhoof, which his Majesty crossed yesterday, farther north – and ought to have recrossed by this time? – said Brook, hereabouts a mere fringe of quagmires and marshy pools, is our extreme boundary on the west or right; Brook of Brlinka (unluckily NOT wall of the Deer-park) bounds us eastward, or on our left, Prince Karl, drawn up by this time, is in two lines, cavalry on right and left, but rather in bent order; bent towards us at both ends (being dainty of his ground, I suppose); and comes on in hollow-crescent form – which is not reckoned orthodox by military men. What all these Villages, human individuals and terrified deer, are thinking, I never can conjecture! Thick-soled peasants, terrified nursing-mothers: Better to run and hide, I should say; mount your garron plough-horses, hide your butter-pots, meal-barrels; run at least ten miles or so!

It is now past seven, a hot May morning, the Austrians very near – and yonder, of a surety, is his Majesty coming. Majesty has marched since four; and is here at his time, leaves and all. His men rank at once in the corner left for them; one of his horse-generals, Lehwald, is sent to the left, to put straight what may be awry there (cannot quite do it, he either) – and the attack by Buddenbrock, who secretly outflanks here on the right, this shall at once take effect. No sooner has his Majesty got upon the little eminence or rising ground, and scanned the Austrian lines for an instant or two, than his cannon-batteries awaken here; give the Austrian horse a good blast, by way of morning salutation and overture to the concert of the day. And Buddenbrock, deploying under cover of that, charges, "first at a trot, then at a gallop," to see what can be done upon them with the white weapon. Old Buddenbrock, surely, did not himself RIDE in the charge? He is an old man of seventy; has fought at Oudenarde, Malplaquet, nay at Steenkirk, and been run through the body, under Dutch William; is an old acquaintance of Charles XII's even; and sat solemnly by Friedrich Wilhelm's coffin, after so much attendance during life. The special leader of the charge was Bredow; also a veteran gentleman, but still only in the fifties; he, I conclude, made the charge; first at a trot, then at a gallop – with swords flashing hideous, and eyebrows knit.

"The dust was prodigious," says Friedrich, weather being dry and ground sandy; for a space of time you could see nothing but one huge whirlpool of dust, with the gleam of steel flickering madly in it: however, Buddenbrock, outflanking the Austrian first line of horse, did hurl them from their place; by and by you see the dust-tempest running south, faster and faster south – that is to say, the Austrian horse in flight; for Buddenbrock, outflanking them by three squadrons, has tumbled their first line topsy-turvy, and they rush to rearward, he following away and away. Now were the time for a fresh force of Prussian cavalry – for example, those you have standing useless behind the gullies and quagmires on your left wing – due support to Buddenbrock, and all that Austrian cavalry were gone, and their infantry left bare.

But now again, see, do not the dust-clouds pause? They pause, mounting higher and higher; they dance wildly, then roll back towards us; too evidently back. Buddenbrock has come upon the second line of

Austrian horse; in too loose order Buddenbrock, by this time, and they have broken him; – and it is a mutual defeat of horse on this wing, the Prussian rather the worse of the two. And might have been serious – had not Rothenburg plunged furiously in, at this crisis, quite through to the Austrian infantry, and restored matters, or more. Making a confused result of it in this quarter. Austrian horse-regiments there now were that fled quite away; as did even one or two foot-regiments, while the Prussian infantry dashed forward on them, escorted by Rothenburg in this manner – who got badly wounded in the business; and was long an object of solicitude to Friedrich. And contrariwise certain Prussian horse also, it was too visible, did not compose themselves till fairly aware of our foot. This is Shock First in the Battle; there are Three Shocks in all.

Partial charging, fencing and flourishing went on; but nothing very effectual was done by the horse in this quarter farther. Nor did the fire or effort of the Prussian Infantry in this their right wing continue; Austrian fury and chief effort having, by this time, broken out in an opposite quarter. So that the strain of the Fight lies now in the other wing over about Chotusitz and the Brlinka Brook; and thither I perceive his Majesty has galloped, being "always in the thickest of the danger" this day. Shock Second is now on. The Austrians have attacked at Chotusitz; and are threatening to do wonders there.

[The cavalry work was pretty much over by 9am.]

Prince Leopold's Left Wing, as we said, was entirely defective in the eye of tacticians (after the event). Far from leaning on the wall of the Deer-park, he did not even reach the Brook – or had to weaken his force in Chotusitz Village for that object. So that when the Austrian foot comes storming upon Chotusitz, there is but "half a regiment" to defend it. And as for cavalry, what is to become of cavalry, slowly threading, under cannon-shot and musketry, these intricate quagmires and gullies, and dangerously breaking into files and strings, before ever it can find ground to charge? Accordingly, the Austrian foot took Chotusitz, after obstinate resistance; and old Konigseck, very ill of gout, got seated in one of the huts there; and the Prussian cavalry, embarrassed to get through the gullies, could not charge except piecemeal, and then though in some cases with desperate valor, yet in all without effectual result. Konigseck sits in Chotusitz – and yet withal the Prussians are not out of it, will not be driven out of it, but cling obstinately; whereupon the Austrians set fire to the place; its dry thatch goes up in flame, and poor old Konigseck, quite lame of gout, narrowly escaped burning, they say.

And, see, the Austrian horse have got across the Brlinka, are spread almost to the Deer-park, and strive hard to take us in flank – did not the Brook, the bad ground and the platoon-firing (fearfully swift, from discipline and the iron ramrods) hold them back in some measure. They make a violent attempt or two; but the problem is very rugged. Nor can the Austrian infantry, behind or to the west of burning Chotusitz, make an impression, though they try it, with levelled bayonets and deadly energy, again and again: the Prussian ranks are as if built of rock, and their fire is so sure and swift. Here is one Austrian regiment, came rushing on like lions; would not let go, death or no-death: and here it lies, shot down in ranks; whole swaths of dead men, and their muskets by them – as if they had got the word to take that posture, and had done it hurriedly! A small transitory gleam of proud rage is visible, deep down, in the soul of Friedrich as he records this fact. Shock Second was very violent.

The Austrian horse, after such experimenting in the Brlinka quarter, gallop off to try to charge the Prussians in the rear – "pleasanter by far," judge many of them, "to plunder the Prussian Camp," which they descry in those regions; whither accordingly they rush. Too many of them; and the Hussars as one man. To the sorrowful indignation of Prince Karl, whose right arm (or wing) is fallen paralytic in this manner. After the Fight, they repented in dust and ashes; and went to say so, as if with the rope about their neck; upon which he pardoned them.

Nor is Prince Karl's left wing gaining garlands just at this moment. Shock Third is awakening – and will be decisive on Prince Karl. Chotusitz, set on fire an hour since (about 9 A.M.), still burns; cutting him in two, as it were, or disjoining his left wing from his right: and it is on his right wing that Prince Karl is depending for victory, at present; his left wing, ruffled by those first Prussian charges of horse,

with occasional Prussian swift musketry ever since, being left to its own inferior luck, which is beginning to produce impression on it. And, lo, on the sudden (what brought finis to the business), Friedrich, seizing the moment, commands a united charge on this left wing: Friedrich's right wing dashes forward on it, double-quick, takes it furiously, on front and flank; fifteen field-pieces preceding, and intolerable musketry behind them. So that the Austrian left wing cannot stand it at all.

[Duffy says that Frederick had no reason for being so late in coming into action; perhaps it was difficult to see what was occurring on the other flank and he decided to wait for more information.]

*The Austrian left wing, stormed in upon in this manner, swags and sways, threatening to tumble pell-mell upon the right wing; which latter has its own hands full. No Chotusitz or point of defence to hold by, Prince Karl is eminently ill off, and will be hurled wholly into the Brilinka, and the islands and gullies, unless he mind! Prince Karl – what a moment for him! – noticing this undeniable phenomenon, rapidly gives the word for retreat, to avoid worse. It is near upon Noon; four hours of battle; very fierce on both the wings, together or alternately; in the centre (westward of Chotusitz) mostly insignificant: "more than half the Prussians" standing with arms shouldered. Prince Karl rolls rapidly away, through Czaslau towards southwest again; loses guns in Czaslau; goes, not quite broken, but at double-quick time for five miles; cavalry, Prussian and Austrian, bickering in the rear of him; and vanishes over the horizon towards Willimow and Haber that night, the way he had come.*

[The Austrians, attempting a “reverse Mollwitz”, achieved tactical surprise but failed to break the Prussian infantry. With the Prussians still full of fight, once the element of surprise was gone the Austrians wisely packed up and left. For this reason they disagreed with the claim of a Prussian victory.]

*This is the battle of Chotusitz, called also of Czaslau: Thursday, 17<sup>th</sup> May, 1742. Vehemently fought on both sides – calculated, one may hope, to end this Silesian matter? The results, in killed and wounded, were not very far from equal. Nay, in killed the Prussians suffered considerably the worse; the exact Austrian cipher of killed being 1,052, while that of the Prussians was 1,905 – owing chiefly to those fierce ineffectual horse-charges and bickerings, on the right wing and left; "above 1,200 Prussian cavalry were destroyed in these." But, in fine, the general loss, including wounded and missing, amounted on the Austrian side (prisoners being many, and deserters very many) to near seven thousand, and on the Prussian to between four and five. Two Generals Friedrich had lost, who are not specially of our acquaintance; and several younger friends whom he loved. Rothenburg, who was in that first charge of horse with Buddenbrock, or in rescue of Buddenbrock, and did exploits, got badly hurt, as we saw – badly, not fatally, as Friedrich's first terror was – and wore his arm in a sling for a long while afterwards.*

*Buddenbrock's charge, I since hear, was ruined by the DUST; the King's vanguard, under Rothenburg, a "new-raised regiment of Hussars in green," coming to the rescue, were mistaken for Austrians, and the cry rose, "Enemy to rear!" which brought Rothenburg his disaster. Friedrich much loved and valued the man; employed him afterwards as Ambassador to France and in places of trust. Friedrich's Ambassadors are oftenest soldiers as well: bred soldiers, he finds, if they chance to have natural intelligence, are fittest for all kinds of work. Some eighteen Austrian cannon were got; no standards, because, said the Prussians, they took the precaution of bringing none to the field, but had beforehand rolled them all up, out of harm's way...*

*Friedrich did not much pursue the Austrians after this Victory; having cleared the Czaslau region of them, he continued there (at Kuttenberg mainly); and directed all his industry to getting Peace made. His experiences of Broglio, and of what help was likely to be had from Broglio – whom his Court, as Friedrich chanced to know, had ordered "to keep well clear of the King of Prussia," – had not been flattering. Beaten in this Battle, Broglio's charity would have been a weak reed to lean upon: he is happy to inform Broglio, that though kept well clear of, he is not beaten.*

Duffy gives the casualties as 4,819 Prussian casualties out of 24,500, and 6,330 Austrians out of c29,000. The Prussian horse proved spirited but ineffective. The Austrian horse prudently avoided the Prussian foot and left them to the Austrian infantry. Despite the indecisive result, it was enough to give Frederick the strategic initiative. The French simultaneously won a puny victory at Sahay (24<sup>th</sup> May), near Budweis, that they touted as the greatest clash since Gaugamela. Now Frederick had the advantage and immediately sought terms, abandoning his allies once again. By the Treaty of Breslau (11<sup>th</sup> June 1742) that ended the First Silesian War, Prussia gained the whole of Silesia, plus Glatz. Austria gained a free hand against the French – for the war for Germany was far from over.

### **Bohemian Rhapsody**

*“L'Électeur couronné à Prague, on y laissera une garnison suffisante, et, se repliant sur la droite, on ira finir la campagne par le siège de Lintz et établir des quartiers d'hiver dans la Haute Autriche et dans la Bohême en se couvrant, en Autriche, de la rivière d'Encz, et en Bohême de la Moldave qui couvrira également la communication avec Prague. L'on détachera alors le corps nécessaire pour faire le siège d'Egra dont il faut se débarrasser. pour la sûreté des quartiers d'hiver et des communications avec le Haut Palatinat. Après sa prise, le corps qui en aura fait le siège se repliera aussi sur le Danube pour rejoindre le reste de l'armée, tant pour renforcer l'armée du siège de Lintz que pour former celle d'observation, si les ennemis exigeaient qu'on prit cette précaution.”*

*Part of Maréchal Belle-Isle's campaign instructions to the Bavarians – see Annex A for the full text.*

In the west, operations moved at a much different tempo. The Franco-Bavarian campaign against Austria (for convenience usually called the Austro-Bavarian War) began well enough, if slowly. The Bavarians took time to muster, not wanting to go it alone. Cardinal Fleury made sure that the theatre commander, Maréchal Belle-Isle received his reinforcements in measured quantity. The French were supposed to contribute 40,000 men to Bavaria's 30,000, but the first of these “auxiliaries” did not cross the Rhine until August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1741. Belle-Isle was to conduct a major campaign while avoiding a major engagement; his forces were there to support the Bavarians, nothing more. Needless to say, Belle-Isle chafed at his fetters.

In June, Belle-Isle dispatched an aide and a sheaf of instructions to Munich, from which it became all too apparent whose agenda was to be followed. The Elector was directed to seize Schärding and Passau, and prepare both crossings over, and transport down, the Danube. Meanwhile, the French would assemble at Donauwörth. A French *corps d'observation*, also 40,000 strong (but including elements of the 20,000-man army of Pfalz) under Maréchal Maillebois, materialised in the Westphalian Circle, with the task of keeping the Dutch and Hanoverians quiet.

The first part of the plan was accomplished without much difficulty. On July 31<sup>st</sup>, Passau was taken by *coup de main* – a band of Bavarian soldiers disguised as peasants entered the town on the heels of a Bavarian “salt-inspector” – and the fortified town of Schärding was stormed. The Austrians were struck dumb by the news; fortunately the Bavarians simply dug in at Passau to wait for the French, Karl Albrecht feeling Austria was as good as his anyway, so why exert himself.

Once the French advance guard arrived the whole (15,000 French plus 18-21,000 Bavarian and Rhenish troops) proceeded down the Danube, taking Linz, again without effort, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September – the Bavarian Elector merely demanding entrance to “his” city and getting it. What few Austrian forces

were in the vicinity retired toward Vienna. At Linz the Bavarians halted again, this time for six weeks. Although his forces fanned out and absorbed the rest of Upper Austria, Karl Albrecht remained *in situ*, playing the role of gracious sovereign... accepting homage, ostentatiously displaying his power and wealth, resolving disputes and passing laws – the usual. The Bavarians were not unpopular in this quarter. The Elector wrote repeatedly to Vienna, “To the Arch-duchess Maria Theresa”, but received the letters back unopened, with “No such person known here” scrawled on them.

Despite this bravado, the Viennese were in a funk. Those with property passed in an endless stream out the eastern gate laden with their jewellery, furniture, and books. The agéd Marshal Khevenhüller was placed in command of the 6,000-man garrison – the only troops in the vicinity – and began to strengthen the defences.

Karl Albrecht had had his head turned by the adulation he received while holding court at Linz. Imagining himself the arbiter of Europe, he forgot to engage in the effort required to make himself so. Belle-Isle fell ill and could do little to direct matters. King Frederick’s emissary, the Austrian turncoat General von Schmettau, muddied the waters by arguing strongly for a blow at Vienna (even as the Prussian King was arranging the Truce of Kleinschnellendorf). A move on Vienna made some sense militarily, but even with Prussian participation, it would benefit the latter more than the French.

By the 21<sup>st</sup> of October, the Franco-Bavarians were at St Pölten; French arms were further east than they had been since Charlemagne’s day. Light forces, commanded by *Général* de Saxe, approached within 25 miles of Vienna and skirmished with other light forces under one Menzel. At this point Belle-Isle got Charles Albert pointed in the right direction. A winter siege of Vienna, the toughest nut in Central Europe, at the end of a very long supply line, was not a pleasant prospect. And all the time, fresh Austrian troops were marching up, from Italy, from Hungary, and from the Turkish frontier. Frederick’s temporary truce with Austria was not helping. Besides, The Bavarian was beginning to worry about Saxon intentions, suspecting, perhaps rightly, that the Saxons planned on taking Prague and the Crown of “his” Bohemia for themselves. He ordered the bulk of his forces north to the impending siege of Prague.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of September, the day that Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen presented themselves and their new baby to the Hungarian Diet at Pressburg (Bratislava) to cries of “*Life and blood for our Queen and Kingdom!*” Saxony joined the coalition against Austria, and some 20,000 “good quality, well equipped” troops under Count Rutowsky marched to an assembly at Pirna. Belle-Isle now had sufficient electors in his pocket to get Karl Albrecht his crown, if only he could get the Diet to convene!

The Franco-Bavarian-Saxon pincer move was successful in its initial stages. The Danubian forces travelled via Budweis, leaving about 10,000 men under *Général* Sègur at Linz. A small column of 1,000 men, under *Général* de Saxe, took the road from Amberg via Pilsen. Meanwhile, the Saxons began their march from the camp at Pirna southeast through the Elbe Gap.

Until October the Austrians had been able to do little to stop the onslaught – nearly all their mobile forces were with Marshal Neipperg, and he had less than 30,000 men. Western Bohemia was virtually empty of troops, apart from the key fortress of Egra (Cheb), and Prague itself. In all, some 60,000

men were converging on a garrison of only 2,500, though in Moravia, the slow (incredibly slow, even for an Austrian commander) Francis Stephen, was marching up. When Kleinschnellendorf came into effect, Neipperg was able to join Maria Theresa’s husband. They concentrated at Tábor. At Vienna, Khevenhüller continued to assemble his force of volunteers and regiments from other fronts, while in Hungary Maria Theresa’s impassioned appeals had generated an Insurrection (*for* her, not against her) and a flood of irregular troops. The stage was being set for a surprise winter campaign.

The siege of Prague began on November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1741. The coalition forces were hundreds of miles deep into hostile territory, lacking both supplies and a secure base. Belle-Isle being sick (again), it was Rutowsky, backed by *Général* de Saxe and General von Schmettau, who forcefully pushed for a surprise escalade against the city. And so, in the clear, cold, moonlight of the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, with the garrison distracted by multiple feints, de Saxe rushed a small party of men over the battlements and opened a gate. Their scaling ladders had proved too short, so they broke up and lashed together some nearby gallows.

At the surrender of Prague, the Austrians were driven back into the southern hills on the Bohemian-Moravian frontier. Moravia itself was left virtually undefended as the Austrians strained every sinew to meet the challenge. Before the fall of Prague, Maria Theresa had sworn, “I shall have all my armies, all my Hungarians killed off before I cede so much as an inch of ground”. But in Bohemia the Austrians failed completely, with Franz Stephan demonstrating a lack of military talent only matched by his lack of political talent. Always hesitating, fearing to be cut off, fearing to outrun his supplies, he allowed his skirmishers to approach the Bohemian capital, only to learn it had just fallen. He retired on Budweis to ponder.

The capture of Prague was the high-water mark of France’s endeavours in Germany. With the city in their hands, they lost no time pushing through the elevation of Charles Albert, first as King of Bohemia in December, and then as ruler of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation on January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1742. The elections took place in the Imperial City of Frankfort-am-Main. The next thing the new Emperor knew, he was fleeing his capital. The Austrians were on the march.

Marshal Khevenhüller moved over to the attack on December 27<sup>th</sup>. A horde of Croats swept down from the Tirol, through Berchesgarten and on to Munich; Linz was bypassed, blockaded, and then forced to capitulate. Karl Albrecht might style himself Archduke of Austria and have himself crowned Emperor with great pomp, but when Munich surrendered on his coronation day, he fell gravely ill.

At the close of the first act of the Austro-Bavarian War, the French, commanded as of December 19<sup>th</sup> by the old and ineffective *Maréchal le Comte* de Broglie, were maintaining a precarious foothold in Bohemia, menaced by a larger, but equally ineffective, Austrian army. To the south, Marshal Khevenhüller was raging unopposed in Bavaria, while King Frederick, in pursuance of his supposedly secret obligations, lay inactive in Silesia.

## ***Vivat Hoch im Kaiserin!***

*“For God and your glory, deliver us from Marshal Broglie, and for the honor of the French troops, return Marshal Belle-Isle to us.”*

*Frederick the Great to Cardinal Fleury*

While Franz Stephan mooched about the bogs of Budweis, Marshal Khevenhüller had not been idle. With Vienna obviously out of danger, he had moved his forces westward, and on the night of January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1742, his small corps of 10-15,000 men crossed the Enns into Upper Austria. *Général* Ségur commanded against him. Forced against his will to hang onto Linz, the latter allowed 10,000 of his own men to become bottled up in the city; the rest fled into Bavaria.

The new Emperor had hoped to do a deal with Maria Theresa, but she was in no mood to talk (“Arch-duchess of Austria” indeed! Humpf!) Khevenhüller had masked Linz and pressed on into Passau and Bavaria. Simultaneously a force of some 12,000 men under Baron Bärnklaus descended on Munich by way of Berchesgarten and Salzburg. The Franco-Bavarians were driven from their old bridgehead at Schärding on January 17<sup>th</sup>.

The siege of Linz lasted all of four days. Ségur threatened to burn the city to the ground unless his corps was given safe passage; the Austrians agreed, and Ségur was free to do as he had originally intended – retreat to a better position. But even the release of the bulk of the French Danubian forces from Linz could not prevent the fall of Munich on February 12<sup>th</sup>. While the conventional forces nominally went into winter quarters – Ségur and his Bavarian equivalent, the Austrian turncoat Marshal Seckendorf, hastily stuffing the remaining fortresses with garrisons – throughout Southern Bavaria the peasantry waged a desperate war against Bärnklaus’s Croats and Hussars. For Maria Theresa, this was not war, but punishment.

*[What’s with all the renegade Austrian generals? When the Austrian war effort against the Turk went kaput, the high command was thrown into prison. Although amnestied on Maria Theresa’s accession, some of them were still very disgruntled.]*

Major operations in the west did not commence until late April. The east, of course, saw much activity, as Frederick waged his abortive Moravian campaign. Francis Stephen had been replaced by Charles of Lorraine (who, preferring Vienna to the provinces, in turn entrusted field command of the main army at Budweis to the cantankerous Marshal Lobkowitz). Returning reluctantly to the field, Charles had then chased after Frederick, but had eventually retired on Southern Bohemia.

For the coming season, the Austrians’ primary goal was the reconquest of Bohemia. They hoped to drive a wedge between the Prussians in the northeast and the French in the west. Although the battle of Chotusitz (recounted above) prevented Prussia’s defeat, Maria Theresa was not *too* put out at having to resort to negotiations. She had let go one chance at an early settlement and lost Prague as a result. Silesia might be lost to the Habsburgs – for now – but the Prussians were also out of the war – for now. Nor was Frederick unhappy. He had lost a lot of men in Moravia. Prince Charles’ army had been battered by the Prussians, but not so severely that it could not take the field against the French. Austria had some 70,000 men against a Franco-Bavarian force of 40,000 (the Saxons having earlier quit the war when it became apparent that August III was not going to get his Moravian toll road for free).

Even before Chotusitz was fought, Lobkowitz had initiated actions against the French outposts of Pilsen and Pisek. In this operation the French pulled off their last success in Bohemia at Sahay – a minor affair swelled by propaganda into a major triumph of French arms, for which Broglie was made a Duke. The French posts at Pilsen and Pisek fell anyway. Cheb held on grimly. *Maréchal* Broglie retired on Prague and the Austrians advanced, but not too closely. July saw the investment of the city.

For almost three months, Prague was closely besieged. The French garrison dwindled from 40,000 to 25,000; 400 horses a day were butchered for meat and Broglie sank into despair. Elsewhere, though, the skies began to brighten for the French. The *Duc* d’Harcourt brought additional reinforcements – 25,000 men – from France, and the Bavarians under the dynamic Marshal Seckendorf were able to retake Munich (April 28<sup>th</sup>) – though they lost it again on May 6<sup>th</sup>. D’Harcourt, lacking Seckendorf’s energy, was also compelled to fulfil two mutually exclusive goals. He was instructed to assist the Bavarians, while at the same time he was told to help the Prague relief effort. He tried to do both, and of course, failed miserably. Half d’Harcourt’s force remained on the Danube, while 10 battalions were sent with *Général* de Saxe and Seckendorf’s 20,000 Bavarians to Amberg, where they would link up with *Maréchal* Maillebois’ Army of Westphalia.

Since 1741, Maillebois and his merry band of 40,000 men had been ensconced in the lands about Westphalia – particularly in Münster and Osnabrück. Here, though they protested friendly impulses, they were in a position to threaten the United Provinces. But their primary purpose, in tandem with a similar force of Prussians in Western Brandenburg, was to keep George of Hanover quiet. In this they had been successful, but now they were desperately needed in Bohemia. (The removal of this army, coupled with the simultaneous removal of the Prussian threat, emboldened George to undertake the Dettingen campaign in 1743).

In mid-September, Maillebois and de Saxe joined forces; but the rest of that autumn was spent in banging their collective heads against the Erzgebirge. The main effort was directed on Litomerice, an important fortress to the northwest of Prague. Broglie, still in the capital, was supposed to engage in a breakout toward Maillebois, but refused to budge. He said Maillebois was supposed to join with him and drive out the Austrians. With the two senior commanders disagreeing on the intent of the campaign – breakout or counteroffensive – the waters were further muddied by the arrival of Belle-Isle. He tried his best to sort things out, but he despised Broglie, and the feeling was returned. Broglie was then told to break out at his own discretion and go help the Bavarians on the Danube. His “discretion” apparently required the use of de Saxe’s 10 battalions that had been sent from the Danube front to help Maillebois. When Belle-Isle said he could forget them, Broglie sulked.

The approach of Maillebois had forced the Austrians to pull most of their forces away from Prague. Leaving about 9,000 men behind, they marched to Pilsen and replaced the shortfall with 10,000 men from Khevenhüller’s Danubian command. The latter had come north, clearing out the Bavarian Palatinate, but his remaining forces could not hold out against Seckendorf, who, by mid-October, had regained all of Bavaria west of Schärding. For a moment, the Austrians feared the worst. With Maillebois tying down their main army, Seckendorf was a free agent; Broglie, too, had a window of opportunity. But

Seckendorf had no desire to repeat the madness of last year, and Broglie still sulked.

In the event, Prince Charles handled his army surprisingly well. The Austrians held the passes of the Erzgebirge in strength. Having interior lines, they could swiftly redirect their reserves. The French, short of supplies, could not get artillery up into the hills, and without guns, any relief effort would be futile. And, the Austrians were threatening their lines of communication at Amberg. To top it off, Maillebois was under strict orders not to risk a battle. Conceding defeat, the marshal ordered his army back into the Bavarian Palatinate at the end of October, and resigned his command in favour of, most surprisingly, *Maréchal* Broglie!

Broglie slipped out of Prague to take over his new command, leaving Belle-Isle in charge. Maillebois had expected to be fired as an embarrassment, and in fact, Broglie had already been earmarked as his replacement, but the latter's attitude did not bode well for the future of French arms in Germany. Ironically, Broglie was permitted to conclude that Prague could not be relieved – the admission of which had cost Maillebois his job. Belle-Isle was then instructed, no matter what, to get his own army home in one piece.

The latter had about 20,000 men remaining in and around Prague. The Austrians had a similar number, with their main army intent on pursuing Broglie and Seckendorf, but the blockading forces were cavalry-heavy and incapable of pressing a siege. Belle-Isle figured he had about four months supply in the city, perhaps more if his remaining horse (3,000 or so) broke out. As was his wont, however, he chose the most audacious course imaginable – to march his entire command, horse, foot, and guns, westward to the last French outpost at Cheb. This feat, though in reality a strategic disaster, was to become one of the greatest epics of the war.

A march from Prague to Cheb would take about ten days. Initially progress would be easy, across the central plains of Bohemia. Then there were two possible roads – northwest to Karlovy Vary, then southwest up the Eger River to Cheb, or southwest to Pilsen, then northwest to Cheb. Both routes were heavily piqueted by the Austrians, who would also be in hot pursuit with a much faster army. Belle-Isle decided not to use the valleys. Instead, he would head straight for Cheb, clean over the roadless Toplergebirge.

The planning was meticulous. Only Belle-Isle and his immediate aides knew of the plan. The Austrians were lulled into inactivity with routine manoeuvring and fake communications suggesting Belle-Isle intended to wait for spring. On December 16<sup>th</sup>, with the ground suitably frozen, the French moved. 11,000 foot, 3,000 horse, 30 guns and 6,000 wagons (plus 14 hostages) raced for the Toplers in five self-contained divisions. The Austrians were completely surprised and the French won a whole day's lead.

Marching by night as well as by day, the French reached the Toplers on the 20<sup>th</sup>, after thrice fending off Austrian light troops on the 19<sup>th</sup>. As predicted, the Austrians blocked the routes south and north of the hills, but Belle-Isle simply vanished.

The march through the Toplergebirge was absolutely brutal. Wading through snow that only deepened as they progressed, the men were forced to hack their own roads through the pine forest. Snowblinded by day, groping forward by night, many lost their way, falling into hidden crevasses or blundering around in circles. Men froze to death standing guard duty, some even while on the march. Many who survived the journey died

from gangrene as their frostbitten limbs thawed out. But Christmas Day saw the army cross the watershed, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> it stumbled into Cheb, cannon and all. Out of 14,000 men, some 12,000 had been saved. The 4,000 sick left behind in Prague were likewise rescued when their commandant, *Général* Chevert, threatened to burn the city to ashes if he were not given honours of war.

### ***Bummelling on the Main***

*"It will be impossible for us to now find forage. The French being masters of one side of the river, forage cannot be brought down to us by water so we must move upwards."*

*Lord Stair*

The year of 1743 opened with the Franco-Bavarians in full retreat. *Maréchal* Broglie had taken over Maillebois' forces in the Bavarian Palatinate (the Army of the Rhine), to which were added the escaping forces from Prague, giving him some 48,000 men. Marshal Seckendorf still commanded about 15,000 Bavarians on either side of the Danube (the Army of Bavaria). While Belle-Isle was conducting his breakout, Broglie, headquartered east of Regensburg, had succeeded in clearing Bavaria of Austrians. Prince Charles and Khevenhüller, encamped between Passau and Linz, had left Lobkowitz to deal (incompetently, as it turned out) with Belle-Isle. But with the spring came a new Austrian offensive.

Three Austrian columns were on the march: Khevenhüller out of Salzburg, Prince Charles up the Danube, and Lobkowitz by way of Cheb (its French garrison still gamely holding out) towards the Naab River. The Imperial (Bavarian) commander, Marshal Seckendorf, pressed Broglie to do something, anything – at least concentrate his scattered garrisons – but the disconsolate French marshal had already decided on retreat.

Thus, throughout the spring of 1743, the French moved steadily westward, while the Austrians nipped at their heels. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of May, 8,000 Bavarians under Count Minnucci capitulated at Braunau on the Inn (it was said of Minnucci that one never heard of him except when he had just lost another battle). On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Dingelfingen, a French post, fell. Shortly after, Landau and Landshut. Deggendorf, the Prince de Conti's headquarters, was stormed on the 27<sup>th</sup>, Conti losing his personal baggage in the general flight (Prince Charles kindly returned it the next day).

Meanwhile the last large body of French troops in Europe, some 70,000 men from the Army of the Moselle, was being assembled at Metz. *Maréchal* de Noailles was appointed to command, with instructions to proceed to the confluence of the Rhine and the Main. They began their eastward march in April, via Saarbourg, Hagenau, Wissemburg, Landau, and Spire, laagering again at Worms and Heidelberg by May 14<sup>th</sup>. The main encampment was at Worms, and included the Guards and the *Maison du Roi*, as well as the artillery (two "brigades" worth), some brigades of foot (at least 5-7) and a mixed cavalry force that included the Carabiniers. 20 battalions of foot and 20 squadrons of horse were based at Heidelberg. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, de Noailles sent twelve battalions of foot and ten squadrons of horse (12,000 men), under *Lieutenant Général* Sègur and le Chevalier d'Apchère, across the Neckar into Bavaria to help *Maréchal* Broglie.

The primary reasons for Broglie's flight and this new offensive effort were one and the same: the British Minister Lord Carteret had at last cobbled together an army, the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction. 16,000 British, 16,000 Hanoverians (plus 6,000 added at the last minute), 6,000 Hessians (still unsure

whether they should fight against the Emperor), 20,000 Austrians (8-12,000 in reality) and 20,000 Dutch (late, as usual). This force, nominally under the crotchety Lord Stair, was now concentrating at Hanau on the Main, only waiting for its commander, King George of England, to take the field.

The French were afraid. Afraid of a junction of King George with Prince Charles. Afraid for Alsace, for Bavaria, for the three fortified bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, afraid for Lorraine. *Maréchal* Noailles plan of campaign was predicated on the idea that the Allies would try to join the Austrians somewhere on the upper Main. Such a force would be capable of gobbling up every inch of French territory on the west bank of the Rhine. To make matters worse, Cardinal Fleury had just passed away, releasing only with his death his grip on French policy; as yet no clear successor had stepped forward. Fleury had been a definite drag on operations, but at least under him there had been some sort of coherent plan. The new man, d'Argenson, would have an entirely different set of goals, but for the moment it was simply a matter of salvaging what could be salvaged.

If Broglie could be made to take a stand, things would not be so bad. As mentioned earlier, *Maréchal* Noailles dispatched 12,000 men to help him. But Broglie's mind was made up. When the reinforcements reached him, he told them to march home again. He himself was right behind. If he had joined with Noailles, the latter would have had 90,000 men at least, but no, Broglie just kept moving steadily west, through Swabia, through Württemberg, and over the Rhine into Alsace. The French government, without a policy of its own, was forced to acquiesce.

By this time France and Bavaria had had a falling out. Feeling betrayed, and with less than 10,000 men still in the field, the Bavarians made a temporary peace with Austria at the end of June (officially separating from the French side on the 25<sup>th</sup>), and granting the Austrians free passage through Bavaria for the explicit reason of attacking Alsace. The price for this peace was the placement of Bavaria under Austrian administration (but since it had been de facto under a rapacious French administration for two years, there was little complaining).

King George travelled from Britain to Hanover in the middle of May. He joined his army on June 19<sup>th</sup>, much against the advice of his ministers. What he had intended for the season had in fact already been accomplished. While the French suspected grand designs against their Rhenish possessions, the presence of the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction had in fact merely enforced the choice of a pro-Austrian Elector of Mainz – the man holding the very important office of Chairman of the Reich. It does not sound like much, but this action had far greater consequences than those brought about by the battle of Dettingen.

Beyond this, there were no grand plans for the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction. But an army in the field under a royal personage thirsting for glory has to do something. King George directed a move up the Main. It was probably the energetic Stair who suggested this. The army's morale was beginning to suffer from its long idleness and a route march would be a way of restoring it. King George took his advice, but unfortunately immediately thereafter he began to ignore Stair, closeting himself with his Hanoverians, with whom he felt comfortable. This did not improve relations with the rest of the army, especially the British component, who began to feel they were going to be used as Hanoverian cannon fodder.

Another reason for movement was the close presence of *Maréchal* Noailles' Army of the Moselle on the south bank of the Main. He had moved up so as to be ready for his enemies. The French had moved camp to Nordheim by the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, marching via Lorsch, Zwingenberg, Pfungstadt, Hahnlein, Darmstadt, and Gerau. At Nordheim the French were within fifteen miles of the Allied army (twelve for the advance guard). Upon news of this the Allies hastily crossed to the north bank of the Main.

King George faced several problems. The state of his army was worsening. Supplies were running low, as the remnants of Maillebois' army to the east focused on harassing their foraging parties and laying waste the countryside. The locals no longer brought their surplus for sale; instead, they drove their cattle away to keep them from being stolen. Fights broke out among the various contingents, although at the start of the campaign they had got on very well together. The army was not as strong as the French facing them – the Dutch had not yet come up, nor the Hanoverian reinforcements, and the Hessians, suspecting the army was going to invade Bavaria, refused to fight against the Emperor and stayed in Hanau.

Noailles stayed on the south bank of the Main but kept pace with the Allies; there was an implicit struggle for the crossing places. Finally, when encamped no farther upstream than Aschaffenburg, George's Hanoverian generals recommended a retreat to Hanau. This was perhaps the worst suggestion they could have made. The north bank of the Main in this region is one long defile. All Noailles had to do was block both ends of the valley. From across the Main he could then bombard the Allies into surrender at his leisure. And this is what he proceeded to do.

Noailles original plan had been to attack the Allies in their camp, and he had ordered an advance in three columns toward Dieburg on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June. When the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction headed up the Main, Noailles was more than ever convinced they planned to unite with the Austrians. A French detachment under *Lieutenant Général* d'Estrées, consisting of 3 brigades of foot, some artillery, and 8 squadrons, was rushed forward to take Seligenstadt, between Hanau and Aschaffenburg, and prepare a crossing behind the Allies. The main body soon followed and a great camp was constructed, with artillery positioned to fire across the Main (rather narrow and shallow at this point, but still hard to cross on foot); a pontoon bridge was also constructed.

Noailles sent a column upstream to take Aschaffenburg. This would cut the Allies off from any Austrian aid and hasten their retreat down the Main. They would then be pinned by the strong French force that had crossed the river in the vicinity of Seligenstadt; this force, safely positioned behind a swamp and ravine, would be unassailable. King George's men would be taken under fire from the batteries across the river. From this, there could only be two outcomes: either the Allies would surrender, or they would be dispersed into the rugged hills north of the Main.

Aschaffenburg was seized after a sharp struggle. From the French fieldworks, artillery began to play on the Allied encampment across from them. The British and Hanoverians decided to cut their way out. Some few might have made it – the hills were always an option – but the army would have ceased to exist as a political entity. Noailles had them. And then one of his subordinates threw it all away. The Duc de Grammont, commanding the blocking force, instead of awaiting the Allied attack from his secure position, advanced in front of it and laid himself open to the machine-like advance

that the British infantry were to become famous for. Grammont's entire wing, including the famed *Maison du Roi* and the French Guards, was routed. And the Army of the Pragmatic Sanction marched proudly into Hanau, abandoning its wounded to the French (who, it must be said, took good care of them).

The British lost 265 killed and 558 wounded, the Hanoverians 177 and 376, the Austrians 315 and 663; French casualties were roughly 8,000. *Maréchal* Noailles was beside himself, but there was nothing to be done. The same day, *Maréchal* Broglie retreated from Donauwörth and the Austrians followed him. Noailles perforce retreated too.

The rest of the campaign of 1743 has received less study than Dettingen, but has some interest nonetheless. It shows that the French still had a few tricks up their sleeve; it also shows that Dettingen was hardly the inconsequential battle it has been made out to be (this belief stems partly from the fact that the British and French were not officially at war and did not go to war as a direct consequence of the battle – “obviously couldn't be all that important then, eh”).

It was the erroneous belief that King George intended to join the Austrians that led the French (and later historians) to claim that the Allied plans were foiled at Dettingen, even though the French “technically” lost the battle. In fact the battle, which from the Allied perspective should never have been fought, and which from the French perspective should have crushed the forces of the Pragmatic Sanction, instead, and in tandem with the Austrian efforts in the South, brought about a French evacuation of Germany. As for the Allied army, as noted above, it had accomplished its main mission the campaign even opened.

The French pulled all their forces over the Rhine and proceeded to a masterful defence of Alsace, Noailles holding a line from Strasbourg to Speyer and west to Kaiserslauten, and *Général* de Saxe holding Upper Alsace, above Strasbourg. An exhausted *Maréchal* Broglie was replaced by *Maréchal* de Coigny.

While the Pragmatic Army diverted the French to the north, Prince Charles' Austrians attempted multiple crossings of the Rhine, one after the other, at Philipsburg, at Strasbourg, at Brisach, but always they found the French before them. The Army of the Pragmatic Sanction, strengthened by the Dutch and Hessians, took it easy, but still managed to work itself across the Rhine at Coblenz and move South as far as Worms (where diplomatic negotiations were in progress and needed protection). When the French withdrew from Speyer and Kaiserslauten to Wissembourg, Landau and Pirmasens, the British occupied Speyer. While the Dutch took over in Speyer, the British approached the fortifications of Wissembourg and cut Landau's communications.

By now it was late September. The last Austrian attempt on the Rhine took place on the 30<sup>th</sup> of that month, using sixteen fortified barges, which retreated when fired upon. Both sides went into winter quarters. The Army of the Pragmatic Sanction left first, its various components heading home: the Hanoverians to Hanover, the Hessians to Hesse, the Dutch to Jülich and Berg, the British to Flanders, and d'Arenberg's Austrians to their bases in Luxembourg. Prince Charles' forces encamped in the Brisgau – Brisach, Freiburg, and their environs. The French left as well, leaving a strong force of 57,000 in Alsace and Lorraine, and another 17,000 on the Moselle. 30,000 men were already on their way to Italy, where they would remain for the rest of the war. The remainder retired on Metz and thence up to Picardy and Artois. The new

war minister d'Argenson, the Minister of Marine *le Comte* de Maurepas, and *Maréchal* Noailles, had come to an agreement: there would be war in Flanders.

## **Wacht am Rhin**

*"The Kaiser [Charles Albert] pressed, in the most emphatic manner, That the Two Armies [French and Bavarian] should collect and unite for immediate action. To which Broglie declared he could by no means assent, not having any order from Paris of that tenor. The Kaiser thereupon: 'I give you my order for it; I, by the Most Christian King's [King Louis] appointment, am Commander-in-Chief of your Army, as of my own; and I now order you!' – taking out his Patent, and spreading it before Broglie with the sign-manual visible, Broglie knew the Patent very well; but answered, 'That he could not, for all that, follow the wish of his Imperial Majesty; that he, Broglie, had later orders, and must obey them!' Upon which the Imperial Majesty, nature irrepressibly asserting itself, towered into Olympian height; flung his Patent on the table, telling Conti and Broglie, 'You can send that back, then; Patents like that are of no service to me!' and quitted them in a blaze."*

*From Thomas Carlyle's History of Frederick, Book 14, Chapter IV.*

1744 saw an intensification of the war. Frederick was concerned about Habsburg resurgence. It was all very well to chastise French hegemonic ambitions, but a too-successful Austria would be in a position to form a league against Brandenburg and reconquer Silesia. Worse yet, the Russian Empress, Elisabeth, appeared to be interesting herself in the affairs of Western Europe again. As was his wont, Frederick pre-empted the Habsburgs by breaking the Peace of Breslau and initiating a new war on his own terms.

An alliance was “secretly” concluded with France, whose ambitions, thanks to the death of Cardinal Fleury, now lay to the north and south – Flanders and Italy – rather than across the Rhine. The deal was that France would make a demonstration in Bavaria to pin the Austrians; Frederick, in turn, would launch a full-scale invasion of Bohemia. The Austrians would lose the initiative, France would acquire easy pickings in her regions of interest, and Frederick would be able to force a final peace with Maria Theresa.

For this reason, France not only declared war on Britain, setting out on a “war of revenge” for Dettingen, she also declared war on Austria. While a massive French offensive was planned for Flanders (including a politically frightening regime change for Britain), and a lesser offensive was arranged in Italy, *Maréchal* de Coigny's forces on the Rhine were set to poke at the Austrian hornet's nest. The bulk of Louis XV's army had been marched to Flanders, leaving 17,000 second-rate troops in Luxembourg under the Duc d'Harcourt, and about 40,000 plus troops under de Coigny. An additional 20,000 “Imperial” soldiers – mostly Frenchmen and Pfalzers – under Marshal Seckendorf, were laagered at Philipsburg on the east bank of the Rhine.

On this front, it was *Maréchal* de Coigny who was pre-empted. Prince Charles, ably assisted by Marshal Nadasti and *Feldzugmeister* von Traun, who for the last few years had been trouncing the Gallispan forces in Italy, levered his 70,000 man army over the Rhine into Alsace. Charles, newly appointed as Governor of the Austrian Netherlands (with his wife as co-ruler), had advocated an attack on the northeast frontier of France, but Maria Theresa, wanting to keep as far away from the British as possible – their “republican” attitudes disgusted her – and yearning to recover her husband's old duchy, ordered him to strike at Alsace and Lorraine instead.

The assault commenced in early June. Moving up from its winter quarters at Heilbronn, Prince Charles' army feinted north and threatened to make a crossing near Mainz in mid-June. Both sides dug in, the Austrians with every appearance of attempting a serious enterprise. Having got *Maréchal* de Coigny's attention, the Austrians then slipped south, brushed past Seckendorf's shocked Imperials and leapt the Rhine into the unoccupied defensive lines of Wissembourg. Coigny's forces were split, and he retired on Strasbourg with the troops still under his command. Charles was proclaimed the equal of Eugene, but in fact it was Marshal Nadasti's idea, and *Feldzugmeister* Traun who pulled it off.

*[It was at this time that the memorable Affair of the Wigs occurred, where a (very) long-range Austrian cannonade spooked some French Princes of the Blood and their servants, causing the latter to assault their masters and make off with the luggage, including the princes' wigs.]*

Prince Charles held the lines of Wissembourg and a number of Alsatian towns, but he found himself hemmed in. King Louis was approaching from Flanders with *Maréchal* de Noailles and 32,000 men. In early August they passed through Metz. D'Harcourt's observation corps came down from the Moselle. Marshal Seckendorf regrouped his Imperials. An assault made on the Austrian position at Wissembourg by a mainly Bavarian force caused 3,000 casualties, but the defenders held.

Then, on August 15<sup>th</sup>, Frederick of Prussia declared war on Austria and led 80,000 men into Bohemia. Prince Charles had no choice now but retreat. This he did so effectively, however, that his army escaped without a scratch. Great was Frederick's rage against the French when he heard that 50,000 Austrians were on their way to Bohemia. The French and Bavarians pursued, but without energy. King Louis had fallen ill at Metz. His life was despaired of. The offensive lost momentum; all that the French managed to accomplish for the rest of the season was the siege and capture of Freiburg.

The Bavarians, with 32,000 men but only vague promises of support from France and Prussia, felt confident enough to attempt a reconquest of their homeland. The forces of Count Bärnklaus, commanding the Austrian garrison of the duchy, were too weak and fell back behind the Inn River. On October 23<sup>rd</sup>, the Bavarians entered Munich, but their triumph was short-lived. In November, the Austrians were back in strength, sweeping through the Bavarian Palatinate on the north side of the Danube. *Général* Ségur surrendered the French-held town of Amberg without demur.

This was the end for Bavaria. In late January 1745, Emperor Karl Albrecht died at 47, worn out with gout and stress. His son and heir, though pressed to continue the struggle, would eventually renounce all claims to the Imperial throne on the advice of some of his pro-Austrian ministers. That summer, a new election would be held and Franz Stephan would be enthroned as ruler of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. French ambitions in Germany had come to an end too, and by tacit agreement, they and the Austrians left the Rhine valley in peace for the rest of the war.

### *Ich Hatt' Einen Kameraden*

*"No General committed more faults than did the King in this Campaign... The conduct of M. de Traun is a model of perfection, which every soldier that loves his business ought to study, and try to imitate, if he have the talent. The king has himself admitted that he regarded this Campaign as his school in the Art of War, and M. de Traun as his teacher."*

*Frederick II; quoted in T. Carlyle, Book 15 Chapter 4*

While the French were getting clobbered on the Rhine, King Frederick, as part of his agreement with them, launched the Second Silesian War. As always with the Prussian King, his stated goals were not always his real ones; nor in his early years were they always realistic. He had laid his plans well. To the French, before the Austrian Rhine offensive, he had stated that they should endeavour to take Hanover and reconquer Bavaria, the latter with the assistance of Prussian auxiliaries. He himself would take Bohemia for the Bavarian Emperor.

Frederick's reasons varied with his audience. The Austrians he accused of planning to retake Silesia; the British he accused of neglecting this fact – thus he must protect himself through pre-emption. To the French, of course, he played the loyal ally. But the real reasons for the move were that a) Austria was doing too well, and b) at the same time, she was once again overextended and vulnerable.

The initial Prussian offensive into Bohemia met little resistance. One force entered the kingdom through Meißen, and another through Lusatia. A third column marched in from Silesia. In all, there were some 80,000 men. The Saxons were totally unprepared and did absolutely nothing to stop them. Their 30-40,000 men were scattered all over the province. August III was away visiting Warsaw (Allied diplomats in that city would soon produce a treaty). His officials were handed a request for transit from the Prussian government when said transit was already a *fait accompli*. Frederick claimed to be acting as the auxiliary of the Emperor – so “back off”.

Prussian march discipline was superb; not a chicken was plucked without payment, and the “march” through Dresden and up the Elbe (under the King himself) was made on board barges, so as not to touch Dresden's cobblestones! This column passed via Pirna to Letomeritz on the traditional “war road”. The column from Lusatia was commanded by the Young Dessauer and marched straight from Bautzen to Letomeritz; these two columns, totalling 60,000 men, then marched on Prague while the third column of 20,000, under Schwerin, marched west via Glatz. A portion of this force went to join Frederick while the remainder positioned itself to menace Moravia.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 1744, the Prussians arrived before Prague and in six days the Austrian garrison (4,000 regulars and 10,000 militia, under Generals Ogilvie and Harsch) was compelled to surrender – the only reason for delay being the slowness of the Prussian siege train. Having amazed Europe once again, it would have been well for Frederick if he had stopped here.

Emboldened by his easy victory, however, and worrying that French Opinion would accuse him of selfish motives if he merely consolidated his gains, the Prussian King pushed on toward the conquest of all Bohemia. His original intention had been to link up with the Bavarians to the southwest, but *Maréchal* Belle-Isle suggested he move toward Moravia and Vienna, giving the Austrians a scare and securing an advanced defensive line through Budweis and Neuhaus. Belle-Isle's fame

was such that even Frederick yielded to it. The plan would have been a good one if the French had actually dealt with Prince Charles, but they did not.

In the meantime, Maria Theresa again appealed to the Hungarians for help, and a new *insurrection* generated several thousand more light troops. Vienna's defences were hastily put in order, and a strong diplomatic drive was made toward Saxony, who soon came off the fence and joined the Austrians. By this point, Prince Charles was enroute from Alsace. Traun's advance party was sent into Bohemia to tie up the Prussians (successfully, of course), while the Hungarians were used to harass Frederick's supply lines.

The Prussians had succeeded in taking Budweis and Tábor, but they were suffering; half of an expected supply train had been lost simply to accidents on the road and a general dearth of forage. The people in this region were Catholic and unfriendly. They fled, destroying what they could not cart away. And then there were the Pandours and Hussars. These managed to intercept Frederick's mail, leaving him in ignorance of European events for three weeks. Schwerin and the Young Dessauer nearly came to blows over an argument as to whether the army should join with a flanking column at Budweis, or press on to Neuhaus, which was closer to Vienna. This point was soon to become moot. Early in October, Frederick finally got news from the world outside, and it was not good.

The Army moved west to Tejn on the Moldau, searching for Prince Charles, only to learn he and the main body of Austrians had crossed the river well to the north and were threatening to cut them off from Prague. The Prussians, already in contact with a lesser enemy column, had to retreat. A Prussian commander, one *Generalmajor* Zieten, earned merit here for a steady rearguard action against an overwhelming force of irregulars. By mid-October, the Prussians were in full retreat from Tábor; they almost delayed too long, having to call in all their outposts and do something about the sick and wounded (who would not have survived an encounter with the Pandours), and in fact, most of the outposts *were* left behind, since not a single courier could get through to them.

Now at Beneschau, (18<sup>th</sup> October) the Prussians linked up with Schwerin and established themselves in a strong position. Frederick wanted to engage the Austrians, but Traun refused to play, so for three weeks the armies danced about the hilly countryside until the season was well advanced and the forage exhausted. On October 21<sup>st</sup>, 20,000 Saxons under Weißenfels joined with Charles' 49,000 Austrians at Radicz. The Prussians were now outnumbered. On October 24<sup>th</sup>, Frederick learned that the enemy was marching upon him and thought his chance had come, but Traun was ready and the final Austrian position was unassailable.

Three more weeks and the Prussians were forced out of their camp at Beneschau for lack of supplies; they moved further north toward their main magazines at Pardubitz. At this point a letter would have reached Frederick from the French, who promised to speedily send 60,000 men into Westphalia to check the Maritime Powers (and deal with the Elector of Cologne, brother of Charles Albert, who had changed sides). Fortunately for the Prussian King's temper, the Austrians intercepted the letter. Without the ability to conduct reconnaissance – he had 20,000 horse, none of which was any use at scouting – Frederick was flying blind.

The Prussians next attempted to improve their situation by taking Kuttendorf, but again, they found the Austrians in an impregnable position and had to retire. But the road between

Prague and Pardubitz was still open. The key town of Kolin withstood two attempts by Austrian irregulars. Mid-November the Prussians were defending the line of the Elbe, between Prague and Kolin, Pardubitz being their only post south of the river. The choice now was between holding Prague (and the artillery train) or Silesia. It wasn't much of a choice. Although for a while it looked like Prince Charles was going to call it quits for the winter (his wife was pregnant and ill; besides, his boots were getting all muddy), Maria Theresa emphatically told him to finish the job.

For ten days the Prussians held the line (they had friendly Hussite peasants to help with intelligence here), but eventually the Austrians found a weak spot at Teinitz and crossed the river. Not easily: one Prussian battalion withstood four or five Saxon battalions for about four hours, before retiring on Kolin. So that was it. Frederick ordered a retreat on Silesia, abandoning Prague and his cannon. The Young Dessauer took a column by way of Glatz; Frederick crossed the mountains via Nachod and the Pass of Braunau; the garrison of Prague retreated through Letomeritz and then east over the mountains to Friedland. The Dessauer's column was not molested, Frederick's was harassed, and the Prague garrison, under General von Einseidel, was savaged. The campaign was over and Prussian losses had been heavy – estimates range as high as a third of the King's forces, though many were merely stragglers. Frederick had discovered the limits of his Army, his State, and his own ambitions. Never again would the Prussians stretch out their hands so far.

Marshal Traun had fought a brilliant campaign, ejecting the Prussian from Bohemia without fighting a pitched battle. It was probably for this reason that that he was transferred to the Rhine theatre for next year's campaign – Prince Charles felt his own light could not shine under a subordinate's bushel. Traun spent the 1745 campaign ensuring the imperial election, while Prince Charles, his light revealed, promptly set himself on fire and crashed.

### ***Soldier King***

*“Since the beginning of the brilliant campaign of 1745 the spirit of the [Prussian] troops had greatly changed. Their courage had increased. They see now the point of order and discipline – something to be borne with rational resignation, instead of the former feelings of gloom and humiliation”.*

*Marquis de Valori, quoted in Duffy's Army of Frederick, p. 245.*

1745 was a critical year – Fontenoy, Soor, Hohenfriedburg, Kesseldorf – four major battles in a single year. 1745 saw the death of the Emperor Karl Albrecht, the resumption of the Habsburg claim to the imperial throne, and the withdrawal of Prussia from the war. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of January, Britain, Austria, Holland, and Saxony concluded a Quadruple Alliance at Warsaw. Karl Albrecht died twelve days later, forcing a new imperial election; his heir was in the process of deciding *not* to be a contender, thanks to his pro-Habsburg advisors and the general state of devastation of his lands.

The Bavarian (late Imperial) army was still at war, but the Austrians surprised it in its winter quarters, and a large percentage of its soldiers were taken at Amberg on January 7<sup>th</sup>. Munich fell once again. This led to the Peace of Füssen, signed on April 22<sup>nd</sup>. The young Bavarian Elector secured his estates at the price of supporting the candidature of Francis Stephen. France had withdrawn from Germany, resting wholly on the defensive along the Rhine, and by May 10<sup>th</sup> had defeated the Pragmatic Army at Fontenoy. The rest of the season would be spent mopping up the Netherlanders' Barrier forts.

In Silesia, there was the usual “small war” during the armies’ “down-time”. Small, but it cost the Prussians some heavy fighting just to effect their summer concentration. Maria Theresa had called upon the citizens of Silesia to reject Prussian rule, and Frederick’s failure to bring about a decisive battle the year before had raised doubts about his ability among his officers. The Treasury was running empty. His fortunes were at their lowest ebb. And this is why they called him “the Great” in his own lifetime: because he refused to quit.

The Austrians, for their part, were unable to stomach another winter campaign; this gave the Prussians a rest. Fortunately, many of the losses of the previous campaign proved to be mere temporary desertions, but in Frederick’s opinion, the Army was still sick, and needed a tonic. A battle was needed, but it had to be on the Prussians’ terms.

By the end of May, Frederick had 65,000 men camped at Frankenstein, a town lying between Glatz and Neiße. Here he lay low, feigning weakness, leaving the passes open for an Austrian push into Silesia, but ready to pounce once the mouse left its hole.

*[A completely irrelevant titbit: Frankenstein lies close to another town called Monsterberg (!) Apparently Mary Shelley met the Frankenstein family and through an association of ideas, chose the name for her novel. Don’t say these games don’t provide you with an education.]*

Meanwhile, over by Landshut, Prince Charles disposed of 85,000 Austrians and Saxons. Still Frederick did not move. His refusal to take the usual course of meeting the Allies at any of the passes appeared, not just to his enemies, but to his own people as well, an admission of defeat. Confident of victory, expecting a Chotusitz in reverse, the Allies camped within cannon shot of the Prussians and the next day (June 4<sup>th</sup>) engaged them in the Battle of Hohenfriedburg (or Striegau), the first personal victory of Frederick the Great – equal to his later victories at Leuthen and Rossbach – planned and executed entirely at his direction. Carlyle describes the battle (Chapter 10, Book 15):

*With the first streak of dawn, the dispute renewed itself between those Prussians and Saxons who are on the Heights of Striegau. The two Armies are in contact here; they lie wide apart as yet at the other end. Cannonading rises here, on both sides, in the dim gray of the morning, for the possession of these Heights. The Saxons are out-cannonaded and dislodged, other Saxons start to arms in support: the cry "To arms!" spreads everywhere, rouses Weissenfels [the Saxon CO] to horseback; and by sunrise a furious storm of battle has begun, in this part. Hot and fierce on both sides; charges of horse, shock after shock, bayonet-charges of foot; the great guns going like Jove's thunder, and the continuous tearing storm of small guns, very loud indeed: such a noise, as our poor Schoolmaster [Carlyle's source], who lives on this spot, thinks he will hear only once again, when the Last Trumpet sounds! It did indeed, he informs us, resemble the dissolution of Nature: "For all fell dark too;" a general element of sulphurous powder-smoke, streaked with dull blazes; and death and destruction very nigh. What will become of poor pacific mortals hereabouts? Rittmeister Seydlitz, Winterfeld his patron ride, with knit brows, in these horse-charges; fiery Rothenburg too; Truchsess von Waldburg, at the head of his Division, – poor Truchsess known in London society, a cannon-ball smites the life out of him, and he ended here.*

*At the first clash of horse and foot, the Saxons fancied they rather had it; at the second, their horse became distressed; at the third, they rolled into disorderly heaps. The foot also, stubborn as they were, could not stand that swift firing, followed by the bayonet and the sabre; and were forced to give ground. The morning sun shone into their eyes, too, they say; and there had risen a breath of easterly wind, which hurled the smoke upon them, so that they could not see. Decidedly staggering backwards; getting to be taken in flank and ruined, though poor Weissenfels does his best. About five in the morning, Friedrich came*

*galloping hitherward; Valori [the French envoy to Brandenburg] with him: "MON AMI, this is looking well! This will do, won't it?" The Saxons are fast sinking in the scale; and did nothing thenceforth but sink ever faster; though they made a stiff defence, fierce exasperation on both sides; and disputed every inch. Their position, in these scraggy Woods and Villages, in these Morasses and Carp-Husbandries, is very strong.*

*It had proved to be farther north, too, than was expected; so that the Prussians had to wheel round a little (right wing as a centre, fighting army as radius) before they could come parallel, and get to work: a delicate manoeuvre, which they executed to Valori's admiration, here in the storm of battle; tramp, tramp, velocity increasing from your centre outwards, till at the end of the radius, the troops are at treble-quick, fairly running forward, and the line straight all the while. Admirable to Valori, in the hot whirlwind of battle here. For the great guns go, in horrid salvos, unabated, and the crackling thunder of the small guns; "terrible tussling about those Carp-ponds, that quaggy Carp-husbandry," says the Schoolmaster, "and the Heavens blotted out in sulphurous fire-streaked smoke. What had become of us pacific? Some had run in time, and they were the wisest; others had squatted, who could find a nook suitable. Most of us had gathered into the Nursery-garden at the foot of our Village; we sat quaking there, – our prayers grown tremulously vocal; – in tears and wail, at least the women part. Enemies made reconciliation with each other," says he, "and dear friends took farewell." One general Allelu; the Last Day, to all appearance, having come. Friedrich, seeing things in this good posture, gallops to the left again, where much urgently requires attention from him.*

[It was prior to this action that the rumour went round of an order to give no quarter to the Saxons, which the troops joyfully accepted, whether it was true or not. The Prussians were fed up with the Saxons. As allies, they dragged their feet; as enemies, they fought like lions. The Prussian horse did the work on the far edge, while grenadiers assaulted the village of Pilgramshain, but among the ponds it was 21 battalions of infantry, headed by the Old Dessauer’s own regiment, marching with shouldered muskets into a veritable hail of canister, that evicted the Saxons. This phase of the action was over by 7am.]

*On the Austrian side, Prince Karl, through his morning sleep at Hausdorf, had heard the cannonading: "Saxons taking Striegau!" thinks he; a pleasant lullaby enough; and continues to sleep and dream. Agitated messengers rush in, at last; draw his curtains: "Prussians all in rank, this side Striegau Water; Saxons beaten, or nearly so, at Striegau: we must stand to arms, your Highness!"—"To arms, of course," answers Karl; and hurries now, what he can, to get everything in motion. The bivouac itself had been in order of battle; but naturally there is much to adjust, to put in trim; and the Austrians are not distinguished for celerity of movement. All the worse for them just now.*

*On Friedrich's side, so far as I can gather, there have happened two cross accidents. First, by that wheeling movement, done to Valori's admiration in the Striegau quarter, the Prussian line has hitched itself up towards Striegau, has got curved inward, and covers less ground than was counted on; so that there is like to be some gap in the central part of; – as in fact there was, in spite of Friedrich's efforts, and hitchings of battalions and squadrons: an indisputable gap, though it turned to rich profit for Friedrich; Prince Karl paying no attention to it. Upon such indisputable gap a wakeful enemy might have done Friedrich some perilous freak; but Karl was in his bed, as we say; – in a terrible flurry, too, when out of bed. Nothing was done upon the gap; and Friedrich had his unexpected profit by it before long.*

*The second accident is almost worse. Striegau Bridge (of planks, as I feared), creaking under such a heavy stream of feet and wheels all night, did at last break, in some degree, and needed to be mended; so that the rearward regiments, who are to form Friedrich's left wing, are in painful retard; – and are becoming frightfully necessary, the Austrians as yet far outflanking us, capable of taking us in flank with that right wing of theirs! The moment was agitating to a General-in-chief: Valori will own this young King's bearing was perfect; not the least flurry, though under such a strain. He has aides-de-camp,*

*dashing out every-whither with orders, with expedients; Prince Henri, his younger Brother: galloping the fastest; nay, at last, he begs Valori himself to gallop, with orders to a certain General Gessler, in whose Brigade are Dragoons. Which Valori does, – happily without effect on Gessler; who knows no Valori for an aide-de-camp, and keeps the ground appointed him; rearward of that gap we talked of.*

*Happily the Austrian right wing is in no haste to charge. Happily Ziethen, blocked by that incumbrance of the Bridge mending, "finds a ford higher up," the assiduous Ziethen; splashes across, other regiments following; forms in line well leftward; and instead of waiting for the Austrian charge, charges home upon them, fiercely through the difficult grounds, No danger of the Austrians outflanking us now; they are themselves likely to get hard measure on their flank. By the ford and by the Bridge, all regiments, some of them at treble-quick, get to their posts still in time. Accident second has passed without damage. Forward, then; rapid, steady; and reserve your fire till within fifty paces!– Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick (Friedrich's Brother-in-law, a bright-eyed steady young man, of great heart for fight) tramps forth with his Division; – steady!–all manner of Divisions tramp forth; and the hot storm, Ziethen and cavalry dashing upon that right wing of theirs, kindles here also far and wide.*

*The Austrian cavalry on this wing and elsewhere, it is clear, were ill off. "We could not charge the Prussian left wing, say they, partly because of the morasses that lay between us; and partly because they rushed across and charged us." Prince Karl is sorry to report such things of his cavalry; but their behavior [sic] was bad and not good. The first shock threw them wavering; the second, – nothing would persuade them to dash forth and meet it. High officers commanded, obtested [sic], drew out pistols, Prince Karl himself shot a fugitive or two, – it was to no purpose; they wavered worse at every new shock; and at length a shock came (sixth it was, as the reporter counts) which shook them all into the wind. Decidedly shy of the Prussians with their new manoeuvres, and terrible way of coming on, as if sure of beating. In the Saxon quarter, certain Austrian regiments of horse would not charge at all; merely kept firing from their carbines, and when the time came ran.*

[45 squadrons of Prussians routed 60 squadrons of Austrians.]

*As for the Saxons, they have been beaten these two hours; that is to say, hopeless these two hours, and getting beaten worse and worse. The Saxons cannot stand, but neither generally will they run; they dispute every ditch, morass and tuft of wood, especially every village. Wrecks of the muddy desperate business last, hour after hour. "I gave my men a little rest under the garden walls," says one Saxon Gentleman, "or they would have died, in the heat and thirst and extreme fatigue: I would have given 100 gulden for a glass of water." The Prussians push them on, bayonet in back; inexorable, not to be resisted; slit off whole battalions of them (prisoners now, and quarter given); take all their guns, or all that are not sunk in the quagmires; – in fine, drive them, part into the Mountains direct, part by circuit thither, down upon the rear of the Austrian fight: through Hausdorf, Seifersdorf and other Mountain gorges, where we hear no more of them, and shall say no more of them. A sore stroke for poor old Weissenfels; the last public one he has to take, in this world, for the poor man died before long. Nobody's blame, he says; every Saxon man did well; only some Austrian horse-regiments, that we had among us, were too shy. Adieu to poor old Weissenfels. Luck of war, what else, – thereby is he in this pass.*

*And now new Prussian force, its Saxons being well abolished, is pressing down upon Prince Karl's naked left flank. Yes; – Prince Karl too will have to go. His cavalry is, for most part, shaken into ragged clouds; infantry, steady enough men, cannot stand everything. "I have observed," says Friedrich, "if you step sharply up to an Austrian battalion [within fifty paces or so], and pour in your fire well, in about a quarter of an hour you see the ranks beginning to shake, and jumble towards indistinctness;" a very hopeful symptom to you!*

[The infantry clash here was indecisive, but the charge of the Bayreuth dragoons changed everything.]

*It was at this moment that Lieutenant-General Gessler, under whom is the Dragoon regiment Baireuth, who had kept his place in spite of Valori's message, determined on a thing, – advised to it by General*

*Schmettau (younger Schmettau), who was near. Gessler, as we saw, stood in the rear line, behind that gap (most likely one of several gaps, or wide spaces, left too wide, as we explained); Gessler, noticing the jumbly condition of those Austrian battalions, heaped now one upon another in this part, – motions to the Prussian Infantry to make what farther room is needful; then dashes through, in two columns (self and the Dragoon-Colonel heading the one, French Chasot, who is Lieutenant-Colonel, heading the other), sabre in hand, with extraordinary impetus and fire, into the belly of these jumbly Austrians; and slashes them to rags, "twenty battalions of them," in an altogether unexampled manner. Takes "several thousand prisoners," and such a haul of standards, kettle-drums and insignia of honor, as was never got before at one charge. Sixty-seven standards by the tale, for the regiment (by most All-Gracious Permission) wears, ever after, "67" upon its cartridge-box, and is allowed to beat the grenadier march; how many kettle-drums memory does not say.*

*Prince Karl beats retreat, about 8 in the morning; is through Hohenfriedberg about 10 (cannon covering there, and Nadasti as rear-guard); back into the Mountains; a thoroughly well-beaten man. Towards Bolkenhain, the Saxons and he; their heavy artillery and baggage had been left safe there. Not much pursued, and gradually rearranging himself; with thoughts, – no want of thoughts! Came pouring down, triumphantly invasive, yesterday; returns, on these terms, in about fifteen hours. Not marching with displayed banners and field-music, this time; this is a far other march. The mouse-trap had been left open, and we rashly went in!–Prince Karl's loss, including that of the Saxons (which is almost equal, though their number in the field was but HALF), is 9,000 dead and wounded, 7,000 prisoners, 66 cannon, 73 flags and standards; the Prussian is about 5,000 dead and wounded. Friedrich, at sight of Valori, embraces his GROS VALORI; says, with a pious emotion in voice and look, "My friend, God has helped me wonderfully this day!" Actually there was a kind of devout feeling visible in him, thinks Valori: "A singular mixture, this Prince, of good qualities and of bad; I never know which preponderates." As is the way with fat Valoris, when they come into such company.*

*Friedrich is blamed by some military men, and perhaps himself thought it questionable, that he did not pursue Prince Karl more sharply. He says his troops could not; they were worn out with the night's marching and the day's fighting. He himself may well be worn out. I suppose, for the last four-and-twenty hours he, of all the contemporary sons of Adam, has probably been the busiest. Let us rest this day; rest till tomorrow morning, and be thankful. "So decisive a defeat," writes he to his Mother (hastily, misdating "6th" June for 4th), "has not been since Blenheim" (which is tolerably true); and "I have made the Princes sign their names," to give the good Mother assurance of her children in these perils of war. Seldom has such a deliverance come to a man.*

Duffy computes 5,000 Prussian casualties out of c.50,000, 10,332 Austrians out of c.41,000, 2,844 Saxons out of c.15,500. The Bayreuth Dragoons alone smashed 6 Austrian regiments and took 66 colours. The Allies lost 63 guns (20 of which were Saxon) and were forced to retreat over the mountains into Bohemia. The Prussians pursued for three days, but cautiously, as the lands were denuded by war, and Frederick's reconnaissance assets were still woefully inadequate. Safe behind the Elbe, the biggest problem for the Austrians was really the Traun-less Prince Charles.

The next four months were spent in manoeuvring for advantage, which in effect handed the initiative back to the Austrians. Their Army was still very much a force to be reckoned with, and the Prussians only proceeded as far as Königgratz; this was to the benefit of the Habsburgs, since they were simultaneously engaged in intimidating the Imperial Diet at Frankfort am Main. The French dared so far as to foray among the Main, Lahn, and Frankfort valleys in response, but the Austrians, under Marshal Traun, emerged victorious from this bloodless struggle. Emperor Francis I was proclaimed on September 13<sup>th</sup>. Only Frederick and the Elector Palatine (brother of the late Charles Albert) dissented.

Meanwhile Frederick, having had to spread his forces out to cover Saxony as well as Bohemia and Silesia, was also negotiating, this time with Britain. He agreed to recognise the new Emperor in exchange for peace, but neither he nor the British could get Maria Theresa to acknowledge the Treaty of Breslau and Prussia's formal possession of Silesia without one last throw of the dice. (In large part this was because King George privately advised Maria Theresa *not* to deal – he hoped for a partition of Brandenburg between Hanover, Saxony, and Austria).

In the autumn, Prince Charles attempted a surprise attack with 39,000 men on the Prussian camp at Sohr (Sohr), near Königgratz. Because Saxony was now in the war, Frederick's main army was limited to about 22,000 men; he had intended to quit the field early this year and retire to Silesia. Caught short, Frederick had no choice but to counterattack. The Prussians at first had a hard time of it, but Charles was too slow (what a surprise) and they were able to extricate themselves from what would have been a disastrous envelopment.

Here again is a description by Carlyle:

*Friedrich had lain at Staudentz, in this manner, bickering continually for his forage, and eating the Country, for about ten days: and now, as the latter process is well on, and the season drawing to a close: he determines on a shift northward. Thursday, 30<sup>th</sup> September next, let there be one other grand forage, the final one in this eaten tract, then northward to fresh grounds. That, it appears, was the design. But, on Wednesday, there came in an Austrian deserter; who informs us that Prince Karl is not now in Königgratz, but in motion up the Elbe; already some fifty miles up; past Jaromirz: his rear at Königshof, his van at Arnau, – on a level with burnt Trautenau, and farther north than we ourselves are. This is important news. "Intending to block us out from Schatzlar? Hmh!" Single scouts, or small parties, cannot live in this Kingdom Wood, swarming with Pandours: Friedrich sends out a Colonel Katzler, with 500 light horse, to investigate a little. Katzler pushes forward, on such lane or forest road-track as there is, towards Königshof; beats back small hussar parties; – comes, in about an hour's space, not upon hussars merely, but upon dense masses of heavy horse winding through the forest lanes; and, with that imperfect intelligence, is obliged to return. The deserter spake truth, apparently; and that is all we can know. Forage scheme is given up; the order is, "Baggage packed, and MARCH to-morrow morning at ten." Long before ten, there had great things befallen on the morrow!–Try to understand this Note a little; –*

*"The Camp of Staudentz- which two persons (the King, and General Stille, a more careful reporter, who also was an eye-witness) have done their best to describe–will, after all efforts, and an Ordnance Map to help, remain considerably unintelligible to the reader; as is too usual in such cases. A block of high-lying ground; Friedrich's Camp on it, perhaps two miles long, looks to the south; small Village of Staudentz in front; hollow beyond that, and second small Village, Deutsch Prausnitz, hanging on the opposite slope, with shaggy heights beyond, and the Kingdom Forest there beginning: on the left, defiles, brooks and strait country, leading towards the small town of Eypel: that is our left and front aspect, a hollow well isolating us on those sides. Hollow continues all along the front; hollow definite on our side of it, and forming a tolerable defence; – though again, I perceive, to rightward at no great distance, there rise High Grounds which considerably overhang us." A thing to be marked! "These we could not occupy, for want of men; but only maintain vedettes upon them. Over these Heights, a mile or two westward of this hollow of ours, runs the big winding hollow called Georgengrund (GEORGE'S BOTTOM), which winds up and down in that Kingdom Forest, and offers a road from Königshof to Trautenau, among other courses it takes.*

[Carlyle says of "Kingdom Wood" and environs:

*"...a huge waste Wood, called 'Kingdom Forest' (KONIGREICH SYLVA or WALD, peculium of Old Czech Majesties, I fancy); may be sixty square miles in area, the longer side of which lies along the Elbe. A Country of rocky*

*defiles; lowish hills chaotically shoved together, not wanting their brooks and quagmires, straight labyrinthic passages; shaggy with wild wood. Some poor Hamlets here and there, probably the sleepest in Nature, are scattered about; there may be patches ploughable for rye [modern Tourist says snappishly, There are many such; whole region now drained; reminded me of Yorkshire Highlands, with the Western Sun gilding it, that fine afternoon!]-ploughable for rye, buckwheat; boggy grass to be gathered in summer; charcoaling to do; pigs at least are presumable, among these straggling outposts of humanity in their obscure Hamlets: poor ploughing, moiling creatures, they little thought of becoming notable so soon! None of the Books (all intent on mere soldiering) take the least notice of them; not at the pains to spell their Hamlets right: no more notice than if they also had been stocks and moss-grown stones. Nevertheless, there they did evidently live, for thousands of years past, in a dim manner; – and are much terrified to have become the seat of war, all on a sudden. Their poor Hamlets, Sohr, Staudentz, Prausnitz, Burgersdorf and others still send up a faint smoke; and have in them, languidly, the live-coal of mysterious human existence, in those woods, – to judge by the last maps that have come out. A thing worth considering by the passing tourist, military or other."]*

*"From the crown of those Heights on our right flank here, looking to the west, you might discern (perhaps three miles off, from one of the sheltering nooks in the hither side of that Georgengrund), rising faintly visible over knolls and dingles, the smoke of a little Forest Village. That Village is Sohr; notable ever since, beyond others, in the Kingdom Wood. Sohr, like the other Villages, has its lane-roads; its road to Trautenau, to Königshof, no doubt; but much nearer you, on our eastern slope of the Heights, and far hitherward of Sohr, which is on the western, goes the great road [what is now the great road], from Königshof to Trautenau, well visible from Friedrich's Camp, though still at some distance from it. Could these Heights between us and Sohr, which lie beyond the great road, be occupied, we were well secured; isolated on the right too, as on the other sides, from Kingdom Forest and its ambushes. 'Should have been done,' admits Friedrich; 'but then, as it is, there are not troops enough:' with 18,000 men you cannot do everything!"*

*Here, however, is the important point. In Sohr, this night, 29<sup>th</sup> September, in a most private manner, the Austrians, 30,000 of them and more, have come gliding through the woods, without even their pipe lit, and with thick veil of hussars ahead! Outposts of theirs lie squatted in the bushes behind Deutsch Prausnitz, hardly 500 yards from Friedrich's Camp. And eastward, leftward of him, in the defiles about Eypel, lie Nadasti and Ruffian Trenck, with ten or twelve thousand, who are to take him in rear. His "Camp of Staudentz" will be at a fine pass to-morrow morning. The Austrian Gentlemen had found, last week, a certain bare Height in the Forest (Height still known), from which they could use their astronomer tubes day after day; and now they are about attempting something!*

*Thursday morning, very early, 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1745, Friedrich was in his tent, busy with generals and march-routes, – when a rapid orderly comes in, from that Vedette, or strong Piquet, on the Heights to our right: "Austrians visibly moving, in quantity, nearby!" and before he has done answering, the officer himself arrives: "Regular Cavalry in great force; long dust-cloud in Kingdom Forest, in the gray dawn; and, so far as we can judge, it is their Army coming on." Here is news for a poor man, in the raw of a September morning, by way of breakfast to him! "To arms!" is, of course, Friedrich's instant order; and he himself gallops to the Piquet on the Heights, glass in hand. "Austrian Army sure enough, thirty to thirty-five thousand of them, we only eighteen. Coming to take us on the right flank here; to attack our Camp by surprise: will crush us northward through the defiles, and trample us down in detail? Hmh! To run for it, will never do. We must fight for it, and even attack THEM, as our way is, though on such terms. Quick, a plan!" The head of Friedrich is a bank you cannot easily break by coming on it for plans: such a creature for impromptu plans, and unexpected dashes swift as the panther's, I have hardly known, – especially when you squeeze him into a corner, and fancy he is over*

with it! Friedrich gallops down, with his plan clear enough; and already the Austrians, horse and foot, are deploying upon those Heights he has quitted; Fifty Squadrons of Horse for left wing to them, and a battery of Twenty-eight big Guns is establishing itself where Friedrich's Piquet lately stood.

Friedrich's right flank has to become his front, and face those formidable Austrian Heights and Batteries; and this with more than Prussian velocity, and under the play of those twenty-eight big guns, throwing case-shot (GRENADES ROYALES) and so forth, all the while. To Valori, when he heard of the thing, it is inconceivable how mortal troops could accomplish such a movement; Friedrich himself praises it, as a thing honorably well done. Took about half an hour; case-shot raining all the while; soldier honorably never-minding; no flurry, though a speed like that of spinning-tops. And here we at length are, Staudentz now to rear of us, behind our centre a good space; Burgersdorf in front of us to right, our left reaching to Prausnitz: Austrian lines, three deep of them, on the opposite Height; we one line only, which matches them in length.

They, that left wing of horse, should have thundered down on us, attacking us, not waiting our attack, thinks Friedrich; but they have not done it. They stand on their height there, will perhaps fire carbines, as their wont is. "You, Buddenbrock, go into them with your Cuirassiers!" Buddenbrock and the Cuirassiers, though it is uphill, go into them at a furious rate; meet no countercharge, mere sputter of carbines; – tumble them to mad wreck, back upon their second line, back upon their third: absurdly crowded there on their narrow height, no room to manoeuvre; so that they plunge, fifty squadrons of them, wholly into the Georgengrund rearward, into the Kingdom Wood, and never come on again at all. Buddenbrock has done his job right well.

Seeing which, our Infantry of the right wing, which stood next to Buddenbrock, made impetuous charge uphill, emulous to capture that Battery of Twenty-eight; but found it, for some time, a terrible attempt. These Heights are not to be called "hills," still less "mountains" (as in some careless Books); but it is a stiff climb at double-quick, with twenty-eight big guns playing in the face of you. Storms of case-shot shear away this Infantry, are quenching its noble fury in despair; Infantry visibly recoiling, when our sole Three Regiments of Reserve hurry up to support. Round these all rallies; rushes desperately on, and takes the Battery, – of course, sending the Austrian left wing rapidly adrift, on loss of the same.

This, I consider, is the crisis of the Fight; the back of the Austrian enterprise is already broken, by this sad winging of it on the left. But it resists still; comes down again, – the reserve of their left wing seen rapidly making for Burgersdorf, intending an attack there; which we oppose with vigor, setting Burgersdorf on fire for temporary screen; and drive the Austrian reserve rapidly to rearward again. But there is rally after rally of them. They rank again on every new height, and dispute there; loath to be driven into Kingdom Wood, after such a flourish of arms. One height, "bushy steep height," the light-limbed valiant Prince, little Ferdinand of Brunswick, had the charge of attacking; and he did it with his usual impetus and irresistibility; – and, strangely enough, the defender of it chanced to be that Brother of his, Prince Ludwig, with whom he had the little Interview lately. Prince Ludwig got a wound, as well as lost his height. The third Brother, poor Prince Albrecht, who is also here, as volunteer apprentice, on the Prussian side, gets killed. There will never be another Interview, for all three, between the Camps! Strange times for those poor Princes, who have to seek soldiering for their existence.

Meanwhile the Cavalry of Buddenbrock, that is to say of the right wing, having now no work in that quarter, is despatched to reinforce the left wing, which has stood hitherto apart on its own ground; not attacked or attacking, – a left wing REFUSED, as the soldiers style it. Reinforced by Buddenbrock, this left wing of horse does now also storm forward; – "near the Village of Prausnitz" (Prausnitz a little way to rear of it), thereabouts, is the scene of its feat. Feat done in such fashion that the Austrians opposite will not stand the charge at all; but gurgle about in a chaotic manner; then gallop fairly into Kingdom Wood, without stroke struck; and disappear, as their fellows had done. Whereupon the Prussian horse breaks in upon the adjoining Infantry of that flank (Austrian right flank, left bare in this manner); champs it also into chaotic whirlpools; cuts away an outskirt of near 2,000 prisoners, and sets the rest running. This seems to have been pretty

much the COUP-DE-GRACE of the Fight; and to have brought the Austrian dispute to finis. From the first, they had rallied on the heights; had struggled and disputed. Two general rallies they made, and various partial, but none had any success. They were driven on, bayonet in back, as the phrase is: with this sad slap on their right, added to that old one on their left, what can they now do but ebb rapidly; pour in cataracts into Kingdom Wood, and disappear there?

Prince Karl's scheme was good, says Friedrich; but it was ill executed. He never should have let us form; his first grand fault was that he waited to be attacked, instead of attacking. Parts of his scheme were never executed at all. Duke d'Ahremberg, for instance, it is said, had so dim a notion of the ground, that he drew up some miles off, with his back to the Prussians. Such is the rumor, – perhaps only a rumor, in mockery of the hebetated old gentleman fallen unlucky? On the other hand, that Nadasti made a failure which proved important, is indubitable. Nadasti, with some thousands of Tolpatchery, was at Liebenthal, four miles to southeast of the action; Ruffian Trenck lay behind Eypel, perhaps as far to east, of it: Trenck and Nadasti were to rendezvous, to unite, and attack the Prussian Camp on its rear, – "Camp," so ran the order, for it was understood the Prussians would all be there, we others attacking it in front and both flanks; – which turned out otherwise, not for Nadasti alone!

Nadasti came to his rendezvous in time; Ruffian Trenck did not: Nadasti grew tired of waiting for Trenck, and attacked the Camp by himself; – Camp, but not any men; Camp being now empty, and the men all fighting, ranked at right angles to it, furlongs and miles away. Nadasti made a rare hand of the Camp; plundered everything, took all the King's Camp-furniture, ready money, favorite dog Biche, – likewise poor Eichel his Secretary, who, however, tore the papers first. Tolpatchery exultingly gutted the Camp; and at last set fire to it, – burnt even some eight or ten poor Prussian sick, and also "some women whom they caught. We found the limbs of these poor men and women lying about," reports old General Lehwald; who knew about it. A doggery well worthy of the gallows, think Lehwald and I. "Could n't help it; ferocity of wild men," says Nadasti. "Well; but why not attack, then, with your ferocity?" Confused Court-martial put these questions, at Vienna subsequently; and Ruffian Trenck, some say, got injustice, Nadasti shuffling things upon him; for which one cares almost nothing. Lehwald, lying at Trautenau, had heard the firing at sunrise; and instantly marched to help: he only arrived to give Nadasti a slash or two, and was too late for the Fight. One Schlichtling, on guard with a weak party, saved what was in the right wing of the Camp, – small thanks to him, the Main Fight being so near: Friedrich's opinion is, an Officer, in Schlichtling's place, ought to have done more, and not have been so helpless.

This was the Battle of Sohr; so called because the Austrians had begun there, and the Prussians ended there. The Prussian pursuit drew bridle at that Village; unsafe to prosecute Austrians farther, now in the deeps of Kingdom Forest. The Battle has lasted five hours. It must be now getting towards noon; and time for breakfast, if indeed any were to be had; but that is next to impossible, Nadasti having been so busy. Not without extreme difficulty is a manchet of bread, with or without a drop of wine, procured for the King's Majesty this day. Many a tired hero will have nothing but tobacco, with spring-water, to fall back upon. Never mind! says the King, says everybody. After all, it is a cheap price to pay for missing an attack from Pandours in the rear, while such crisis went on ahead.

The Austrians had hoped that their mere presence in an unwanted position would encourage the Prussians to speed up their withdrawal from Bohemia; in the ensuing disorganisation, they could have inflicted many losses on them. This is an important reason why they were so slow to respond, and why even the Austrian cavalry received a charge at the halt – they were waiting to pursue an enemy that was breaking camp in disorder. Frederick's counterattack enabled him to bring off his forces in good order, but they still retreated from the region.

Still the Austrians would not throw in the towel. Reinforced by an Austrian column from the Main, the Saxons, under Marshal Rutowsky, made a movement from Meißen in combination with another march by Prince Charles out of Bohemia. The

goal was nothing less than the taking of Berlin. Frederick rushed back from Silesia, scaring off the Austrians through actions at Katholisch-Hennersdorf (November 24<sup>th</sup>) and Görlitz (November 25<sup>th</sup>) as he marched toward Dresden. At the same time, a Prussian army under the Old Dessauer came up the Elbe from Magdeburg (where it had been covering western Brandenburg) and engaged Rutowsky's forces at Kesselsdorf (December 14<sup>th</sup>), defeating them (barely) before Prince Charles could bring up the main body of Austrians.

Carlyle makes a positively final appearance:

*The Village of Kesselsdorf itself lies rather in a hollow; in the slight beginning, or uppermost extremity, of a little Valley or Dell, called the Tschonengrund, – which, with its, quaggy brook of a Tschone, wends northeastward into the Elbe, a course of four or five miles: a little Valley very deep for its length, and getting altogether chasmy and precipitous towards the Elbe-ward or lower end. Kesselsdorf itself, as we said, is mainly in a kind of hollow: between Old Leopold and Kesselsdorf the ground rather mounts; and there is perceptibly a flat knoll or rise at the head of it, where the Village begins. Some trees there, and abundance of cannon and grenadiers at this moment. It is the southwestern or left-most point of Rutowski's line; impregnable with its cannon-batteries and grenadiers. Rightward Rutowski extends in long lines, with the quaggy-dell of Tschonengrund in front of him, parallel to him; Dell ever deepening as it goes. Northeastward, at the extreme right, or Elbe point of it, where Grune and the Austrians stand, it has grown so chasmy, we judge that Grune can neither advance nor be advanced upon: so we leave him standing there, – which he did all day, in a purely meditative posture. Rutowski numbers 35,000, now on this ground, with immensity of cannon; 32,000 we, with only the usual field-artillery, and such a Tschonengrund, with its half-frozen quagmires ahead. A ticklish case for the old man, as he grimly reconnoitres it, in the winter morning.*

*Grim Old Dessauer having reconnoitred, and rapidly considered, decides to try it, – what else?—will range himself on the west side of that Tschonengrund, horse and foot; two lines, wide as Rutowski opposite him; but means to direct his main and prime effort against Kesselsdorf, which is clearly the key of the position, if it can be taken. For which end the Old Dessauer lengthens himself out to rightward, so as to outflank Kesselsdorf; – neglecting Grune (refusing Grune, as the soldiers say); – "our horse of the right wing reached from the Wood called Lerchenbusoh (LARCH-BUSH) rightward as far as Freyberg road; foot all between that Lerchenbusch and the big Birch-tree on the road to Wilsdruf; horse of the left wing, from there to Roitsch." [Stille (p. 181), who was present. See Plan.] It was about two P.M. before the old man got all his deployments completed; what corps of his, deploying this way or that, came within wind of Kesselsdorf, were saluted with cannon, thirty pieces or more, which are in battery, in three batteries, on the knoll there; but otherwise no fighting as yet. At two, the Old Dessauer is complete; he reverently doffs his hat, as had always been his wont, in prayer to God, before going in. A grim fervor of prayer is in his heart, doubtless; though the words as reported are not very regular or orthodox: "O HERR GOTT, help me yet this once; let me not be disgraced in my old days! Or if thou wilt not help me, don't help those HUNDSVOGTE [damned Scoundrels, so to speak], but leave us to try it ourselves!" That is the Old Scandinavian of a Dessauer's prayer; a kind of GODUR he too, Priest as well as Captain: Prayer mythically true as given; mythically, not otherwise. [Ranke, iii. 334 n.] Which done, he waves his hat once, "On, in God's name!" and the storm is loose. Prussian right wing pushing grandly forward, bent in that manner, to take Kesselsdorf and its fire-throats in flank.*

*The Prussians tramp on with the usual grim-browed resolution, foot in front, horse in rear; but they have a terrible problem at that Kesselsdorf, with its retrenched batteries, and numerous grenadiers fighting under cover. The very ground is sore against them; uphill, and the trampled snow wearing into a slide, so that you sprawl and stagger sadly. Thirty-one big guns, and about 9,000 small, pouring out mere death on you, from that knoll-head. The Prussians stagger; cannot stand it; bend to rightwards, and get out of shot-range; cannot manage it this bout. Rally, reinforce; try it again. Again, with a will; but again there is not a way. The Prussians are again repulsed; fall back, down this slippery course, in more disorder than the first time. Had the*

*Saxons stood still, steadily handling arms, how, on such terms, could the Prussians ever have managed it?*

*But at sight of this second repulse, the Saxon grenadiers, and especially one battalion of Austrians who were there (the only Austrians who fought this day), gave a shout "Victory!"—and in the height of their enthusiasm, rushed out, this Austrian battalion first and the Saxons after them, to charge these Prussians, and sweep the world clear of them. It was the ruin of their battle; a fatal hollaing before you are out of the woods. Old Leopold, quick as thought, noticing the thing, hurls cavalry on these victorious down-plunging grenadiers; slashes them asunder, into mere recoiling whirlpools of ruin; so that "few of them got back unwounded;" and the Prussians storming in along with them, – aided by ever new Prussians, from beyond the Tschonengrund even, – the place was at length carried; and the Saxon battle became hopeless.*

*For, their right being in such hurricane, the Prussians from the centre, as we hint, storm forward withal; will not be held back by the Tschonengrund. They find the Tschonengrund quaggy in the extreme, "brook frozen at the sides, but waist-deep of liquid mud in the centre;" cross it, nevertheless, towards the upper part of it, – young Moritz of Dessau leading the way, to help his old Father in extremity. They climb the opposite side, – quite slippery in places, but "helping one another up;"—no Saxons there till you get fairly atop, which was an oversight on the Saxon part. Fairly atop, Moritz is saluted by the Saxons with diligent musket-volleys; but Moritz also has musket-volleys in him, bayonet-charges in him; eager to help his old Papa at this hard pinch. Old Papa has the Saxons in flank; sends more and ever more other cavalry in on them; and in fact, the right wing altogether storms violently through Kesselsdorf, and sweeps it clean. Whole regiments of the Saxons are made prisoners; Roel's Light Horse we see there, taking standards; cutting violently in to avenge Roel's death, and the affront they had at Meissen lately. Furious Moritz on their front, from across the Tschonengrund; furious Roel (GHOST of Roel) and others in their flank, through Kesselsdorf: no standing for the Saxons longer.*

*About nightfall, – their horse having made poorish fight, though the foot had stood to it like men, – they roll universally away. The Prussian left wing of horse are summoned through the Tschonengrund to chase: had there remained another hour of daylight, the Saxon Army had been one wide ruin. Hidden in darkness, the Saxon Army ebbed confusedly towards Dresden: with the loss of 6,000 prisoners and 3,000 killed and wounded: a completely beaten Army. It is the last battle the Saxons fought as a Nation, – or probably will fight. Battle called of Kesselsdorf: Wednesday, 15th December, 1745.*

*Prince Karl had arrived at Dresden the night before; heard all this vollying and cannonading, from the distance; but did not see good to interfere at all. Too wide apart, some say; quartered at unreasonably distant villages, by some irrefragable ignorant War-clerk of Bruhl's appointing – fatal Bruhl. Others say, his Highness had himself no mind; and made excuses that his troops were tired, disheartened by the two beatings lately, – what will become of us in case of a third or fourth! It is certain, Prince Karl did nothing. Nor has Grime's corps, the right wing, done anything except meditate; – it stood there unattacked, unattacking; till deep in the dark night, when Rutowski remembered it, and sent it order to come home. One Austrian battalion, that of grenadiers on the knoll at Kesselsdorf, did actually fight; – and did begin that fatal outbreak, and quitting of the post there; "which lost the Battle to us!" say the Saxons.*

*Had those grenadiers stood in their place, there is no Prussian but admits that it would have been a terrible business to take Kesselsdorf and its batteries. But they did not stand; they rushed out, shouting "Victory;" and lost us the battle. And that is the good we have got of the sublime Austrian Alliance; and that is the pass our grand scheme of Partitioning Prussia has come to? Fatal little Bruhl of the three hundred and sixty-five clothes- suits; Valet fatally become divine in Valet-hood, – are not you costing your Country dear!*

The Prussians were saved by the fact that Prince Charles did not engage, though he was only two hours away. Frederick, annoyed with his lieutenant, likewise did not hurry to assist him and the Alte-Dessauer fought the thing alone.

This was the end. Dresden surrendered after a brief siege and Maria Theresa conceded defeat. By the Treaty of Dresden, signed on Christmas Day, the Second Silesian War was officially concluded; Frederick recognised the results of the imperial election, and Maria Theresa recognised Frederick's retention of Silesia.

### *To the End*

The War of the Austrian Succession had another two and a half years to play out, but the remaining military activities took place in the Low Countries, Italy, and on the high seas. Prussia remained neutral for the rest of the war, and the Empire had peace, but it is likely that Frederick would have tried for Moravia or Bohemia again, if the Maritime Powers had not engaged the services of a Russian expeditionary corps. This force, intended to fight in Flanders – and on the Dutch and British muster rolls simultaneously! – never made it, but was appropriated by the Austrians in whose name it was supposed to be serving. Stationed along the Silesian/Moravian border in the winter of 1748-49, it served as a deterrent to any vestigial Prussian ambitions. Frederick would have to wait eight years, and would find his enemies “not the same old Austrians”.

On the whole, the War of the Austrian Succession was a disappointment to its makers. It did not produce the desired effect of a weakened Habsburg monarchy. If anything, it strengthened it. Frederick-o-philes tend to denigrate the Austrians, citing Prussian military superiority in any area one cares to name, but it was the Austrians who fought a three-front war with a semi-feudal multinational army and were completely successful on two fronts, while producing a stalemate on the third. Maria Theresa remained determined to maintain the principle of “dynastic integrity”, and even though Aix-la-Chapelle formally awarded Silesia to Prussia, she was determined to get it back.

Short-term, Prussian success was limited to the gain of Silesia. After the first campaign, the Prussian King had no illusions left as to the threat the Austrian Army posed, or the skill of its generals (the Habsburg princes excepted). His attempts to annex Moravia and Bohemia proved dismal failures; his greatness is deserved more for his ability to repeatedly recover from near-disaster and try again. But for Prussia, given the political climate of those days, a purely defensive strategy meant certain death; Silesia brought added resources, and the added challenge of extended frontiers to protect.

The French populace referred to the results of the final treaty as “this stupid peace”. France, after the German debacle, did extraordinarily well in the Low Countries, and to an extent in Italy. The rot slowly spreading throughout her army was forgotten in the euphoria of won battles, and the price for ignoring it would be paid in full at Rossbach. Geopolitically, France gained nothing, since all the territories she had lost overseas were returned in exchange for her giving up her own conquests. Her stock in Germany was at an all time low. The Habsburgs remained the Enemy – until, shortly before the Seven Years War, Prussia “betrayed” her by leaguering with Britain.

Of the “bit players” on the German stage, most wound up greatly weakened. The *Reichsarmee*, which had performed creditably in the War of the Polish Succession, was almost useless by the Seven Years War. The Saxons and Bavarians were likewise unable to contribute much in the next war, with the former surrendering soon after hostilities began. Hanover's situation remained about the same – that is, precarious – which contributed to the British decision to back Prussia for the next round. The Dutch had had enough of the “Maritime Powers” schtick. Only Britain remained vigorous, determined more than ever on the removal of France as a commercial competitor.



## A SHORT HISTORY OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Holy Roman Empire was a political entity that occupied a large portion of Central Europe for a thousand years (843-1806AD). Along with the Papacy, it was one of the most important European institutions prior to the rise of the modern nation-state system. But the Empire is a confusing subject to discuss. As a 17<sup>th</sup> Century scholar stated: “we are therefore left with calling Germany a body that conforms to no rule and resembles a monster”. A century later, Voltaire said mockingly that it was “neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire”.

It has therefore become a habit of historians to begin a definition of the Empire by stating what it was not. It was emphatically not a single state. Nor could it be, divided as it was into hundreds of territories of various kinds, from Church lands centred on a single monastery to large duchies with populations in the hundreds of thousands. Neither was it a nation, in the sense of a racially unified region – there were multiple ethnic groups within the Empire, many of whom were Slav or Romanic rather than German. But at its height it had a unity of sorts. It was the *Holy* Roman Empire, and the catholic Christianity of its subjects provided a strong unifying force. At least one historian has defined it as a cross between a state and a religious confederation.

Most scholars agree that the Empire first arose after the three-way split of the Carolingian monarchy in 843AD, although Charlemagne’s investiture by the Pope as King of the Franks in 800AD can be thought of as its “spiritual foundation”. It was not a continuation of the original Roman Empire, except in the sense that people wanted it to be so; the lustre of the earlier empire had not faded even after 400 years.

In the latter days of the Roman Empire, the Franks, a Germanic people – really a federation of Germans under the Frankish banner – had carved out a realm for themselves along the banks of the Rhine and begun to expand both east and west. Some of their lands lay within the Roman Empire, and some did not (the original Frankish capital lay at Louvain, in Belgium, rather than Paris). The Roman lands were colonised by a warrior aristocracy, leaving the original inhabitants in submission under them; the German lands remained ethnically German. From the start, the territories ruled by the Frankish kings were thus united only in the person of their ruler.

The Franks had visited Italy many times over the centuries, at the behest of one power bloc or another. Pope Leo III, having trouble with his secular subjects in Rome, asked the famous Charlemagne for help, and, as a reward, revived the title of Emperor for him. The Pope felt it would be useful for the West to have their own emperor when negotiating with the rival Byzantine Emperors and their Orthodox Church. It is important to note that Charlemagne was not called the *Roman* Emperor (the Byzantines would balk at that) but simply The Emperor.

Charlemagne himself, one of the most famous names in European history, was descended from Charles “Martel” – Charles the Hammer – victor over the Islamic tide that swept the West in the 700’s. Although an “illiterate barbarian” to the Byzantines, Charlemagne shared with Pope Leo a vision of restoring the Roman Empire in the West, and over a long reign and many wars succeeded in extending his sway over much of Western Europe, including northeastern France, northern Italy, and Germany as far east as Bohemia and Saxony.

But, in accordance with Frankish custom, Charlemagne’s grandsons (he had only one son) divided his patrimony into three parts. Lothar, the eldest son of Charlemagne’s own son, Louis the Pious, became ruler of the middle kingdom, including the Rhine countries (Lotharingia – Lorraine – is named for him) as well as Italy, and claimed the overlordship of his brothers, but was forced to back down. He did manage to obtain a nominal suzerainty and the title of “Emperor of the West”. He brother Charles the Bald took what would become France (although the future Merovingian kings of France stem from vassal relations in Aquitaine), and Louis the German took the German lands. In the minds of the Franks, this division in no way postulated the devolution of the empire – it was all still “Frankland”.

As we know, France unified first; after many centuries of struggle, the French kings conquered the western reaches of Gaul, mastered their own aristocracy, and developed a centralized monarchy. Germany and Italy remained in their original fragmented state for much longer – until the Napoleonic Wars, in fact. Lothar’s Rhineland (known during the Middle Ages as Burgundy) did not fair so well, being nibbled away by the others. All that remains today north of the Alps is Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

By the early 10<sup>th</sup> Century, the kingship of the German lands had fallen to a stranger, elected (again an old Germanic custom) in 911 by the most powerful of the Frankish nobility. This was Conrad I. His successor, again elected, was a Saxon, Henry the Fowler (919-936). Under Henry, the Saxon vassals of the East Franks exerted their influence and achieved a separation from Lothar’s original Empire – Henry pointedly calling himself King of the East Franks. But it was Henry’s son, Otto the Great, who in 962 received the blessing of Pope John XII (again as a reward, this time for protection against the current King of Italy), and the title of *Roman* Emperor. The point of this was to take the imperial mantle away from the western and central Frankish kingdoms and imply the superiority of the German kings over the Italian kings.

Ironically, despite the new title of Roman Emperor, contemporaries now thought and spoke of a transfer of the empire from the Romans to the Germans. People had always had a vague notion of the Frankish Emperors as the heirs of Caesar Augustus. In this sense, the Franks saw themselves as representatives of the Roman civilisation. This was partly due to Charlemagne’s vision of empire, and partly an ancient memory of their association as mercenary support to and eventual colonisers of the Western Empire. Then again, thanks to Charlemagne’s defence of the Papacy, the Empire had always been seen as the Defender of the Church, itself the Heir of Rome. The Franks had fought for Christendom against the Musselman, too. And the Empire’s German kings were, for many centuries, first named King of the Romans before being anointed by the Popes as Emperor. But the lands and people under Saxon Henry’s sway had never been a part of the Roman Empire, and so this was something new.

This new incarnation of the Empire achieved stability in an historically unstable region because Conrad and Otto had sufficient power to assure a smooth succession from father to son. However, after the Emperor Henry II died childless in 1024, the princes of the Empire went back to the elective concept. The actual process of election seems to have been through a mix of debate by “tribal elders”, personal influence, bribery, and acclamation – Siegfried meets Tammany Hall. Each time, the same princely houses stood forward as

kingmakers; these houses would eventually gel into the College of Electors.

In order to truly be an Emperor, a man needed a source of strength beyond the often-unreliable provinces. This source varied over the centuries. Initially, the emperors used the resources of their own dynastic lands. A practice then arose of rotating the seat of power through various bishoprics (travelling courts being all the rage in a barter economy). A strong feudal element was introduced as some emperors managed to appoint their own choice of ducal henchmen. Finally, the slow agglomeration of Imperial Lands (*Reichsgut*) belonging directly to the emperors allowed them to achieve a greater prominence, becoming more than a “first among equals” – something they could not have done if the Empire had to be funded and administered solely through their personal princely holdings.

At the height of their power, the Emperors claimed jurisdiction over all of Italy and Burgundy (Lothar’s old kingdom) as well as Germany, and some emperors went so far as to depose Popes that disagreed with them. But the impetus toward tighter federal control and true unification was halted by the Investiture Controversy (1075-76), when the powerful Pope Gregory VII clashed with the equally powerful Emperor Henry IV, eventually forcing the latter to submit (doing a “walk of penance” barefoot through the snow uphill both ways, kissing the Pope’s ring to the strains of the theme from *The Godfather*, etc.). This affair, compounded by the nuisance of a counter-emperor who thought his time had come, not only humiliated Henry personally, it cracked the foundations of the Empire.

The ebb and flow between secular and spiritual authority was one of the two banes of the Empire. In the beginning, the Christian Church was an underground movement at war with the pagan Roman Empire. This led it to develop its own institutions of government. After some 300 years, the Emperor Constantine struck a deal with this powerful force, and it became a legitimate institution. Part of the deal was retention by the Church of a certain amount of secular authority, just as the Emperors retained a certain amount of spiritual authority. When the Western Empire collapsed, the Church remained: “the moral is to the physical as three to one”.

So during the Dark Ages, the Church had been the only body with a central administration; it also served as a bridge with the Classical past. Then new secular states began to arise, and the Church began to lose the immense authority it had held. Pope Gregory consciously chose to pursue secular authority over spiritual authority, and in doing so, clashed with the very power that was supposed to be acting as the Church’s defender. Italy was the battleground (sometimes in a literal sense) in these years, at the expense of the Empire north of the Alps. As the Church grew once again into a parallel government – a “state within a state” – it became capable of influencing imperial policy to its own *secular* ends, but lost its spiritual mandate.

Against this trend, Emperor Conrad III achieved a renaissance of sorts in the 12<sup>th</sup> Century – ironically at the time when the Empire first began to be called “Holy”. Conrad III was the first Hohenstaufen emperor. His more famous successor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1155-1190), also challenged the Popes by emphasising the Romanness of the Empire and trying to develop his own legal code based on a blend of Roman and Feudal Law (i.e. “we have a greater claim to being Roman than the Church that calls itself the Heir of Rome”).

A systemic problem with the Empire was that the role of the Pope in an Imperial election was never codified. Instead, the

situation varied with both the personality of the Emperor and the personality of the Pope. The feudal nature of the Empire also meant that quick decisions and a strong response to threats, both external and internal, was impossible. Legislative power was decentralised – and worse, based on local customs. In this environment, the Church, with a centuries-old legal code of its own, dominated the judiciary functions of government.

Barbarossa’s stance helped unify the Empire for a time – but it needed a man of his strength of will to keep it together. The last Hohenstaufen emperor, Frederick II, was such a man, but despite fending off two rivals for the title of King of the Germans (a precondition for being elected King of the Romans) and defying the Pope by claiming jurisdiction over both Rome and Jerusalem, whilst and at the same time under Papal Ban, it was he who set in motion the dissolution of the Empire, by granting extraordinary powers and privileges to the German dukes and bishops. Bishops, for example, were given the right to mint their own coins (!) and collect their own tariffs, not to mention the right to build fortifications (!!); dukes were for the first time titled as personal owners of their duchies rather than as enfeoffed Imperial vassals.

This was the second bane of the Empire. Unlike France, which had been under Roman administration for centuries before the collapse of the West, Germany retained its ancient attitudes of individualism. This led to a more federal structure, with an elective principle, no bad thing in itself, perhaps, but unworkable under the feudal system. A key element in the electoral process was the *Wahlkapitulationen*, or Election Capitulations; as a reward for electoral support, the Emperor would apportion lands and rights to his followers – a very old tradition in German society, but one that was not conducive to a strong central government. Frederick II was a keen exponent of a strong central government; the irony is that while achieving this goal in his personal domains – southern Italy – the effort distracted him from the rest of the Empire and forced him to grant even more concessions to the nobility in order to keep them happy.

Frederick II died in 1250 and an Interregnum ensued as multiple candidates vied for the throne. Finally, Rudolf I von Habsburg emerged victorious, but the succession was still shaky. The period from 1250 to 1438 is sometimes called the Age of the Princes, because it was they who ruled the emperors. At first the emperors were manipulated informally. It was not until the promulgation of the Golden Bull of 1356 that a College of Electors was established to formally manipulate them. The College had the responsibility of selecting the Emperor, whose office was now officially non-hereditary.

The College was a response to perceived changes in the Empire. As noted above, in earlier times the Emperor had relied on the Imperial Lands, including many imperial cities, as his source of power, but as these were pawned or traded off to buy influence and reward followers, the emperors no longer had enough of a base to support themselves. Instead, and especially with Rudolf I, a shift was made and rulers began (as they had in the beginning) using their dynastic lands to maintain their imperial ambitions. This had its advantages, as the *Reichsgut* were widely scattered while dynastic lands were usually compact areas. In 1312, Henry VII of Luxembourg was crowned Holy Roman Emperor – the first since Frederick II to be so titled. (The Habsburgs did not have an unbroken run!) After him, all emperors relied exclusively on their own lands to maintain their power. Ironically, this led to a further dilution of imperial authority, since it was in the Emperor’s own interest as

a landholder to strengthen the territories at the expense of the central administration!

The 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries saw a money economy supplanting the old barter system. Land acquired a monetary value, peasants were required to pay tribute (not exactly rent in the modern sense), and property rights became tremendously important. Those who owned land also acquired jurisdiction over it (in earlier times, the Emperor or the Church held the ultimate jurisdiction), though enforcement was still by custom rather than by fixed legislation. The more compact dynastic territories, such as Saxony and Bavaria, now began to develop some of the characteristics of modern states, especially where the lands were coterminous with ancient tribal boundaries; the Imperial Lands, by contrast, lagged behind in administrative development. Towns and cities also gained great importance, first commercially, and, in consequence, politically. A money economy also meant (in theory) improved administration of the farflung empire.

Until the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, the functioning of the Empire depended mainly on the personality of the Emperor. For example, certain emperors chose to focus on their own lands to the neglect of the Empire as a whole (e.g. Frederick II). This led to a weakening of the importance of the Empire's council of leading men, or *Hoftag*. Each prince, including the Emperor, had his own personal Court as well as the imperial *Hoftag*, which led to more conflict of interest. Worse, feuds between powerful nobles were common, at times creating a situation not far from civil war. The Church could have been a unifying force, but it too was beginning to fragment – this was the period of the Anti-Popes and the Hussite heresy. In the 1480's and 1490's the emperors Frederick III and his son Maximilian I were forced, as the price of ducal support in their wars against Hungary, to create, really for the first time, an Imperial Court or *Reichstag*.

The period after 1438 is sometimes called the Age of the Habsburgs, because, apart from Charles Albert in 1742, they had an unbroken succession, despite the elective nature of the imperial throne. It was also the period in which a drift away from Rome began. Earlier, efforts had been made by Church reformers to draw away from the Empire and either concentrate on spiritual matters or concentrate on the acquisition of enough secular power to make independence more likely. Now, the Empire made efforts to draw away from the Church, Frederick III was the last Emperor to be crowned at Rome; his great-grandson Charles V was the last to be crowned by a Pope.

The first *Reichstag* was convoked at Worms in 1495, and its first duty was Imperial Reform. From this beginning, the Imperial Circle Estates and Imperial Chamber Court were established. In 1512, the name "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" was used for the first time. While these reforms gave still more power to the nobles, they did institutionalize things, which was a benefit to the Empire as a whole.

Unfortunately, the Empire was soon dealt a crushing blow. In 1517, Martin Luther kicked off the Reformation. Throughout the Empire, the princes saw a chance to increase their jurisdictions by secularizing lucrative Church property lying within their spheres of influence. The immense power of the Habsburgs, with their acquisition of a Spanish overseas empire, and the fear they inspired, had much to do with this. The Empire was also fatally split on religious lines – with most of the North becoming Protestant and the South remaining Catholic (a split partly due to economic conditions, with the North being more closely tied by the Hanseatic League to the

Baltic world). The culmination of these troubles was the Thirty Years War, which caused even more disintegration, with France and Sweden carving out great chunks of imperial territory for themselves. With the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the secular princes of the Empire received almost complete autonomy, including the right to form alliances with other states.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the Empire was little more than a collection of independent territories under the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor. Before, religion and the feudal system had provided the missing links to hold the federation together. Now, overmighty princes were grasping for supreme political power. One indication of this trend was the way the electoral princes managed to acquire the title of "King". Rulers within the Empire were not permitted to become kings within the Empire because the Habsburgs claimed a monopoly on the privilege of granting patents of nobility within the Empire (one is tempted to ask, as some of the princes must have, "by what right?").

But with some fudging a prince could assume the kingship of another state outside the Empire: Britain's King George (of Brunswick-Lüneburg), Prussia's King Frederick (of Brandenburg), Poland's King August (of Saxony). The prime reason for doing this was, as one might expect, to increase a dynasty's power and prestige – but for the Habsburg Emperors there was always the hope that if permission were granted it would increase a dynast's loyalty. Bohemia was an unusual case. It was a kingdom, but king contributed a vote in the Diet.

George von Welf doubled the size of his army and yoked himself to a future world powerhouse when he became King of England. As King of England, he could do things that were not permitted to him as the Emperor's vassal prince. And the other kings were in the same boat. This led to some apparent anomalies, as when Frederick the Great went to war against Austria as the "defender of the Empire". Since he was the Elector of Brandenburg, one could claim he was a rebel prince (Maria Theresa's view), but as the King of Prussia, he had the right to make war on a rival royal house. It was hypocrisy, everyone knew it was hypocrisy, but still, there was something of a legality about it. Again, he invaded Silesia and then demanded its cession in exchange for his imperial vote; the same old game that the *kurfürsts* had been playing for centuries. Playing both sides of the issue, Frederick also tried to blackmail Maria Theresa into settling his claims on the duchies of Jülich and Berg, which he had some right to as the Elector of Brandenburg, but not as King of Prussia.

Although the Empire was moribund by 1648, it took an unconscionably long time a-dyin'. Complete dissolution of the Empire was not effected until 1806, when Francis II resigned as Holy Roman Emperor after Austria's defeat by Napoleon in 1805. Napoleon, with his own focus on things Classical, took the title of Emperor of the French as a direct challenge to the traditional emperor's mandate. In reply, Francis II declared himself Emperor of Austria (a title that remained until 1918).

The reason for the Empire's long collapse was cultural. It was, after all, a "thousand-year Reich". People's spiritual roots were sunk deep into Empire, Church, and Rome – worldviews that lie at the heart of Western Civilisation. And so Napoleon's erasure of the Empire by decree was a tremendous shock to everyone. Even though it had been dead for two hundred years, it remained a factor in people's minds. That, of course, was the whole point of the French Revolution: tear out all the old roots – feudalism, aristocracy, religion, custom – and let's have a

fresh start. Unfortunately, they forgot to eradicate human nature.

We say “how foolish” that the Germans took so long to unite into a single State – but that is precisely the point, few people thought in terms of nation states. Certainly the peasantry saw themselves first as Alsatians or Pommeranians, or Bretons or Flemings; the nobility, belonging to an international elite, were not motivated to separate themselves from their peers and unite with the “workers and peasants” of a particular region, except to act as the latter’s *patrones*. Only in places where geography combined with the extent of a ruler’s authority and that authority was progressively being centralised (partly because of that fact of geography) did a form of national identity begin to emerge. We speak of the Austrians, but we really mean the Habsburg family and their subjects, and calling oneself “British” was a conscious decision meant to foster a sense of unity in the Isles.

The Nation-State was a product of the Enlightenment (the War of the Austrian Succession serves in some measure to highlight the ongoing transition from dynastic to bureaucratic rule). The *Ancien Régime* is famously known as the time when monarchs ruled absolutely through the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, but this doctrine was already obsolete by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. King Frederick is representative of the newer model of governance, where the ruler, having arrived at his position by whatever means the times allow, governs the State under his authority by a rational code of behaviour – is, in fact, the physical embodiment of The Law. This raises the questions “whose law?” For at the same time, the older notion of a king ruling his own little corner, and acquiring greater power, security, and prestige by conquering other corners remained. Some tool was needed to unite such unrelated acquisitions.

With the spiritual power of the Church in apparent decline, the idea of a supreme State was an attempt by the self-proclaimed Rationalists of the day to produce a unifying concept in substitution for God. The death of the Holy Roman Empire exemplifies this trend. The notion of European Christian unity (never matching the reality) was replaced by the unities of a multitude of secular states. The solution certainly matches reality, and we are still living with it. But it is far from perfect, and the brutal wars of the Twentieth Century are perhaps the fullest expression of the cult of Statehood. They make perfect sense, indeed, are truly Rational – for all gods require sacrifices, even Lucifer.

### The Structure of the Empire

As noted above, the perennial struggle within the Empire lay in the dual attempts by the princes and the Church to take power away from the Emperor, and his own attempts to take it back. This struggle, and the need for compromise, led to a peculiar set of institutions.

The Empire, or *Reich*, consisted of the *Kaiser* and his Imperial Estates (*Reichsstände*). In order to become Emperor, one had to be crowned King of the Germans first (*Deutscher König*), and then King of the Romans. Note that the Emperor was called *Kaiser* (Caesar), not *König* (King): in the later Roman Empire the Emperor’s chosen replacement was frequently given the title Caesar before moving on to hold the Imperium.

In the latter days of the Empire, the title of King of the Romans was dropped. At all times, however, the process was, as has been mentioned before, elective. In the early days the leaders of the five most powerful tribes – Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thüringians, and Saxons – had the job of choosing an acceptable king. Later, the task fell to the greatest magnates,

lay and ecclesiastical, later still, to the Electing Dukes (*Kürfürsten* – note the difference between calling the owner of a ducal territory a *Prinz* or a *Kürfürst*; the former has no electoral vote, though he would have a lesser vote in the Diet). The Golden Bull of 1356 established the Electoral College. Initially, there were seven Electors, but the number varied (creating a new elector or removing an old one served the usual gerrymandering purposes).

Until 1508, becoming Emperor also entailed a visit to Rome, where the Pope would do the anointing bit. Since Rome was often a long way from the King’s personal estates, and since he might be engaged in a wearisome struggle with one of his vassals, or a rival, or the Magyars, or be an excommunicate, it might take several years before the King actually received the “globe and laurel”. Not an effective means of consolidating one’s grip.

After one became Emperor, one’s power was not absolute by any stretch of the imagination. Even if the Emperor did not have to deal with too many disgruntled nobles and recalcitrant burghers, the multifarious town charters, ducal rights, and so forth, placed heavy restrictions on his authority. And, of course, he was always having to surrender bits of his authority to pay for a quiet life.

A territory was defined as *Reichsstand*, or an Imperial Estate, if it had no authority above it except the Emperor. Such territories included those ruled by princes or dukes – even kings in some cases – as well as ecclesiastical territories governed by a bishop or prince-bishop (archbishop) such as Osnabrück or Mainz. Lastly, there were the Imperial Cities, of which there were quite a number. Although small in territory, such entities often had an economic value far in excess of all but the largest duchies.

The *Reichstag* was divided into three: the Council of Electors, the Council of Princes (with Secular and Ecclesiastical Benches), and the Council of Imperial Cities. The more powerful members had their own votes, while the weaker were grouped into secondary colleges (the lesser abbacies, for example were grouped into the colleges of Swabia and the Rhine). There were also two Courts: the *Reichshofrat* (Aulic Council) at the Emperor’s Court (normally Vienna in later times) – not to be confused with the Emperor’s own *personal* *Reichshofrat*, also located at the Emperor’s Court – and the *Reichskammergericht* (Imperial Chamber Court) at Worms. In the late 15<sup>th</sup> Century the *Reichstag* took on a legislative role, but its meetings were like the parliaments of the day – infrequent and *ad hoc*. Only after 1663 did it become a permanent assembly; after that date it sat at Regensburg. Strangely, the election and coronation of an Emperor took place at yet another site: Frankfurt am Main.

The nine Electors of the Empire at the time of the War of the Austrian Succession were as follows:

- ❑ The King of Bohemia (as “the King of Germany’s Cupbearer”) Francis Stephen, Duke of Tuscany and husband of Maria-Theresa of the House of Habsburg. During the war, the title of King of Bohemia went for a short while to Charles Albert of Bavaria, by right of conquest.
- ❑ The Count Palatine and Duke of Saxony (as “Archmarshal of the Empire”), August III, King of Poland.
- ❑ The Margrave of Brandenburg (as “Archchamberlain of the Empire”), Frederick II, King of Prussia.

- ❑ The Count Palatine of the Rhine (as “Archsteward of the Empire”). The Counts Palatine of the Rhine lost their office in the Thirty Years War because they supported the Protestant side, but it was restored as a new office in 1648. They were Wittelsbachs, closely related to Charles Albert of Bavaria.
- ❑ The Duke of Bavaria, Charles Albert VI (as “Archsteward of the Empire”). Bavaria was banned for supporting the French in the War of the Spanish Succession but later had its privilege restored. However, the Count Palatine of the Rhine continued to hold the title of Archsteward, leading to incessant arguments that last until the Counts of the Rhine-Palatinate became Dukes of Bavaria in 1777.
- ❑ The Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, or *Hanover*, (as “Archtreasurer of the Empire”), George Augustus II, King of Great Britain and Ireland. He took the title of Archtreasurer from Bavaria in 1708 when the latter was banned.
- ❑ The Archbishop of Mainz (as “Archchancellor for Germany”). Allied to the Wittelsbachs.
- ❑ The Archbishop of Trier (as “Archchancellor for Gaul”). Allied to the Wittelsbachs.
- ❑ The Archbishop of Cologne (as “Archchancellor for Italy”). Allied to the Wittelsbachs.

### The Military Organisation of the Empire

The Empire had its own military force, independent of the forces of its member states. This was the *Reichsarmee*, comprised of contingents from all the territories within the Empire’s bounds. A contingent could be as small as the single horseman provided by the County of Hohenstein, or a brigade or more provided by the larger states such as Saxony and Bavaria. Each member contributed taxes as well – in the case of the smaller principalities, their military contribution was often entirely commuted to a tax payment.

In order to make the best use of the available manpower, the imperial territories were grouped into Circles (*Kreissen*). These Circles had an administrative function, but for military purposes the host of small, impossibly variegated contingents that each provided were reorganised into a few *Kreis* Regiments. At the height of the Empire’s power, there were ten Circles, roughly corresponding to the old tribal divisions of Germany (and ironically with the modern provincial boundaries as well). Internal political composition changed over the years, due to the continual redistribution of lands among the nobility:

- 1) The Austrian Circle
- 2) The Burgundian Circle
- 3) The Electoral Rhine (*Kurpfalz*) Circle
- 4) The Franconian Circle
- 5) The Bavarian Circle
- 6) The Swabian Circle
- 7) The Upper Rhine (*Öberpfalz*) Circle
- 8) The Lower Rhine Circle
- 9) The Westphalian Circle
- 10) The Lower Saxon Circle

As an example, at one point the Austrian Circle included Austria proper (i.e. excluding the other Habsburg lands), the Teutonic Order, the Bishops of Trient and Brixen, and the Prince of Dietchstein. This Circle was completely dominated by the Austrian administration of the Habsburg dynasty; several Circles were similarly dominated by one state (e.g. Bavaria), but others were not. The Swabian Circle included

about 86 small states, most of which *independently* owed allegiance to the House of Habsburg. The Burgundian Circle, in contrast, was dominated by France and in fact was partially absorbed by the latter.

The strength of the *Reichsarmee* varied with the requirements of the day, but the standard “OoB”, called the *Simplum*, was set at 28,000 foot and 12,000 horse; each Circle was to provide some artillery, while all would make contributions to a siege and a bridging train. In wartime, this basic levy could be increased as high as the *Triplum* – three times the base requirements – for a total of over 120,000 men. Of course, this figure was never attained. Beyond the usual difficulties of raising an army and getting it to the battle on time, the Emperor, Circles, and the Estates were all in conflict. No one wanted to contribute a “fair share”. Especially, the ratio of three foot to one horseman was tinkered with, since cavalry were so expensive to maintain. The normal *Matrikel*, or share, was considered to be the Ideal (*Idealfuß*), while the Matrikel that could actually be attained was called the Usual (*Usualfuß*). And since the Usualfuß was deemed the “maximum attainable in practice”, it tended to supplant the original Idealfuß, with a resulting new “Usualfuß” that was something less again.

The more powerful states also had separate household establishments (*Haustruppen*) that were naturally in competition with the *Kreis* regiments for manpower and resources, not to mention their prince’s time. Quite often, regiments were on the books of both Circle and House establishments, and then it would depend on the prince’s current allegiance as to whether the *Kreis* regiments took the field at all.

For example, the Saxon component of Army of the King of Poland (i.e. the Saxon Elector) was roughly 30,000 men, of which about 20,000 were an expeditionary corps and 10,000 were garrison troops. None of these forces were assigned to the *Reichsarmee*; Electoral Saxony’s contribution to the latter was assessed (in the year 1697) at 65 horse and 302 foot, plus 309 florins in taxes. At most this could be tripled to 1101 men. There were other “Saxonies” in the Saxon Circles – Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Coburg, *ad nauseum* – but these had their own mix of *haustruppen* and *kreis* forces, independent of the mighty Elector.

Having a large army meant you were a major player and should be taken seriously – it also made you broke in a hurry. Therefore, the regiments of many states were under contract to fight for other states, such as the Maritime Powers, or France, or Prussia – even Austria, despite the fact that the Habsburg Emperor was supposed to be able to call on them anyway. Regiments were even sold between states, or pledged against loans (the mentality being that they were as much an enterprise as a cotton factory or shipping concern). If a prince had just put his last *haustruppen* under contract to his neighbour so that he could repay a loan incurred while speculating on some Fever Islands colony, he would hardly be willing to further denude his country and lower his prestige by sending the last of his forces off to fight the Turk just so some Habsburg could annex yet another sliver of Bosnian riverbank.

As an example of the odd relationships found within the Imperial military establishment, consider the Teutonic Knights. This relic of the Middle Ages provided a regiment for the Austrian Circle, raised from their Swabian properties. This regiment just happened to be the famous *Hoch und Deutschmeister, IR#4* in the *Austrian Army*’s order of battle. Well, so long as the Emperor was a Habsburg, what difference did it really make? But what if the Emperor was someone to

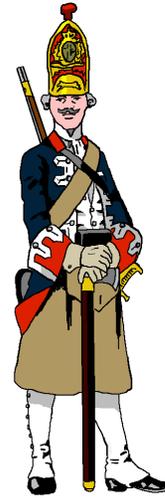
whom the Knights owed no personal allegiance? Who would they fight for? And as a matter of fact, there is no record of *K. und K. IR#4* ever taking the field with Charles Albert's Bavarians – they fought as an integral part of the Austrian Army.

Strictly speaking, unlike the earlier War of the Spanish Succession, and the later Seven Years War, there was no formal *Reichsarmee* in the War of the Austrian Succession (though the current Emperor could use the title for his own army for propaganda purposes). This was mainly due to the fact that allegiances were split along the same lines as the electoral vote. The Habsburgs managed to retain the loyalty of the regiments that had been assigned to the Austrian Army, and some contingents served their traditional employers as mercenaries – France for the Rhineland troops, and the Maritime Powers for the Westphalians and Lower Saxons. The Wittelsbach princes had Bavaria and the Pfalz territories sown up, including the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier; Prussia had the allegiance of Anhalt and the Thuringians. In addition, many of the smaller states simply chose to remain neutral.

The Hessian experience is a good example. Their allegiance was split, with Hesse-Cassel cheerfully serving the British throughout the war, and Hesse-Darmstadt deciding not to fight against Charles Albert, and then not only contributing forces to his cause in 1744, but sending a contingent to Prussia as well. Württemberg also sent soldiers to Prussia, both as individuals, and as contingents – and this was a risky thing for them to do, since they were situated deep within Habsburg-aligned territory. But, they needed the money.

Because the *Reichsarmee* was never successfully called up, it is difficult to assess what strength it might have added to the combatants. However, there is good documentation for both the Seven Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, and there is a fair amount of continuity in regimental lineage. The following is a rough estimate of the forces available but not participating in the war, including *Kreissen*, *Haustruppen*, and the “landsturm” or local levies that were sometimes raised in an emergency. Note that there are probably many gaps in the list.

Württemberg	1 cuirassier regiment, 1 dragoon regiment, 5 battalions of foot, 1 of militia
Salzburg	1 battalion of foot
Cologne, Mainz, & Trier	1 battalion of guards
Franconia	1 dragoon regiment, 3 battalions of foot
	1 cuirassier regiment, 1 dragoon regiment
	6 battalions of foot, 4 of militia, 1 battalion of grenadiers
Würzburg (Franconia)	1 garde du corps, 1 battalion of guards
	1 dragoon regiment, 3 battalions of foot
Brandenburg- Ansbach (Franconia)	2 battalions of foot, 1 of militia
Upper Saxony	7 battalions of foot (most to Dutch service)
Lower Saxony	3 battalions of foot
Brunswick- Wolfenbüttel (Lower Saxony)	1 garde du corps, 1 battalion of guards
	10 battalions of foot, 1 of grenadiers



# ORDERS OF BATTLE

## Battle of Mollwitz

10<sup>th</sup> April 1741

### Prussian Army

#### Command Staff

CO: King Frederick II of Prussia  
Feldmarschal von Schwerin  
General of Cavalry von Schulenburg

#### Right Wing Cavalry (Schulenburg)

Dragoner Regiment Schulenburg  
Gendarmes Kurassier Regiment  
Leib-Karabinier Regiment

#### Foot (von Schwerin)

##### Grenadiers

Grenadier Battalion Winterfeldt (5<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Bolstern (3<sup>rd</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Kleist (1<sup>st</sup>/25<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (13<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (12<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (20<sup>th</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (8<sup>th</sup>/36<sup>th</sup> rgts)

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

1<sup>st</sup> Liebgarde Musketeer Regiment  
Musketeer Regiment Kleist (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Markgraf Karl (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Kalckstein (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Truchess (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Prinz Leopold (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Alt-Schwerin (2bns)

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Musketeer Regiment Anhalt Dessau (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Prinz Moritz (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Glasnapp (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Grævenitz (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Selchow (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Braunschweig-Bevern (2bns)  
Musketeer Regiment Sydow (2bns)

### Left Wing Cavalry (Posadowsky)

Dragoner Regiment Posadowsky  
Dragoner Regiment Bayreuth  
Kurassier Regiment Prinz Friedrich  
Huzaren Regiment Zieten

*Artillery = 50 guns*

*41 bns (16,800 men), 30 squadrons (4,000 men), 500 hussars.  
Losses 4,850.*

### Austrian Army

CO: Feldmarschal von Neipperg

#### Right Wing Cavalry (Berlichingen)

Dragoner Regiment Batthyany  
Dragoner Regiment Leichtenstein  
Dragoner Regiment Courda  
Dragoner Regiment Württemberg  
Kurassier Regiment Hohenzollern-Hechingen

#### Foot (von Neipperg)

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Karl von Lothringen  
Fuß Regiment Baden-Baden  
Fuß Regiment Kollowrat  
Fuß Regiment Waldeck  
Fuß Regiment Botta d'Adrono  
Fuß Regiment Herzog von Lothringen  
2 battalions of Croatians

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment J. Harrach  
Fuß Regiment Grünne  
Fuß Regiment Thungen  
Fuß Regiment H. Daun

#### Left Wing Cavalry (Römer)

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

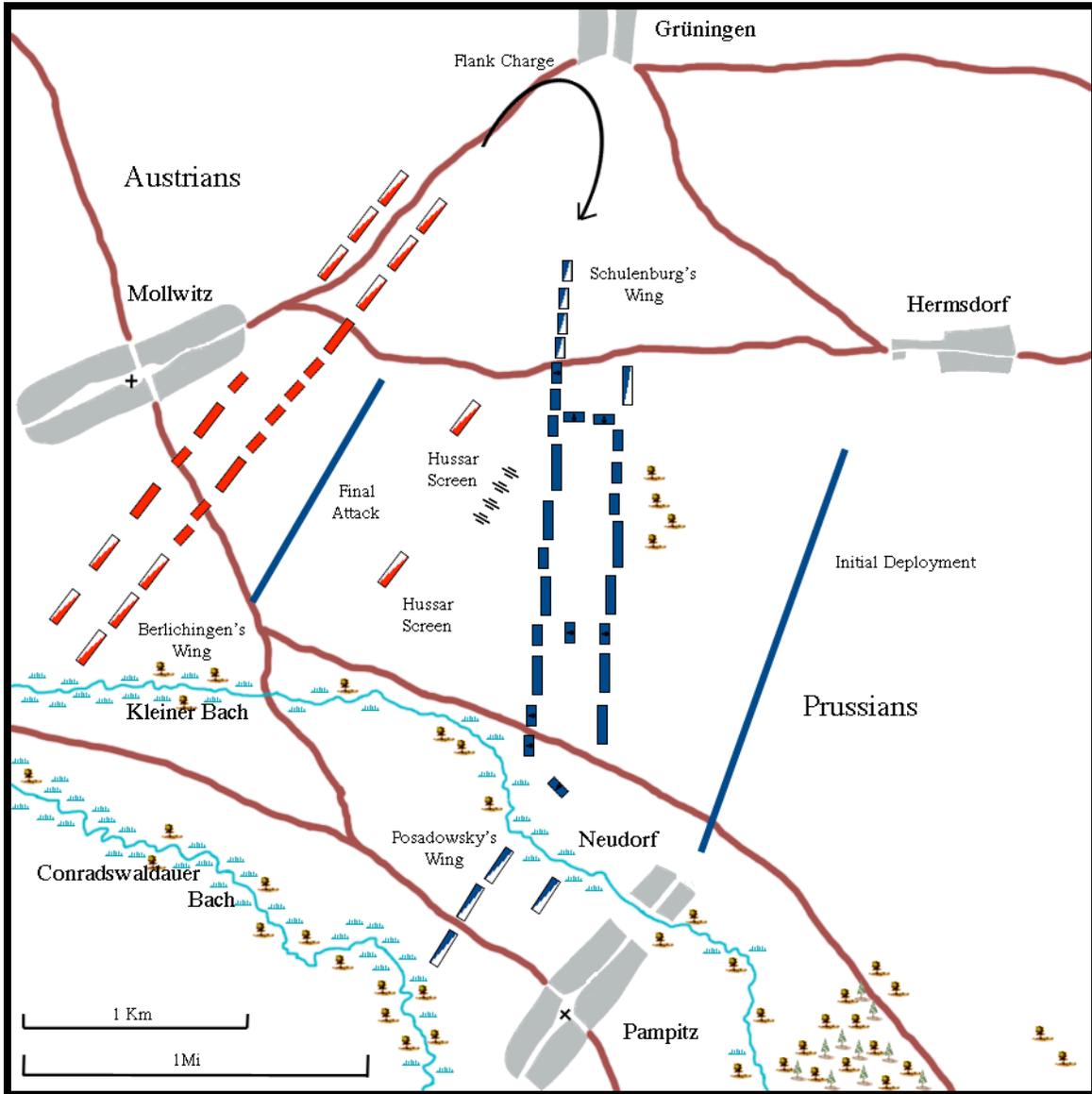
Kurassier Regiment Hohenembs  
Kurassier Regiment Seherr  
Dragoner Regiment Althann

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Kurassier Regiment Birkenfeld  
Kurassier Regiment Lanthieri  
Dragoner Regiment Römer

*Artillery = 10 guns*

*16 bns (10,000 men), 11 cavalry regiments (8,000 men), 2  
hussar regiments (1,000+).  
Losses 4,551.*



**The Battle of Mollwitz.** The Prussians approached from the bottom right corner of the map, formed into line where shown (in two ranks, within grenadiers covering the gaps), and advanced from there. The Austrian Right then exploited the gap between Schulenburg's wing and the village of Grünigen, halting the advance. But, with the driving off of the Austrian horse, the Prussian infantry resumed the advance and routed the Austrians in front of Mollwitz village.

## Battle of Chotusitz 17<sup>th</sup> May 1742

### Prussian Army

#### Command Staff

CO: King Frederick II of Prussia  
Chief of Staff: Generalmajor von Schmettau  
General of Cavalry Erbprinz von Anhalt-Dessau

#### Right Wing Cavalry (G-L von Buddenbrock)

Kurassier Regiment Buddenbrock  
Kurassier Regiment Gessler  
Kurassier Regiment Rochow  
Kurassier Regiment Mollendorf  
Dragoner Regiment Rothenburg  
Dragoner Regiment Bayreuth

#### Grenadiers

Grenadier Battalion (11<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (12<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (5<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (7<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion (8<sup>th</sup>/24<sup>th</sup> rgts)

#### Right Wing Foot

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Musketeer Regiment Roeder  
Musketeer Regiment Anhalt-Dessau  
Musketeer Regiment Jeetze  
Musketeer Regiment Braunschweig-Bevern

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Leibgarde Musketeer Regiment  
Musketeer Regiment von Lewaldt  
Musketeer Regiment Flanss  
Musketeer Regiment Groeben  
Musketeer Regiment Prinz Ferdinand

#### Left Wing Foot (General Lieutenant von Jeetze)

1<sup>st</sup> Bn Musketeer Regiment La Motte Fouque  
Musketeer Regiment Jung-Borcke  
Musketeer Regiment Holstein-Beck  
Musketeer Regiment Alt-Schwerin  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bn Musketeer Regiment No. 17  
Musketeer Regiment Prinz Leopold

#### Left Wing Cavalry (General Lieutenant Waldow)

Kurassier Regiment Bredow  
Kurassier Regiment Alt-Waldow  
Kurassier Regiment Prinz von Preußen  
Dragoner Regiment Bayreuth  
Dragoner Regiment Roehl  
Huzaren Regiment Zieten

*Artillery = 82 guns*

*33 bns (17,000 men), 70 squadrons (7,000 men).  
Losses 4,819 (2,566 cavalry).*

#### Austrian Army

CO: Prinz Karl

#### Right Wing Cavalry

Dragoner Regiment Althann  
Dragoner Regiment d'Ollone  
Kurassier Regiment Lubomirski  
Kurassier Regiment Hohenembs

#### Foot (Prinz Karl)

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Herzog von Lothringen  
Fuß Regiment Waldeck  
Fuß Regiment L. Daun  
Fuß Regiment E. Starhemberg  
Fuß Regiment Grünne  
Fuß Regiment Möltke  
Fuß Regiment Karl von Lothringen

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment J. Harrach  
Fuß Regiment Livingstein  
Fuß Regiment Marschal von Biberstein  
Fuß Regiment Palffy  
Fuß Regiment Kokemsky de Vettes  
Fuß Regiment

#### Left Wing Cavalry

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

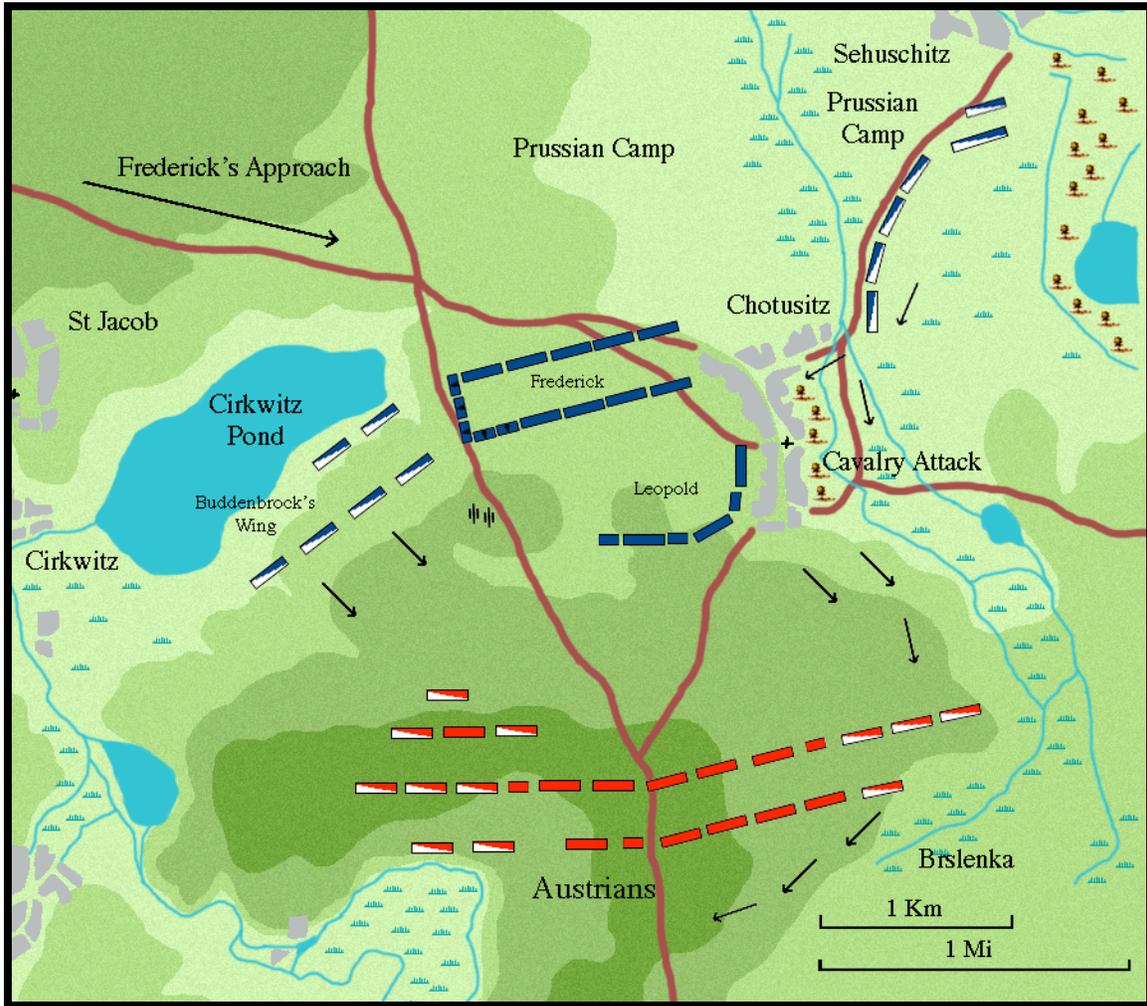
Hussar Regiment  
Kurassier Regiment Birkenfeld  
Regiment of Croatian Hussars  
Kurassier Regiment Palffy

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Kurassier Regiment Podstatzky  
Dragoner Regiment Württemberg  
Dragoner Regiment Liechtenstein  
Kurassier Regiment Diemar  
Dragoner Regiment Philipert

*Artillery = c.40 guns*

*13 foot regiments (16,000 men), 12 cavalry regiments (7,000 men), 3,000 hussars, 2,500 Croats.  
Losses 6,332 (1,200 POWs).*



**The Battle of Chotusitz.** Buddenbrock charged first, once Frederick had arrived on the battlefield, after 7am. The second line of Austrian cavalry dealt with them successfully, aided by reinforcements from the right. On the other flank, Leopold had failed to arrange the left adequately and the Austrian left broke into a virtually empty Chotusitz – but were eventually repulsed by Frederick’s forces. This was the decisive point of the battle. The Austrian horse decided not to engage the lethal Prussian infantry and instead wasted its time in the Prussian Camp. The Prussian cavalry on the left took a long time to get out of the quagmire of ponds and rivulets; when it did charge, it ran the Austrian horse off and did not bother to return.

## Battle of Dettingen 27<sup>th</sup> June 1743

### French Army

#### Advanced Guard

##### Brigade

Régiment Dauphin (2 bns)  
Régiment Bearn (2 bns)  
Régiment Bassigny (1 bn)  
Régiment Beaujolais (1 bn)

##### Brigade d'Irlandais

Régiment Berwick (1 bn)  
Régiment Rooth (1 bn)  
Régiment Dillon (1 bn)  
Régiment Clare (1 bn)  
Régiment Bulkeley (1 bn)

##### Brigade

Régiment de la Marine (4 bns)  
Régiment Nivernais (1 bn)

##### Brigade des Gardes

Gardes Françaises (6 bns)

##### Brigade

Régiment Hainault (1 bn)  
Régiment de la Marche (1 bn)  
Régiment Noailles (3 bns)

##### Brigade

Régiment des Hussars Bercheny  
Régiment des Hussars Esterhazy

#### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

##### Brigade

Grenadiers à Cheval (1 sqn)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Noailles (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Charost (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Villeroi (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Harcourt (2 sqns) ?drgns?

##### Brigade

Les Mousquetaires de la Garde (2 sqns)  
Les Chevaux-légers de la Garde (1 sqn)  
Les Gendarmes de la Garde (1 sqn)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Brancas (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Cuirassiers du Roi (2 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment Piedmont (4 bns)  
Régiment Nice (1 bn)

##### Brigade

Régiment Rohan (3 bns)  
Régiment Dauphiné (1 bn)  
Régiment d'Aubeterre (1 bn)

##### Brigade

Régiment du Roi (4 bns)  
Régiment Biron (1 bn)

##### Brigade

Régiment Bigorre (1 bn)  
Régiment Navarre (4 bns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Royal (3 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Andlau (1 sqn)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Grammont (2 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Royal Pologne (3 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Vogue (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Talleyrand (2 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers de la Reine (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Clermont-Tonnerre (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Colonel *Général* (2 sqns)

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Mestre de Camp (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Chabillant (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Prince Clermont (3 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Egmont (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Vintimille (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Royal Cravattes (3 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment d'Orléans (2 bns)  
Régiment Royal la Marine (1 bn)  
Régiment Vexin (1 bn)

##### Brigade

Régiment Brancas (2 bns)  
Gardes Lorraines (1 bn)  
Régiment Forez (1 bn)

##### Brigade

Régiment Touraine (3 bns)  
Régiment Chartres (2 bns)

##### Brigade

Régiment Condé (2 bns)  
Régiment d'Artois (1 bn)  
Régiment d'Auvergne (2 bns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Carabiniers (5 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Penthievre (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Chabo (2 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Chevaux-légers Royal (2 sqns)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Fleury (1 sqn)  
Régiment de Chevaux-légers Noailles (2 sqns)

##### Brigade

Régiment de Dragons Beaufrémont (4 sqns)  
Régiment de Dragons Mailly (4 sqns)  
Régiment de Dragons Mestre de Camp (5 sqns)

*Artillery = 56 guns (16 in blocking position, 40 across river)*

c.60,000 men, but only 26,000 in action

Losses: 6,000. No artillery pieces lost.

## Allied Army

### Command Staff

CO: King George II  
Duke of Arenberg (field commander)  
Lord Stair (British contingent)  
Feldmarschal von Neipperg (Austrian contingent)  
Feldmarschal Prinz von Hessen  
Feldmarschal Chancelos

### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

#### Right Wing

General der Kavallerie von Wendt

#### Hanoverian Kavallerie Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Wendt  
Dragoner Regiment Adeleben  
Dragoner Regiment Bussche  
Dragoner Regiment Pontpietin

#### British Foot Brigade

Campbell's Regiment of Foot  
Huske's Regiment of Foot  
G. M. Howard's Regiment of Foot  
Handyside's Regiment of Foot

#### Hanoverian Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Schulenburg  
Fuß Regiment Borcke  
Fuß Regiment Soubiron  
Fuß Regiment Wrangel

#### Generalmajor Prinz Ludwig von Braunschweig's Brigade

Campbell's Regiment of Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys)  
British Foot Guards (3 bns)  
Hanoverian Garde Regiment (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Jung-Sporcken  
Fuß Regiment Campe

### Center

FML Wolfenbüttel

#### Austrian Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Wolfenbüttel (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Prie (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Los Rios (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment de Ligne (1 bn)

#### Austrian Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Wolfenbüttel (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Gaisruck (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Arenberg (2 bns)

#### British Foot Brigade

Pulteney's Regiment of Foot  
Onslow's Regiment of Foot  
Duroure's Regiment of Foot  
Rothes' Regiment of Foot  
Thompson's Regiment of Foot  
G. L. Howard's Regiment of Foot

#### FML Graf Salm's Brigade

Ponsonby's Regiment of Foot  
Peer's Regiment of Foot  
Fuß Regiment Heister (Austrian – 1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Arenberg (Austrian – 2 bns)

### Left Wing

General der Kavallerie the Duke of Cumberland  
General of Cavalry Honeywood  
Lieutenant General Campbell

#### British Cavalry Brigade

Royal Dragoons  
Stair's Regiment of Dragoons  
The Blues  
Bland's Regiment of Dragoons

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

#### Right Wing

Lieutenant General Hawley

#### British Cavalry Brigade

Cope's Regiment of Dragoons  
Rich's Regiment of Dragoons  
Honeywood's Regiment of Horse  
Ligonier's Regiment of Horse

### Center

Lieutenant General Ligonier

#### Fuß Brigade von Generalmajor Monroy (Hanoverian)

Fuß Regiment Sommerfeld  
Fuß Regiment Middachten  
Fuß Regiment Böselager  
Fuß Regiment Zastrow  
Fuß Regiment Monroy

### Left Wing

General der Kavallerie von Pontpietin

#### Kavallerie Brigade von Generalmajor Montigny (Hanoverian)

Kuirassier Regiment Schultzen  
Kuirassier Regiment Bremer

#### Kavallerie Brigade von FML Courrieres (Austrian)

Dragoner Regiment de Ligne  
Dragoner Regiment Styrum

#### Kavallerie Brigade von Generalmajor Hammerstein (Hanoverian)

Kuirassier Regiment Hammerstein  
Kuirassier Regiment Wrede  
Leib Kuirassier Regiment

#### Kavallerie Brigade von Generalmajor Launoy (Hanoverian)

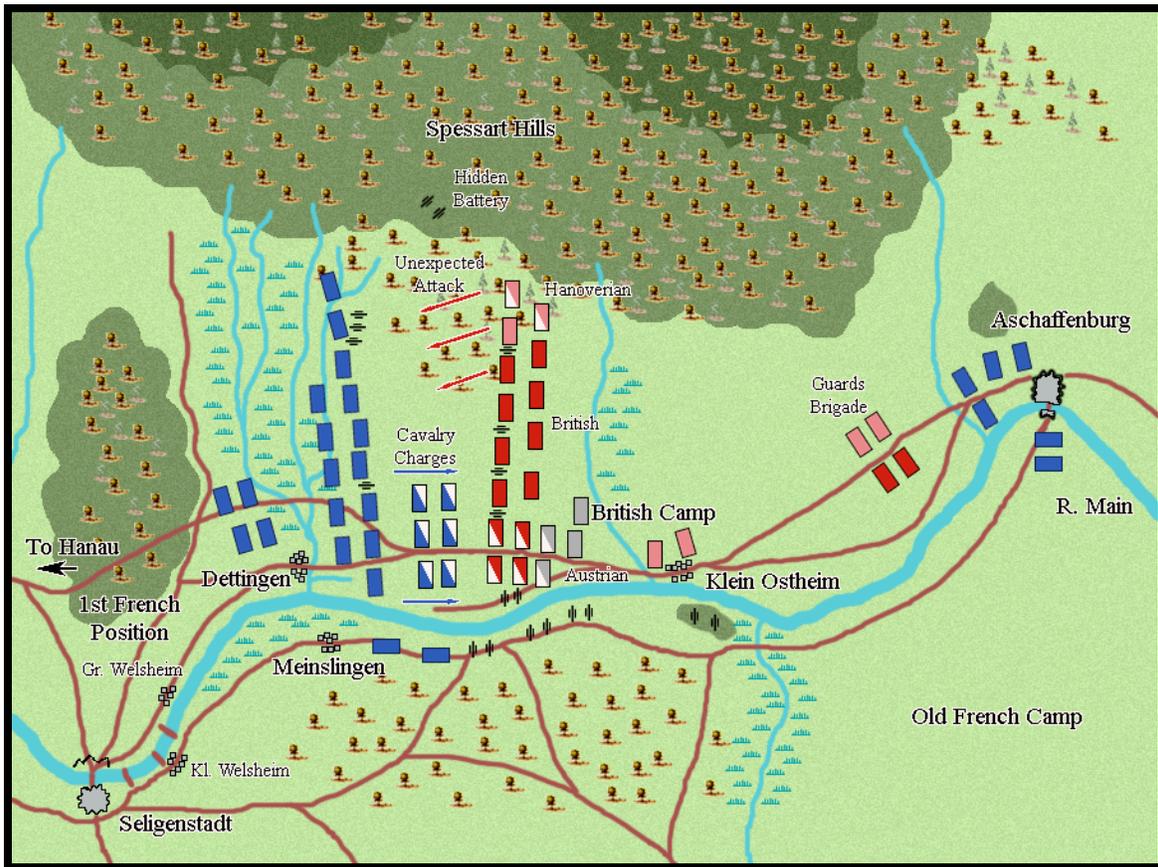
Kuirassier Regiment Bülow  
Kuirassier Regiment Montigny  
Garde du Corps  
Garde Gendarmerie

*Artillery = ? (Royal Artillery, plus Hanoverian train, plus some Austrian pieces, probably all lights)*

c.40,000 men

Losses: 2,400.

*[The British and Hanoverian Guards were sent to Aschaffenburg by the Hanoverian General Ilton and missed the battle. Ilton claimed he had "preserved" them. Annoyed, the men nicknamed him "the Confectioner"].*



**The Battle of Dettingen.** The French had bottled the Allies up between Seligenstadt and Aschaffenburg. Batteries were emplaced across from their camp and had begun firing. But the original French blocking position on the road to Hanau was too far back in the opinion of the French commander, *Maréchal* de Noailles. He ordered it forward to the vicinity of Dettingen, but at a point still behind the protection of the boggy network of streams and ravines. The Allies, detaching the British and Hanoverian Guards to try and clear Aschaffenburg, formed up and prepared for a frontal assault on the French at Dettingen. At this point, the the *Duc* de Grammont, commanding at Dettigen, chose to interpret his orders as a request for an attack, and lauched his entire cavalry reserve at the enemy, meanwhile advancing his supports across the defensive terrain and into the open. After blasting the *Maison du Roi*, which recoiled on its own infantry, the Allies completed the rout by attacking unexpectedly from a finger of woods on the French left.

# Battle of Hohenfriedburg

## 4<sup>th</sup> June 1745

### Prussian Army

#### Command Staff

CO: King Frederick II of Prussia  
General of Infantry: Erbprinz von Anhalt-Dessau  
General of Cavalry: G-L Graf von Rothenburg

#### Advanced Guard (General Lieutenant Graf von Moulin)

##### Grenadier Brigade

Grenadier Bn Kleist von Württemberg (2<sup>nd</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Jeetze (5<sup>th</sup>/36<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Hagen (13<sup>th</sup>/31<sup>st</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Luck (12<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Lepel (20<sup>th</sup>/26<sup>th</sup> rgts)

##### Musketeer Brigade

Musketeer Regiment La Motte  
Musketeer Regiment Holstein-Beck  
Hussar Brigade  
Huzaren Regiment Natzmer  
Huzaren Regiment Reusch (Totenkopf)  
Huzaren Regiment Soldan (Braun)

*Artillery = 24-lbers x6*

#### Right Wing Cavalry (G-L Graf von Rothenburg)

Kurassier Regiment Buddenbrock  
Kurassier Regiment Prinz von Preußen  
Gendarmes Regiment  
Leib-Karabiner Regiment  
Kyau Regiment

*Artillery = 2 horse batteries*

Garde du Corps

#### Support Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Posadowsky  
Dragoner Regiment Württemberg  
Dragoner Regiment Alt-Mollendorf

#### Right Wing Infantry

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line (Erbprinz von Anhalt-Dessau)

###### Brigade

Musketeer Regiment Prinz Moritz  
Musketeer Regiment Alt-Anhalt

##### Grenadier Brigade

Grenadier Battalion Sydow (4<sup>th</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Buddenbrock (3<sup>rd</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Wedell (15<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Kleist (16<sup>th</sup> & Garrison #1 rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Lindstedt (31<sup>st</sup>/40<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Langenau (Garrison #1 & #16 rgts)

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line Infantry

Musketeer Regiment von Kalnein  
Musketeer Regiment Heraldt de Hauchmon  
Musketeer Regiment Prinz Ludwig von Hessen-Darmstadt

##### 3<sup>rd</sup> Line Infantry

Musketeer Regiment von Lewaldt  
Musketeer Regiment von Kalckstein

*Artillery = 24-lbers x6*

#### Center Infantry

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line (King Frederick)

Musketeer Regiment Alt-Schwerin

Musketeer Regiment Schlichting  
Musketeer Regiment Bevern  
Musketeer Regiment Winterfeldt  
Grenadier Garde Battalion von Retzow  
I/Liebgarde Regiment  
Musketeer Regiment Markgraf Karl  
Musketeer Regiment Polentz

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Musketeer Regiment Anhalt-Zerbst  
Musketeer Regiment Bonin  
Musketeer Regiment Hertzberg  
Musketeer Regiment C. Dohna  
Musketeer Regiment Bredow  
Musketeer Regiment Jeetze  
Musketeer Regiment Jung-Borcke  
Musketeer Regiment Dohna  
Musketeer Regiment Moulin  
Dragoner Regiment Bayreuth

#### Left Wing

##### Grenadier Brigade Polentz

Grenadier Battalion Hertzberg (32<sup>nd</sup>/33<sup>rd</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Trenck (11<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Kahlbutz (2<sup>nd</sup>/24<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Schoning (8<sup>th</sup>/30<sup>th</sup> rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Grumbkow (7<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> rgts)

#### Left Wing Cavalry (General Lieutenant Nassau)

##### Generalmajor Kyau's Kavallerie Brigade

Kurassier Regiment Rochow  
Kurassier Regiment Bornstedt  
Generalmajor Zeiten's Kavallerie Brigade  
Dragoner Regiment Alt-Württemberg  
Huzaren Regiment Zeiten

##### General Lieutenant Nassau's Kavallerie Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Rothenberg  
Dragoner Regiment Bonin  
Kurassier Regiment Gessler  
Kurassier Regiment Prinz Friedrich  
Kurassier Regiment Bredow

*Artillery (total) = 102 pieces, including 54 heavy guns*

*64 bns (38,600 men), 111 squadrons (19,000 men).  
Losses 4,737.*

#### Austro-Saxon Army

#### Saxon Corps (Left Flank)

##### Command Staff

CO: General Feldmarschal Herzog zu Weißenfels  
General Lieutenant von Polentz

##### Generalwachtmeister von Schlichting's Kavallerie Bde

Chevauleger Regiment Rutowsky (4 sqns)  
Karabinier Regiment (4 sqns)

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line (General Lieutenant von Renard)

##### Generalwachtmeister von Harthausen's Fuß Bde (2 bns)

1<sup>st</sup> Garde Fuß Regiment (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Xavier (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Brühl (2 bns)

##### Generalwachtmeister von Frankenberg's Fuß Bde

Fuß Regiment Niesemeuschel (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Allnpeck (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Cosel (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Weißenfels (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Königin (1 bn)  
2<sup>nd</sup> Garde Fuß Regiment (1 bn)

### 1<sup>st</sup> Line Cavalry (General Lieutenant von Birkholst)

#### Generalwachmeister von Sonderhausen's Kavallerie Bde

Kurassier Regiment Bestenbosel (2 sqns)  
Kurassier Regiment Königlicher Prinz (2 sqns)  
Dragoner Regiment Sonderhausen (2 sqns)  
Dragoner Regiment Schlichtenhausen (2 sqns)

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line (General Lieutenant von Jasmund)

#### Generalwachmeister von Dürrfeld's Kavallerie Bde

Kurassier Regiment Massey (2 sqns)  
Kurassier Regiment O'Byrn (2 sqns)

#### Generalwachmeister von Franckenberg's Fuß Bde

Fuß Regiment Franz Pirch (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Schönberg (2 bns)

#### Generalwachmeister von Wilster's Fuß Bde

Fuß Regiment Prinz Gotha (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Pirch (1 bn)

#### Generalwachmeister von Schlichting's Kavallerie Bde

Kurassier Regiment Haudring (2 sqns)  
Kurassier Regiment Gersdorff (2 sqns)

### Austrian Corps (Right Flank)

#### Right Wing Cavalry

##### Flank Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Lichtenstein  
Kurassier Regiment Hohenembs  
Kurassier Regiment St. Ignon

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Dragoner Regiment Althann  
Kurassier Regiment Bernes  
Kurassier Regiment Diemar

Kurassier Regiment Palffy

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Kurassier Regiment Serbelloni  
Dragoner Regiment Preysing  
Dragoner Regiment Württemberg  
Dragoner Regiment Philipert

### Foot

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Kaiser  
Fuß Regiment Königsberg  
Fuß Regiment Hessel Kassel  
Fuß Regiment Andau  
Fuß Regiment Grünne  
Fuß Regiment Marschal von Biberstein  
Fuß Regiment Baden-Baden

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Karl von Lothringen  
Fuß Regiment J. Harrach  
Fuß Regiment Neipperg  
Fuß Regiment L. Daun  
Fuß Regiment Kolowrath

### Left Wing Grenadiers

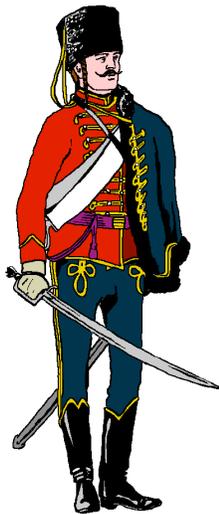
6 grenadier battalions

*Artillery = 121 guns (40 heavies)*

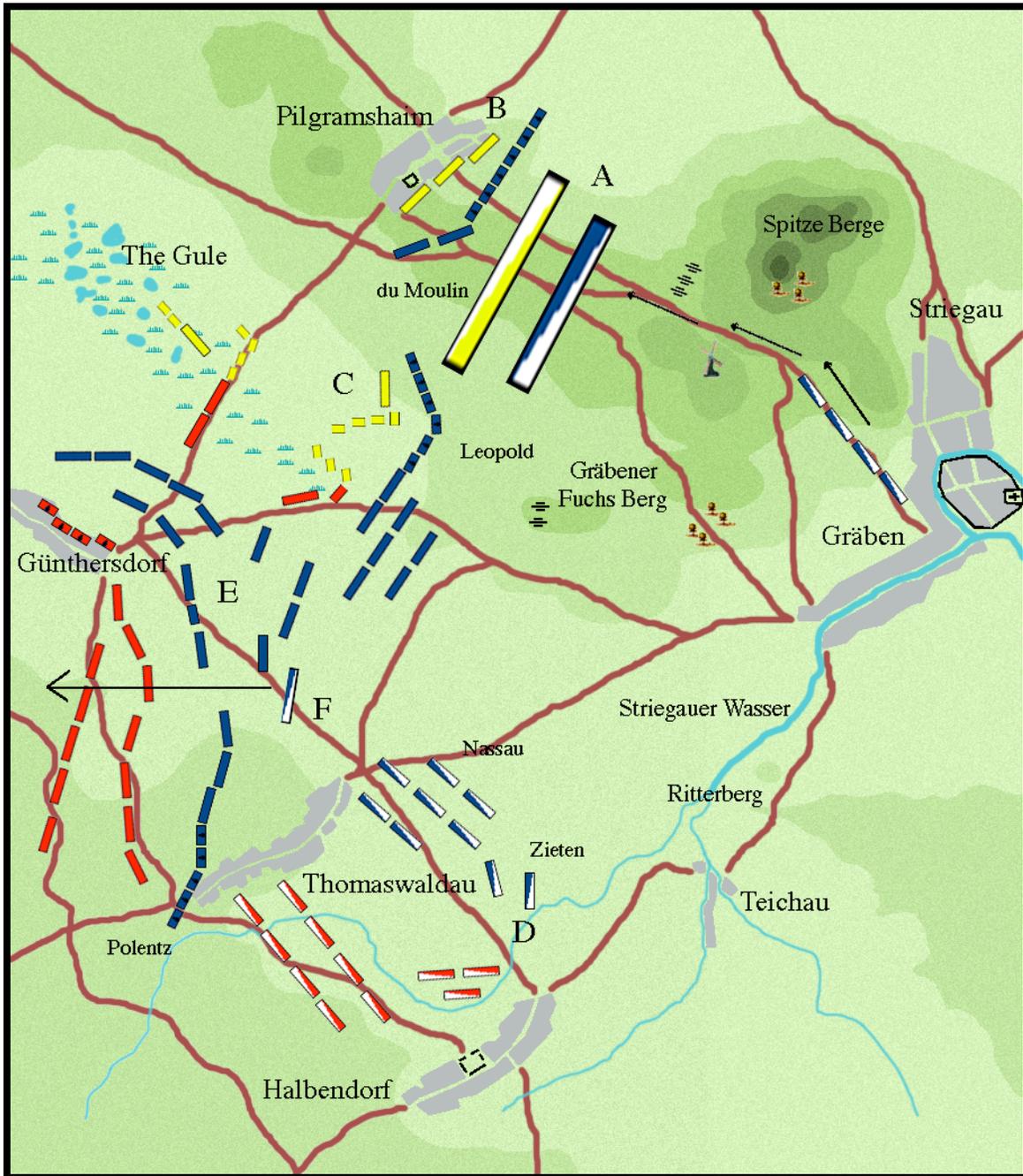
*Austrians: 47 bns, 126 squadrons (37,654 foot & horse), 2-3,000 irregulars*

*Saxons: 18 bns, 24 squadrons (22,500 foot & horse)*

*Losses 10,332 Austrians, 2,844 Saxons, plus 63 guns (20 Saxon pieces).*



**Illustrator:** the soldier figures found throughout this volume were drawn for Red Sash Games by Adrian George.  
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**Battle of Hohenfriedburg (Striegau).** A) Battle between Saxons and Prussians; cavalry action 0630hrs – Saxon cavalry routed. B) Prussian infantry assault on Pilgramshain – stiff fighting. C) Leopold’s assault on Saxon right into The Gule bogs – more stiff fighting – the Saxons give way and leave the field. D) Cavalry action on the Austrian flank, 0830hrs – indecisive but removed Austrian horse from the battle. E) Assault on Günthersdorf & Austrian center – stalemate. F) Charge of the Bayreuth Dragoons – Austrians break and retire.

## Battle of Soor

30<sup>th</sup> September, 1745

### Prussian Army

#### Command Staff

CO: King Frederick II of Prussia  
General of Infantry: Erbprinz von Anhalt-Dessau

#### Left Wing Horse

Dragoner Regiment Alt-Württemberg  
Kurassier Regiment Gessler  
Kurassier Regiment Rochow  
Kurassier Regiment Bornstedt

#### Left Wing Foot

Grenadier Battalion Grumbkow (7<sup>th</sup> & 23<sup>rd</sup> regiments)  
Grenadier Battalion Stangen (34<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> Garrison rgts)  
Grenadier Garde Battalion Retzow  
Musketeer Regiment I/Liebgarde  
Musketeer Regiment Markgraf Karl  
Musketeer Regiment Dohna  
Musketeer Regiment Lehwaldt  
Musketeer Regiment Kalckstein

#### Right Wing Foot

Musketeer Regiment Anhalt  
Grenadier Battalion Finck (43<sup>rd</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> Garrison rgts)  
Grenadier Battalion Tresckow (35<sup>th</sup> & 39<sup>th</sup> regiments)  
Grenadier Battalion Wedel (15<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> regiments)  
Musketeer Regiment Hagen  
Musketeer Regiment Blanckensee  
Musketeer Regiment La Motte

#### Right Wing Horse

Kurassier Regiment Buddenbrock  
Gendarmes Regiment  
Kurassier Regiment Kyau  
Kurassier Regiment Prinz von Preussen  
Dragoner Regiment Rothenberg  
Garde du Corps

Artillery = ?

31 bns (16,701 men), 41 squadrons (5,852 men).  
Losses 3,911.

### Austro-Saxon Army

CO: Prinz Karl von Lotharingen

#### Right Wing Cavalry

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Dragoner Regiment Koháry  
Kuirassier Regiment J. von Palffy  
Kuirassier Regiment Bretlach (*Duffy: Diemar Rgt Nr. 33*)

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Dragoner Regiment Liechtenstein  
Kuirassier Regiment Hohenembs  
Kuirassier Regiment St. Ignon

#### Right Wing Infantry

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Kessen-Kassel  
Fuß Regiment Damnitz  
Fuß Regiment Baden-Baden  
Fuß Regiment Kolowrat-Krakowski

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment J. von Harrach (1 bn)  
Fuß Regiment Neipperg  
Fuß Regiment Waldeck  
Fuß Regiment L. von Daun  
Fuß Regiment Grünne

#### Center Infantry

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Marshal von Biberstein  
Fuß Regiment Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel  
Fuß Regiment Vettes (3 bns?)  
Fuß Regiment Botta d'Adorno  
Fuß Regiment Bayreuth  
2 Saxon Fuß Regiments

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Fuß Regiment Platz  
Croatian "battalion"  
Fuß Regiment Andlau  
Fuß Regiment Gyulai (3 bns?)  
Fuß Regiment U. von Browne  
1 Saxon Fuß Regiment

#### Left Wing Infantry

(*Holding the Granerkoppe*)

Fuß Regiment Lotharingen (IR Nr.1)  
Fuß Regiment K. von Lotharingen  
Fuß Regiment Livingstein  
Fuß Regiment Wurmbrand  
Fuß Regiment J. Harrach (1 bn)  
Grenadier Battalions x3  
Converged Elite Companies (Mounted)

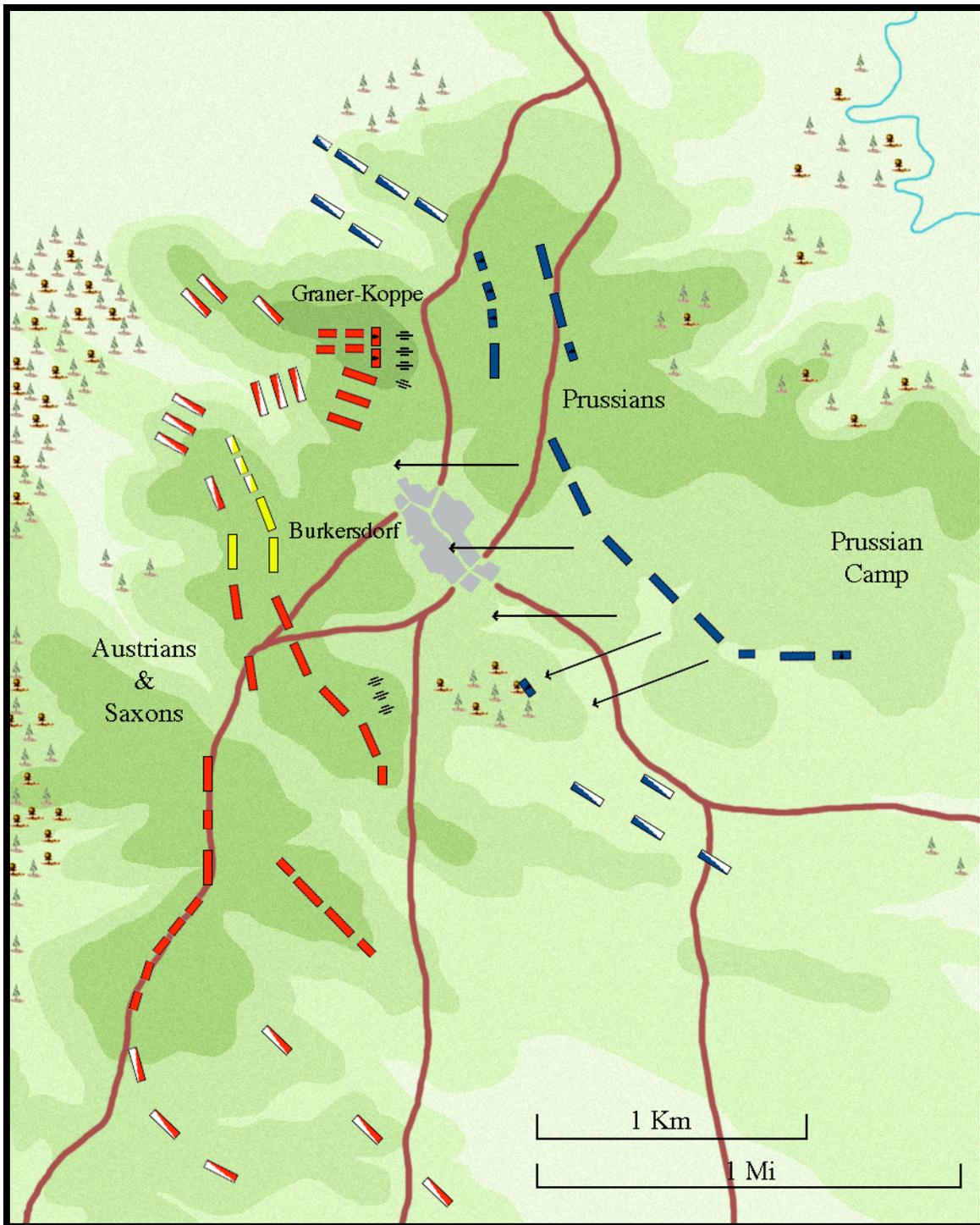
#### Left Wing Cavalry

Kuirassier Regiment Bernes  
Kuirassier Regiment Serbelloni  
Dragoner Regiment Preysing  
Dragoner Regiment Philibert  
Dragoner Regiment Württemberg  
Kuirassier Regiment Czernin  
Kuirassier Regiment Birkenfeld  
Kuirassier Regiment C. von Palffy  
Kuirassier Regiment Berlichingen? (alternate Luchessi)  
3 weak Saxon cavalry regiments

Artillery = 2x 12 gun batteries, 1 on each flank, plus unspecified number of light pieces

25,300 foot, 12,700 horse, 4,000 irregulars.  
Losses 7,444.

[Some sources label the Saxon units as "imperials", but they are most likely just Saxon formations, as they and the Austrians were encamped and cooperating together in this campaign. The Austrians had more light troops than the single Croatian battalion listed above (c.4,000 in all), but these were engaged in rifling the Prussian camp; some formations did not even do this but stood off.]



**The Battle of Soor.** Most of the action centered on the Graner-Koppe and its battery of 28 guns. Frederick marched across the Austrian front from his camp and formed in front of the rise without interference. It was a stiff fight, but the Austrians remained in their positions and did not attempt either to attack Frederick on the march, or to flank him on their right during the struggle for the hill. With the loss of the Graner-Koppe, the Austrians withdrew.

# Battle of Kesseldorf (Dresden)

## 15<sup>th</sup> December 1745

### Prussian Army

CO: Prinz von Anhalt-Dessau

#### Advanced Guard

Hussar Regiment Soldau  
Hussar Regiment #8  
Dragoner Regiment Bonin  
Infantry Regiment Alt-Anhalt  
Grenadier Battalion Munchow  
Grenadier Bn Anhalt-Dessau (10<sup>th</sup> & 22<sup>nd</sup> regts)  
Grenadier Bn Aulack (46<sup>th</sup> & 47<sup>th</sup> regts)

#### Right Wing Horse

##### Dragoner Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Alt-Mollendorf  
Dragoner Regiment Holstein-Gothorp  
Dragoner Regiment Jung-Mollendorf

##### Kurassier Brigade

Liebgarde Regiment  
Kurassier Regiment Stille  
Kurassier Regiment Bredow  
Lieb-Karabinier Regiment

#### Foot

##### 1<sup>st</sup> Line

Grenadier Bn Schoning (8<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> regts)  
Infantry Regiment Prinz Leopold  
Infantry Regiment Anhalt-Dessau  
Infantry Regiment Prinz von Preussen  
Infantry Regiment Bonin  
Infantry Regiment Bredow  
Infantry Regiment Hertzberg  
Infantry Regiment Prinz Moritz  
Infantry Regiment Leps  
Infantry Regiment Jeetze

##### 2<sup>nd</sup> Line

Infantry Regiment Polentz  
Infantry Regiment Prinz Ferdinand  
Infantry Regiment Alt-Württemberg  
Infantry Regiment Jung-Darmstadt  
Infantry Regiment #53

#### Left Wing Horse

##### Kurassier Brigade

Kurassier Regiment Buddenbrock  
Kurassier Regiment Prinz Friederich  
Kurassier Regiment Rochow  
Kurassier Regiment Kyau

##### Dragoner Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Stosch  
Dragoner Regiment Bayreuth

*Artillery = 33 pieces*

*33 bns (21,000 men), 93 squadrons (9,000 men).  
Losses c.5,000.*

### Saxon Army

#### Command Staff

CO: General Graf Rutowsky  
General Lieutenant von Birkholz  
Generalwachtmeister von Wilster (Artillery)

#### Generalwachtmeister von Milkau's Dragoon Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Sonderhaus  
Dragoner Regiment Rechberg  
Dragoner Regiment Königlicher Prinz

General Lieutenant Graf Grünne

#### Generalwachtmeister Wallbrunn's Kurassier Brigade (Austrian)

Kurassier Regiment Hohenzollern

#### Generalwachtmeister Eberfeldt's Fuß Brigade (Austrian)

Fuß Regiment Wurmbrand (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Waldeck (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Keuhl (2 bns)

#### General Lieutenant Graf Renard

#### Generalwachtmeister von Grankenberg's Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Allnpeck (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Bellegarde (2 bns)

#### Generalwachtmeister O'Meagh's Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Cosel (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Rochow (2 bns)

#### General Lieutenant von Diemar

#### Generalwachtmeister von Pirch's Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Brühl (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Weißenfels (2 bns)

#### Generalwachtmeister von Neubar's Garde Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Königin (2 bns)  
2<sup>nd</sup> Garde Fuß Regiment (2 bns)  
Lieb-Grenadier-Garde Fuß Regiment (2 bns)

#### General der Chevalier de Saxe

#### Generalwachtmeister von Rex's Garde Kavallerie Bde

Liebkurassier Regiment  
Karabinier Regiment  
Garde du Corps

#### Generalwachtmeister von Plötz's Dragoon Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Plötz  
Dragoner Regiment Arnim

#### Attached Forces

#### Generalwachtmeister von Münch's Grenadier Brigade

4 Grenadier battalions

#### Generalwachtmeister von Allnpeck's Grenadier Brigade

3 Grenadier battalions

#### General Lieutenant von Rochow

#### Generalwachtmeister von Minkwitz's Dragoon Brigade

Dragoner Regiment Rutowsky  
Dragoner Regiment Bentheim

#### Generalwachtmeister Bethlehem's Fuß Brigade (Austrian)

Fuß Regiment Bethlehem (4 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Stolberg (2 bns)

#### Generalwachtmeister Graf Bellegard's Fuß Brigade

Fuß Regiment Niesmeuschal (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment Franz Pirch (2 bns)  
Fuß Regiment N. Pirch (2 bns)

#### Kurassier Brigade

Kurassier Regiment Anonciade  
Kurassier Regiment Ronnow  
Kurassier Regiment Minkwitz  
Chevauleger Regiment Prinz Karl

#### Generalwachtmeister von Sybilsky – Irregulars

Uhlan Pulk Bledowsky  
Uhlan Pulk Rudnicky  
Uhlan Pulk Ulan  
Uhlan Pulk Bertuczewsky  
Warasdiner Grenz Regiment (1000 men)  
Chevauleger Regiment Sybilsky

*Artillery = 93 guns (42 heavies)*

*39 bns (24,000 men), 58 squadrons (7,000 men). Losses 6,630.*

## ANNEXES

### **A: BELLE-ISLE'S CAMPAIGN PLAN OF 1741**

*[Maréchal Belle-Isle's projected campaign for 1741 presented by M. le Comte de Mortaigne – Belle-Isle's chief lieutenant in this enterprise – to the Elector of Bavaria. Dated June 4<sup>th</sup> 1741.]*

“Le projet de conquérir la Bohême étant jugé préférable, l'on a dirigé le rendez-vous Général de la marche des troupes dans cette vue.”

“L'Électeur marchera donc droit à Prague avec toutes ses forces.”

*[Since the conquest of Bohemia is the preferred course (although the Franco-Bavarians later toyed with the idea of taking Vienna – something that Frederick II resolutely pushed them to do), the troops have been prepared and organized to this end – the Elector will be able to simply walk into Prague with his whole force.]*

“L'Électeur couronné à Prague, on y laissera une garnison suffisante, et, se repliant sur la droite, on ira finir la campagne par le siège de Linz et établir des quartiers d'hiver dans la Haute Autriche et dans la Bohême en se couvrant, en Autriche, de la rivière d'Enz, et en Bohême de la Moldave qui couvrira également la communication avec Prague. L'on détachera alors le corps nécessaire pour faire le siège d'Egra dont il faut se débarrasser, pour la sûreté des quartiers d'hiver et des communications avec le Haut Palatinat. Après sa prise, le corps qui en aura fait le siège se repliera aussi sur le Danube pour rejoindre le reste de l'armée, tant pour renforcer l'armée du siège de Linz que pour former celle d'observation, si les ennemis exigeaient qu'on prit cette précaution.”

*[With the Elector crowned Emperor in Prague, the main body can be redirected to reinforce the (expected) siege of Linz (capital of Upper Austria), leaving a sufficient garrison in Prague. Winter quarters can be taken in Upper Austria & Bohemia, covered by the Enns River in the South, and the Moldau in the North, with the latter also useful as a line of communications between the two fronts. It will also be necessary to take Egra (Cheb) in order to secure a line of communications with the Upper Palatinate (Bavarian Palatinate) and to protect our rear during winter quarters. These forces can then also be directed to support the siege of Linz and to provide an army of observation on the Danube front (presumably on the North bank, between the River and the Bömerwald).]*

*(Note: in the true 18<sup>th</sup> century style of positional warfare, this disposition forms a triangle with a major fortification at each point – Cheb, Prague, and Linz – and good communications on all three sides. Communication is possible between Cheb and Prague along the Ore River. Likewise the Elbe/Moldau can be followed south until the hills between Bohemia and Austria, where passes exist through to Linz. Finally, there is a decent road route south via Pilsen to these same passes, and thus to Linz. (Cheb, by the way, was taken rather late, after the Austrian counterattack cut communications between Prague and Linz).]*

“L'Électeur fera incessamment relever la fortification de Charding, pour pouvoir avoir une tête de pont et s'assurer le passage de la rivière de l'Inn, mais il est à observer qu'il faut avoir des troupes à portée de Passau pour pouvoir s'en emparer au cas que l'ennemi fasse quelque démarche pour s'y porter, ce

qui est à présumer lorsqu'il verra travailler aux fortifications de Charding.”

“Le poste de Passau est d'une conséquence infinie pour s'assurer un passage sur le Danube et la navigation jusqu'à Linz, on ne saurait y donner trop d'attention. Quand on s'en sera emparé, on y fera faire des fours massifs.”

*[The Elector will have to fortify Schärding in order to have a bridgehead over the Inn, but he must also be prepared to seize Passau in case the enemy should approach from this direction while the work is in progress. More importantly taking of Passau is critical to gaining a secure passage down the Danube to Linz. A large depot can be established there.]*

*(Note: Passau was an independent bishopric under Habsburg sway. It had an “army” of 70 men).*

“L'Électeur fera passer son artillerie à Ingolstat, avec toutes les munitions de guerre propres à un siège, savoir : boulets, bombes, balles, grenades, poudre, pierre à fusil, outils à remuer la terre, toile propre à faire des sacs à terre, de la toile à charpie, des médicaments et drogues de chirurgie. Ce dépôt se trouvera à Ingolstat, à portée d'être poussé à Egra si on trouve à propos d'en faire le siège, ou de descendre le Danube quand on en aura besoin.”

“L'Électeur fera construire et mettre à portée du Danube, tous les agrès nécessaires pour la construction de deux ponts, savoir: chevalets, poutrelles, cordages et ancrs, dont il lui sera envoyé un état ; on trouvera sur le Danube les bateaux nécessaires pour la construction des deux ponts.”

“L'Électeur fera faire des pontons pour un pont et des haquet pour les porter ; on lui en mandera le nombre et on lui enverra des desseins et des détails de la construction.”

*[The Elector will establish his main depot at Ingoldstatt, including the siege train and medical services. From here, the necessary equipment can be sent to Egra or down the Danube, as needed. He will construct two pontoon bridges on the Danube; sufficient boats should be obtainable from local resources and he will have to bring the rest of the materials with him. Instructions as to the bridges' method of construction will be sent to him (the implication being that the Bavarians are such a sorry lot that they could never work it out for themselves).]*

“Il sera fait des dépôts de blé et de farine dans plusieurs parties différentes du Danube, pour être poussé en avant lorsqu'il sera nécessaire ; on en peut mettre à Donawert, à Ingolstat, à Straubing, à Passeau quand on s'en sera rendu maître et dans plusieurs autres endroits convenables au long du Danube. Il en faut pour 4 mois sans y comprendre ce qu'il faudra aux troupes du Roi pour achever leur marche jusqu'au lieu de jonction. Cette jonction et assemblée Générale se fera à Neumarek pour l'Infanterie, et sur la rivière Domberg pour la cavalerie.”

“L'armée y séjournera 8 jours en partant du rendez-vous susdit les troupes porteront ou seront munies de pain pour 12 jours.”

“Outre les fournitures ci dessus, il faudra que l'armée porte à sa suite pour 30 jours de farine, qui seront déposées au lieu qui sera jugé convenable pour y établir les fours.”

“Il est bien entendu que l'armée en partant du rendez-vous Général où elle s'était reposée 8 jours, l'on distribuera aux troupes le pain pour 4, les caissons emporteront du biscuit pour 4 autres et du biscuit pour la troisième distribution. A l'égard des 30 jours de farines, elles seront portées par des chariots de paysans.”

“On ne peut designer positivement les endroits où il sera nécessaire de faire trouver du pain pour achever la marche des troupes du Roi jusqu’au rendez-vous *Général* tant que les marches ne seront constituées, mais y ayant des farines en dépôts à Donawert, on sera en état de les pousser où on en aura besoin, c’est-à-dire au lieu où les 3 colonnes se trouveront le vingtième jour de leurs marches, et il faudra leur y en porter pour huit à dix jours. C’est ce qui sera décidé quand M. de Mortagne aura achevé sa première marche et qu’il donnera l’état fixe de la marche des colonnes.”

“La marche des troupes du Roi jusqu’au lieu de jonction peut être évaluée à 30 jours. Elles mèneront ou porteront du pain avec elles pour vingt. Ainsi, c’est pour dix jours qu’il en faudra pour achever la marche sur le pied de 66924 rations de pain, pain biscuité, ou biscuit par jour, à 24 onces la rations, deux tiers de froment et un tiers de seigle; il faut observer, pour le pain biscuité, que la pâte doit avoir une couple d’onces de plus par livre, pour que le soldat y trouve son compte, et que le biscuit doit être de pur froment et mis dans des tonneaux a raison de 1000 rations dans trois tonneaux par caisson. Le nombre des rations sera augmenté et diminué suivant l’état des troupes qui aura été constaté et subséquemment pour chaque colonne.”

“On doit sans perdre de temps travailler à ces premières dispositions à Donawert, et, quand les marches seront constatées, on enverra à l’Électeur un état définitif des lieux où les convois devront être conduits pour les trois colonnes.”

“C’est aussi sur le pied de soixante six mille neuf cent vingt quatre rations de pain par jour qu’il faudra que les convois d’Ingolstat partent pour être au jour marqué au rendez-vous *Général* de Neumark et de la rivière Damberg, aussi bien que les farines pour trente jours. Comme il a été dit ci-devant, de ces vingt jours de pain, il y en aura 4 en biscuit. Ainsi il faudra des tonneaux sur le pied qu’il a été dit ci-devant a raison de 1000 rations dans trois tonneaux.”

“L’Électeur aura donc à mettre, dans des dépôts différents, et le plutôt que faire se pourra, du blé pour qu’il soit fournis aux troupes du Roi du pain, du pain biscuité ou du biscuit, savoir de Donawert pour dix jours, pour achever la marche pour la jonction d’Ingolstat, pour vingt jours tant pour les séjours au dit lieu de jonction que pour les premiers jours de marche et les 30 jours de farine, et pour trois mois en sus de grain ou farine, ce qui fait au total pour 150 jours de subsistance à raison de 66924 rations par jour sur le pied proposé, et qui augmentera ou diminuera à proportion de la force de l’armée. Il faut que cet approvisionnement soit converti en farine au plus tôt, surtout la quantité nécessaire pour le convoi de Donawert et celle pour Ingolstat qui est bien plus considérable.”

“L’Électeur fera faire 45000 sacs de treillis de la meilleure qualité. Il faut que chaque sac, pour contenir 202 livres de blé ou farine, poids de marc, ait quatre pied du Roi de haut et deux pieds de large.”

“Il faudra aussi 40000 sacs à mettre de l’avoine qui soient de bonne toile, propre à résister à la fatigue, où il puisse contenir douze boisseaux d’avoine, mesure de Paris, la poignée franche, ce qui fera 18 rations par sac, la ration étant de deux tiers du boisseau.”

“Il sera indispensable de faire trouver au lieu de jonction du fourrage pour les troupes, du moins de l’avoine s’il n’est pas possible d’y avoir du foin. Cela est nécessaire pour remettre la cavalerie des marches qu’elle aura faite et la mettre en état de commencer les opérations de guerre. Le pays y trouvera aussi son compte, puisque sans cela il faudrait le fourrager.”

“Il faudra par jour 28721 rations d’avoine et autant de foin s’il est possible. La ration de foin doit être bottée sur le pied de 18 livres la ration.”

“Comptant sur le pied de huit jours de séjours cela fera 229768 rations.”

“L’avoine sera ensachée sur le pied de 12 boisseaux, mesure de Paris, la poignée franche, comme il a été dit ci devant.”

“Il sera indispensable de faire trouver de la paille au lieu de jonction pour coucher le soldat. Il en faudra environ 40 à 50000 bottes à 10 livres la botte.”

“Il faudra aussi du sel et du tabac pour les soldats.”

“Tout ce qui est détaillé ci-dessus ne concerne que les troupes du Roi. L’Électeur en fera l’augmentation à proportion de ses troupes, ainsi que des caissons au prorata de ceux du Roi qui en aura 600 pour les vivres et 20 pour l’hôpital et des chevaux haut le pied.”

“On conviendra de la quantité d’artillerie que S.A.E. devra mener, et cela de bonne heure, pour qu’elle puisse faire préparer les équipages nécessaires.”

“L’Électeur fera aussi faire des fours de cuivre au prorata de ses troupes, avec des haquets pour les porter ; le Roi en aura 25. Il faut que les fours soient accompagnés de garçons boulangers, de maçons, de serruriers et de tout ce qu’il faut d’ustensiles pour les servir.”

“On en verra un état de ce qu’il sera nécessaire de faire pour l’hôpital du Roi, ainsi que de la quantité de paire de souliers.”

*[The above passages deal with the placement of bread ovens, rations to be carried, and points for mustering: magazines at such places as Straubing, Donauwörth, Ingoldstatt, etc.; four months supply required; general assembly of the infantry at Neumarck, of the cavalry at Domberg (foraging requirements presumably dictated separate encampments); assembly expected to take 8 days; troops to carry 12 days rations (bread for 4 days, biscuit for 8 in two instalments of 4), with a further 30 days worth of flour stocked at a suitable location; transport to be by using the local peasantry; definitely put a bread magazine at Donauworth, so that after 20 days more rations can be sent up quickly (presumably by river) – the march to the front is expected to take 30 days, with the army in three columns. Where to send the wagon trains, where to set up intermediate depots, how many days march between resupply. How to package everything, what weights to use, how many boots, how much tobacco. Etc. etc. The Elector’s own forces (making up about half the expedition) have not been factored in and he will have to do his own math! Crews for the artillery must be assigned. The Elector is required to come up with the materials for the bakeries, and also the staff. These passages are instructive as to what was required in the way of administration, not to mention the working relationship between the Bavarians and their French “advisors”. Oh, the joys of coalition warfare!]*

“Plusieurs paragraphes et articles de ce travail de M. de Mortaigne seront ensuite ajoutés ou modifiés par M. le *Maréchal* de Belle-Isle.”

*[M. Belle-Isle will modify the foregoing instructions as he feels the need (without reference to the Elector in whose service he is taking the field).]*

## **B: LETTERS FROM DETTINGEN**

### **Letter written by James Wolfe, the future conqueror of Quebec, dated July 4th 1743**

This is the first time that I have been able to write. The fatigue I had the day we fought and the day after made me very much out of order, and I was obliged to keep my tent for two days. Bleeding was of great service to me, and I am now as well as ever.

The army was drawn out between a wood and the river Main, near Dettingen, in five lines – two of foot and three of horse. The cannon on both sides began to play about nine in the morning, and we were exposed to the fire of theirs (said to be above 50 pieces) for near three hours. The French were all the while drawn up in sight of us and the fight began about one. The Gens d'Armes, or Mousquetaires Gris, attacked the first line, composed of nine regiments of English foot, and four or five of Austrians, and some Hanoverians. They broke through the Scotch Fusiliers, but before they got to the second line, out of 200 there were not 40 living, so they wheeled and about 20 of them escaped to their army. These unhappy men were of the first families in France. Nothing, I believe, could be more rash than their under-taking.

The second attack was made on the left by their Horse against ours, which advanced for the first time. Neither side did much, for they both retreated; and our Horse had like to have broken our first line in the confusion. The Horse fired their pistols, which fired their pistols, which, if they had let alone, and attacked the French with their swords, being so much stronger and heavier, they would certainly have beat them. Their excuse for retreating - they could not make their horses stand the fire!

The third and last attack was made by the foot on both sides. We advanced towards one another; our men in high spirits, and very impatient for fighting, being elated with beating the French Horse, part of which advanced towards us; while the rest attacked our Horse, but were soon driven back by the great fire we gave them. The Major and I, (for we had neither Colonel nor Lieutenant-Colonel), before they came near, were employed in begging and ordering the men not to fire at too great a distance, but to keep it till the enemy should come near us; but to little purpose. The whole of them fired when they thought they could reach them, which had like to have ruined us. We did very little execution with it. As soon as the French saw we presented they all fell down, and when we had fired they all got up, and marched close to us in tolerable good order, and gave us a brisk fire, which put us into some disorder and made us give way a little, particularly ours and two or three more regiments who were in the hottest of it. However, we soon rallied again, and attacked them with great fury, which gained us a complete victory, and forced the enemy to retire in great haste. 'Twas luck that we did give way a little, for our men were loading all the while, and it gave room for an Austrian Regiment to move into an interval, rather too little before, who charged the enemy with great bravery and resolution. When they retreated, several pieces of our artillery played upon them, and made terrible havoc; at last we followed them, but too late, they had almost all passed the river. One of the bridges broke, and in the hurry abundance were drowned. A great number of their officers and men were taken prisoners. Their loss is computed to be 6-7000 men, and ours 3000.

His Majesty was in the midst of the fight; and the Duke behaved as bravely as a man could do. He had a musket-shot through the calf of his leg. I have several times the honour of speaking with him just as the battle began, and was often afraid

of his being dash'd to pieces by the cannon-balls. He gave his orders with a great deal of calmness, and seemed quite unconcerned. The soldiers were in high delight to have him so near them. A horse I rid at the first attack was shot in one of his hinder legs, and threw me; so I was obliged to do the duty of an adjutant all that and the next day on foot, in a pair of heavy boots. I lost with the horse, furniture and pistols which cost me ten ducats; but three days after the battle got the horse again, with the ball in him, and he is now almost well again, but without furniture and pistols....

### **Letter written by the Duc de Noailles to Louis XV**

Sire,

Tout nous annonçoit hier matin une heureufe Journée; les Ennemis forcés par le défaut de Subsistances, où nôtre Position les avoit réduit, décampèrent la nuit du 26 au 27. On vint m'en avertir à une heure après minuit; je montai sur le champ à Cheval, & donnai Ordre que toutes les Troupes se tinssent prêtes à marcher; je côtoyai les Bords du Mein, pour examiner les Mouvements des Ennemis; j'apperçûs évidemment qu'ils étoient en pleine Marche fur deux Colonnes, & qu'ils prenoient le chemin de Hanau, en se servant d'une Route qu'ils avoient ouverte à travers des Bois sur la pente de la Montagne.

*[He talks about getting word that the enemy, suffering from lack of supplies, was retreating toward his trap; he made his preparations and went to observe, noting their order of march in 2 columns, one of which was on the road to Hanau, and the other cutting a route through the woods on the slopes above.]*

Je me rendis ensuite à Seligenstatt, où je fis passer, sur les deux Ponts que j'y avois fait établir, trois Brigades d'Infanterie, qui étoient campées près de cette Ville, qui sûrent bientôt jointes par celle des Gardes & celle de noailles, auxquelles j'avois envoyé Ordre de marcher.

Les deux Brigades de Cavalerie, composant l'Aîle gauche de la seconde Ligne de Cavalerie, au nombre de 12 Escadrons, avec les 11 de Dragons, & environ 6 de Hussards, passèrent par les Gués, que j'avois fait reconnoître.

J'envoyai ordre, en même tems, qu'on masquât le Passage d'Afchaffembourg, & qu'on f'en rendit Maître dans l'instant que les Ennemis l'auroient évacué, afin d'être en état de leur donner de la jalousie par leurs derrières.

Je formai d'abord une première Disposition pour les Troupes qui avoient passé le Mein; je plaçai une Brigade d'Infanterie dans le Village de Gros-Weltzheim, appuyé au Mein, qui sermoit ma droite; la gauche étoit appuyée à un Bois, & la Cavalerie dans le Centre.

Par cette Position, la Plaine se trouvoit fermée; je laissai des Officiers Généraux pour placer les Troupes, auxquelles j'envoyai ordre de marcher, suivant cette Disposition, à mesure qu'elles arriveroient.

Je repassai de l'autre côté du Mein, au Gué, pour reconnoître, par moi-même, les Manœuvres des Ennemis sur leur Flanc, & y donner des ordres à la plus grande partie des Troupes qui s'y trouvoient encore; je vis que les Ennemis començoient à se développer & à se former; on vint me dire, en même tems, que le Village de Dettingen, situé sur le Mein, à une grande lieuë de celui de Gros-Weltzheim, étoit abandonné, & j'envoyai ordre qu'on le fit occuper, afin de ne point laisser aux Ennemis la facilité de s'en emparer de nouveau.

*[He went to Seligenstatt and sent 3 brigades of foot across the bridges, to be joined by the Guards and his own regiment. The left wing of cavalry, consisting of 2 brigades, crossed by fords. Simultaneously, he*

*sent a force to contest Aschaffenburg upstream behind the enemy. The blocking force across the Main deployed with a brigade of foot at the village of Groß Welsheim on the right, another brigade was on the left supported by the woods, and the cavalry was placed in the center. He left the officers to sort all this out and recrossed the Main by a ford. It became clear that the enemy was threatening to take the village of Dettingen, which was quite close to their camp, and a better position, so he decided to move the blocking position forward before the enemy could form up and take it.]*

J'étois encore au-delà du Mein que je vis que les Troupes, au lieu d'occuper le Village de Dettingen, débouchoient au-delà; je m'y rendis le plus promptement qu'il me sût possible; je trouvai en arrivant cinq Brigades d'Infanterie, de la Cavalerie & des Dragons, qui avoient déjà passé le Défilé, attendu qu'il règnoit, depuis ce Village jufqu'à la Montagne, un Marais, traversé par un petit Ruisseau, qui à l'entrée du Village forme un Ravin, sur lequel il n'y a qu'un seul Pont; cette démarche trop audacieuse, & qui ne parloit que d'une trop grande volonté, est cause que nous n'avons pas eû le succès que nous pouvions nous promettre.

Je sùs donc obligé de changer mes premières Dispositions, & d'en faire sur le champ de nouvelles; les Ennemis se trouvant en Bataille fort à portée de nous, je n'eûs pas tout le tems nécessaire pour reconnoître les Bois & les Montagnes qui étoient à la gauche de la Ligne, & qui y formoient un Coude, en se rapprochant vers le Mein, ce qui donnoit entièrement, aux Ennemis, l'avantage de la situation sur nous.

On s'avança donc dans cette position aux Ennemis; l'ordre sût donné de les laisser tirer les premiers, & de s'avancer ensuite sur eux; mais leur première Décharge, qui fut très vive, mit un très grand desordre parmi nos Troupes, dans lesquelles, comme V. M. le sçait, il y a un grand nombre de Milices & de Recrûes; les Troupes se sont ralliées trois fois, ont chargé les Ennemis, sans les avoir rompus, parcequ'ils étoient sur plusieurs Lignes les uns sur les autres, & que toute leur Armée y étoit, au lieu d'une simple Arrière-Garde sur laquelle on comptoit; voyant enfin qu'il y avoit trop d'inégalité, par l'avantage de leur position, & que nos Troupes commençoient à se rebuter, ainsi que tout le monde en jugea, & me le représenta, je les fis retirer, ce qui fut exécuté en présence des Ennemis; on les remis en Bataille au-delà du Village et du Marais, d'où elles sont revenuees repasser le Mein, l'Infanterie sur les Ponts, & la Cavalerie aux Gués, pour reprendre leur premier Camp, sans qu'elles ayent été suivies dans leur Retraite.

Cette Action, qui est plutôt un Combat de notre part, qu'une Bataille, a été très vive; on n'exagerera point quand on dira à V. M. que les plus vieux Officiers n'ont jamais vû un feu si considérable ni si suivi, ce que part malheur nous ne connoissons point dans les Troupes de V. M.; il n'y a qu'une partie des Troupes qui ait donné; je crois la perte plus grande du côté des Ennemis, que du nôtre, par l'effet de notre Artillerie, qui a été très bien servie, les ordres & les soins de Mr. de la Valliere ayant été extrêmement bien secondés; on la fait monter, suivant les rapports que je n'ai pas eû, aux environs de 5000 hommes tant tués que blessés, & la nôtre ne va guères, autant que l'on en peut juger, suivant les premiers Etats qui m'ont été donnés, qu'autour de 2000 tant tués que blessés, & ces premiers Etats sont toujours plus forts qu'ils ne doivent l'être, parcequ'on y met toujours le non-complet, tout ce qui s'est dispersé, qui ne se retrouve pas dans les premiers momens.

*[Noailles then learned that too much had been made of his orders and a certain person had ordered some 5 brigades, plus horse and dragoons, to deploy in front of Dettingen, beyond the natural defences of the ravine and swamp. This was the reason that the battle did not*

*turn out as expected. He says he tried to rectify matters, but did not have time to recce the woods between the river and the hills – the woods later proving to contain enemy troops who could flank the main French position. The French were ordered to counterattack the first enemy assault (it was the French fashion to fire second, possibly because the men had a tendency to fire too soon) but the first enemy fire threw the ranks into confusion – there being many militia and recruits present. An attempt was made to charge the enemy, but because they were deployed in several lines, this was ineffective, so the order was given for a general retreat. This was done successfully, despite the close presence of the enemy, the foot crossing by the bridges and the cavalry by the fords. They retired to their original camp. He goes on to say that the battle was “very sharp”; that first reports make their losses 5,000 KIA & WIA, but that first reports are always exaggerated because they include those temporarily missing; a more accurate assessment he guesses will produce 2,000 KIA & WIA – not far off as it turned out.]*

*[The remainder of the letter is a list of the men of note who were killed or wounded, and various acts of courage – on the enemy side as well. The Duc de Grammont, who was primarily responsible for the botched operation, is mentioned only in passing as one of the officers who “did all they could” to restore the troops morale – in fact, when Noailles explained how things went awry, he mentioned no names, and seemed to imply it was his fault. Grammont was related to the King. Both sides apparently took colours from their opponents, but the French brought off all their guns, along with one enemy piece. The enemy left some of their wounded behind with a request that they be looked after; this was done.]*

Il y a un grand nombre d'Officiers tués, ou blessés, dont je suis fâché, & plusieurs de marque.

Mr. le Duc de Rochechoüart, après avoir été blessé, n'a pas voulu se retirer, & a été tué; on ne peut assez louer son courage, & sa grande volonté.

Mr. le Marquis de Fleury a été également tué, Mr. le Cte d'Eu est blessé légèrement au pied, Mr. le Duc d'Harcourt est blessé considérablement au défaut de la Cuirasse, M; le Cte. De Beuvron blessé légèrement au bras, M. le Marquis de Gontaut plus considérablement au même endroit, Mr. le Duc de Boufflers légèrement au pied, Mr. de la Mothe-Houdancourt a eû son Cheval tué sous lui, & a été sroissé par les Chevaux, mais sans aucune blessure.

Le Duc d'Ayen a été dans le même cas, mais beaucoup plus mal traité, sur-tout à la tête; j'espère cependant qu'il n'y a pas de danger; il a été saigné cinq fois depuis hier; il y a outre cela beaucoup d'Officiers de la Maison de V. M. tués ou blessés; Mrs. De Cherifey & de St. André le sont légèrement.

J'ai ordonné qu'on sit la Liste de tous les Officiers tués ou blessés des différens Corps et V. M. la recevra incessamment.

On nous assure que, du côté des Ennemis, Mr. le Duc de Cumberland est très dangeureusement blessé, & on parle aussi de Mr. le Duc d'Aremberg.

Je ne connois, aux Ennemis, d'autre Avantage, que d'être resté, pendant la nuit, sur le Champ de bataille, dont on s'est retiré, & saute de Chariots on n'a pû enlever quelques blessés, qui sont restés dans les Villages de Dettingen & de Gros-Weltzheim.

Nous avons pris quelques Etendards au milieu de leur rang, & l'on me rapporte aussi qu'ils en ont quelques-uns des nôtres; toute nôtre Artillerie est revenuee, & nous avons emmené un de leurs Canon, qui a été pris par le Régiment d'Auvergne, dont on ne peut dire assez de bien à V. M. Nous sommes toujours Maîtres d'Aschaffenburg, où étoit leur Quartier Généra, & j'ai fait occuper, sur le bas Mein, le Poste de Steinheim; ainsi toutes nos premières Dispositions subsistent comme avant le Combat.

J'ajouterai à V. M. que les Ennemis, après avoir passé simplement la nuit sur le Champ de Bataille, ont continué leur Marche vers Hanau, & j'ai nouvelle qu'ils ont passé la Rivière de Kintzig, près de Hanau, dont les Bords sont assez escarpés, ce qui forme un bon Poste; ils ont laissé, en se retirant, quelques-uns de leurs blessés sur le Champ de Bataille, & une plus grande partie dans les deux Villages, que nous avions d'abord occupés, où je viens d'envoyer une Garde, qu'ils m'ont demandée, tant pour la sreté des leurs que des nôtres.

Je ne puis me dispenser de vous dire, Sire, combien Mr. le Duc de Chartres s'est distingué hier, s'étant toujours trouvé dans le plus grand chaud de l'Action, ralliant ses Troupes, les ramenant lui-même au Combat, avec un courage, une présence d'Esprit, & un zèle, que je ne puis trop louer ni trop admirer.

Mr. le Comte de Clermont, Mr le Prince de Dombes, & Mr. le Comte d'Eu ont sait, à la tête de leurs Divisions, tout ce que l'on peut attendre du plus grand courage, & de la plus grande volonté.

Quoique je puisse être suspect sur ce qui regarde Mr. le duc de Penthièvre, je supplie V. M. de croire que je n'ajouterai à la plus exacte vérité; il s'est trouvé hier dans le feu le plus vis, & plisieurs sois dans la élée, avec le même sang froid & la même tranquillité que V. M. lui connoit.

Après vous avoir parlé, Sire, des Princes & de ceux qui ont été blessé, je dois rendre justice à ceux des Officiers Généraux; Mrs de Montal, dde Balincourt, Bulckley, Duc de Grammont, Ségur, Puttanges, & Duc de Biron; Entre les Maréchaux de Camp, Mrs. Les Ducs de Richelieu & e Luxembourg, Berchiny, d'Apcher, Duc de Boufflers, & Duc de Chevreuse, Prince de Soubise, & Duc de Pequigny; ils ont tous fait de leur mieux pour ranimes les Troupes, & les exciter à faire leur devoir. Je ne parle point des Officiers Généraux, qui sont attachés à des Corps particuliers, & qui ont marché avec eux.

Entre les Brigadiers, je ne saurois dire trop de bien de Mrs. Le Duc de duras, Comte de Lorge, le Prince de Tingry, & le Prince de Talmont, qui sont ceux que j'ai vû le plus à portée de moi. Il n'a pas tenu à leurs soins & aux bons exemples qu'ils donnoient, que les Troupes de V. M. n'ayent remporté une pleine Victoire.

Si le Duc d'Aylen & le Comte de Noailles n'étoient pas mes Enfants, j'en pourrois parler à V. M. Mais j'en laisse le soin à ceux qui ont été témoins de leur conduite.

Il y a plusieurs autres Officiers que je ne me rappelle pas dans ce moment, mais dont j'aurais l'honneur de rendre Compte à V. M., ainsi que des Corps qui on le mieux fait.

Je ne dois pas oublier, Sire, de vous parler des trois Etats Majors de l'Armée, dont j'ai tout lieu d'être satisfait; le Maréchal Général des Logis de l'Armée s'est sort distingué avec ses Aides, aussi bien que le Major Général, & le Maréchal des Logis de la Cavalerie & leurs Aides; ils se sont prtés par tout avec activité & courage, & ont beaucoup contribué au ralliement des Troupes, & au bon ordre de la Retraite. Mr. De Puiségur étoit à la tête de son Régiment, où il a très bien fait.

C'est à la seule Discipline des Ennemis, à la subordination des Officiers, & à l'obéissance au Commandement, qu'on doit attribuer les Manoeuvres qu'ils ont faites hier, & c'est avec douleur que je suis obligé de dire à V. M., que c'est ce qu'on ne connoit point dans ses Troupes, & que si l'on ne travaille pas, avec l'attentionla plus sérieuse & la plusq suivie, à y remédier, les Troupes de V. M. tomberont dans la dernière décadance; je n'auois jamais pû croire, Sire, ce que j'ai vû hier; Mais il me conviendrait peu d'en écrire d'avantage.

Cette Dépêche n'est déjà que trop longue sur un aussi triste sujet; Mais avant que de la finir, Sire, ne dois-je pas vous rendre Compte des motifs & des raisons qui m'ont déterminé à chercher l'occasion de combattre les Ennemis.

La première de toutes pour moi, Sire, c'est que votre V. M. le désireroit.

2. C'est que l'occasion me paroissoit favorable, puis qu'ils se retiroient & que je les attaquois en Marche, qui et le tems où l'on est le plus embarrassé pour faire des Dispositions, à cause des Bagages que l'on traîne avec soi, au lieu que les Troupes de V. M. n'en ayant point, & ayant même laissé leur Camp tendu, on étoit bien plus en état de manoeuvrer, & que d'ailleurs, en prenant ce parti, on étoit le maître de ne s'engager qu'autant qu'on le voudroit, & de se retirer dès qu'on le jugeroit à propos, ainsi qu'on l'a fait.

*[The good news is, the enemy is in retreat, being short of provisions, and their abandoning of their camp indicates they have no further offensive intentions.]*

3. J'ai crû devoir profiter de la Circonstance où les Troupes de Hesse, & les nouvelles Troupes que l'on fait venir d'Angleterre & de Hanovre, n'avoient point encore joint; celles de Hesse & de Hanovre étant du côté de Hanau, qui devoient se réunir avec les autres, 2 ou 3 jours après.

*[Noailles believes it is his duty to profit by the fact that the Hessians and new forces from Hanover and England have not yet united with the enemy army; there is a window of opportunity here. He does not say what he will do with the opportunity.]*

4. C'est que dans la Conjoncture présente, la Décadance des affaires de Baviere, après la Retraite de l'Armée de V. M. ne pouvoit être réparée que par quelque succès de ce côté-ci; je n'ai pas été assez heureux pour y parvenir; Mais au moins on ne m'accusera point de ne l'avoir pas tenté, ainsi que tout le monde paroissoit le désirer, & je n'ai rien à me reprocher sur les soins, les précautions, & l'attention que mon zèle, & mon attachement pour le Service de V. M. m'inspireront toujours, & je crois pouvoir me flatter que toute l'Armée me rendra cette justice.

Je ne puis encore rien dire à V. M. sur les Mouvements que sera son Armée; je me réglerai sur ceux des Ennemis, & sur ceux de l'Armée aux Ordres de Mr. le Maréchal de Broglie; Mais en général je ne compte pas rester ici bien longtems.

Je suis avec le plus entier devouement & le plus profond respect &c.

*[It's too bad the situation in Bavaria is deteriorating, but he, Noailles, has done nothing to reproach himself with, as the whole army can attest; meanwhile, he is waiting to see what the enemy and Maréchal Broglie do. In any case, he does not plan to stick around.]*

Au Camp de Seligenstatt du 29 Juin 1743.

P.S. En relisant la Lettre que j'ai l'honneur d'écrire à V. M. je remarque que je n'ai fait que nommer ceux qui ont été blessé dans l'Action, sans rien dire de la manière dont ils se sont distingués; Mais j'ai crû que cela seul fussiroit pour faire leur éloge, & d'ailleurs V. M. connoit toute la volonté & le zèle de Mrs. D'Harcourt, de Beuvron, de Gontaut & des autres qui se trouvent dans ce nombre; & dont je ne puis dire assez de bien à V. M.

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