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JUST WHEN YOU THOUGHT IT WAS SAFE.... IT'S SAXONS

SAXON STRENGTH AND LOSSES AT WAGRAM by Neil Litten

I have been reading Mr. Locket's two part article on the Saxon behavior at Wagram (see EEL 76 and 77) with great interest, and I would like to make some additional comments as he himself invited in his conclusions.

To establish the strength of the Saxon units I presume Mr. Locket has referred to the figures given in Armies on the Danube (1) for the returns of IX Corps on 5th July as indeed I previously had (see J. Locket Note 1). However, on closer examination these figures prove to be identical to those shown in 'Armée d'Allemagne au 1er juin 1809' from Carton C2 675 in the French war archives (2). With the sole exception of the Prince Clement Infantry Regiment, which is listed as having 843 and not 741 men under arms, all the strengths of the individual units correspond exactly. Also the fact that Armies on the Danube attributes two battalions to certain regiments and gives brigade composition as it was at the outset of the campaign suggests that its order-of-battle relates to a period before the reorganization of IX Corps on 10th June.

The only figures I can find for early July cover the three Saxon battalions that were assigned to the French division of General Dupas, although a comparison between their strength on 1st June and 1st July is helpful in ascertaining an overall estimate for the Saxon Army.

		1st June (C2 675)			1st July (Dupas) (3)		
		Officers	Men	Total Under Arms	Detached	Sick	Total Effectives
Battalion							
Winklemann							
Winklemann Grenadiers		15	481	496	7	70	573
							579
Radeloff Grenadiers		13	516	529	5	38	572
							583
Metzsch Schützen		14	534	548	2	10	560
							572

Since the increase in numbers by the time of Wagram is in excess of those available through men returning from detachment and hospital combined, it seems justifiable to assume that the Corps received some reinforcements during June. The only other explanation is that these battalions were allotted troops from the regiments that had their second battalion disbanded, although it is unlikely that this restructuring would have made any more grenadiers or riflemen available.

More information concerning Saxon casualties at Wagram exists. Both Hauthal (4) and Schuster (5) give these figures: 590 killed, 2289 wounded and 1356 missing totalling 4238 men inclusive of 126 officers. This summary appears to be derived from the returns of Captain von Treitschke, an officer in the Prince Maximilian Infantry Regiment

throughout 1809. They are listed below.

Exner lists the overall casualties for the two days of the battle as follows (6):

Killed	27 officers and 576 men
Wounded	93 officers and 2185 men
Missing	9 officers and 1348 men (presumed dead)
Total	129 officers and 4109 men

The last two rows differ considerably from those given by Mr. Lochet on page 47 of EEL No. 77. (see Note 2 from J.Lochet)

SAXON LOSSES AT WAGRAM

	Treitschke						Exner					
	Killed		Wounded		Missing		Killed		Wounded		Missing	
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men
General Staff	2	-	7	-	1	-	3	-	6	-	1	-
Garde du Corps	-	29	2	34	-	46	-	-	7	-	-	-
Karabiniers	-	4	2	21	-	24	2	-	1	-	-	-
Leib Kürassiers	1	8	9	34	-	57	2	-	8	-	-	-
Prince Clement	2	5	3	17	-	11	2	-	3	-	-	-
Prince John	1	13	2	52	1	13	-	-	3	-	1	-
Prince Albert	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Hussars	1	6	1	12	-	22	1	-	1	-	-	-
Leib Grenadiers	1	50	5	87	-	-	1	-	5	-	1	-
Radeloff	1	76	10	114	-	50	1	-	10	-	-	-
Bose	-	46	2	68	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
König	-	33	8	225	-	30	1	-	7	-	-	-
Prince Anton	-	17	4	115	-	98	1	-	3	-	-	-
Prince Maximilian	-	77	9	224	-	160	1	-	8	-	-	-
Prince Fred. August	-	28	4	115	1	111	1	-	3	-	-	-
Prince Clement	3	27	4	151	-	120	5	-	2	-	-	-
Niesemeuschel	1	33	3	149	-	22	1	-	3	-	-	-
Low	-	12	8	156	-	233	-	-	8	-	1	-
Cerrini	1	27	2	138	-	106	1	-	2	-	-	-
Klengel	-	12	5	214	2	29	-	-	5	-	3	-
Metzsch	1	19	3	142	2	165	1	-	3	-	2	-
Egidy	-	40	3	102	1	48	1	-	2	-	-	-
Artillery	-	12	1	15	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15	576	103	2185	8	1348(7)	27	576	92	2185	10	1348(8)

With regards the number of soldiers killed, wounded and missing this source and Exner are in complete agreement, a rare occurrence between two different sources. A discrepancy arises over officer casualties though, and for a couple of reasons I am inclined to accept Exner's total taken from an appendix (this slightly amends his previous figure, and officers wounded and missing become 92 and 10 respectively instead of 93 and 9). Firstly, the register of officer casualties actually lists names, and as most of the differences border between killed or wounded, it seems feasible that some of the officers Treitschke gives as wounded later died of these wounds. Also the two regimental histories I have been able to trace, which refer to the Prince Clement Chevaulegers (9) and the König Infantry Regiment (10), both match up their figures to Exner. Therefore, I suggest the following may constitute the Saxon losses at Wagram:

	Officers	Soldiers	Total
Killed	27	576	603
Wounded	92	2185	2277
Missing	10	1348	1358
Total			4238

Because of the limited data on unit strengths at Wagram, the only battalions that can be assessed in terms of percentage losses on 5th-6th July are the following two:

	1st July	Losses	%
Radeloff Grenadiers	583	251	43
Metzsch Schützen	572	332	58

NOTES:

- (1) S.Bowden and C.Tarbox, Armies on the Danube, 1809, (Arlington, 1980), pp. 149-50.
- (2) Carton, C2 675, Vincennes, France.
- (3) Dupas report, Situation générale au 1er juillet 1809, quoted in; F. Duboulez-Dupas and A.Folliet, Le Général Dupas (Paris, 1899), pp. 149-50.
- (4) F.Hauthal, Geischichte der Sächsischen Armee in Wort und Bild (Leipzig, 1859), p.18. He gives the total losses as 4035, but this is a simple arithmetic error.
- (5) O.Schurster and F.A. Franke, Geschichte des Sächsischen Armee (Leipzig, 1885), vol.II, p.283.
- (6) M.Exner, Die Amtheilnahme der Königlich Sächsischen Armee am Feldzuge gegen Oesterreich im Jahre 1809, (Dresden, 1894), p.104.
- (7) E. von Treitschke, Die Königlichen Sächsischen Truppen in der Schlacht bei Wagram, am 5. und 6. Juli 1809 in Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Krieges (Berlin, 1838), p.139.
- (8) Exner, 1809, pp. 106-9.
- (9) Geschichte des 1.Husaren Regiments König Albert Nr.18 (Leipzig, 1809), p.184.
- (10) Geschichte der beiden Königlich Sächsischen Grenadiers = Regimenter: Erstes (Leib)-Grenadier---Regiment-Nr.100 (Dresden, 1877), pp.143-4.

NOTES FROM J.LOCHET: (1) The source used in EEL 77 for the strength of the Saxon units is Commandant Saski La Campagne de 1809, which gives the returns from the French official archives in Vincennes. Since Saski is, I believe, the source used in Armies on the Danube, it's not surprising that the figures of Saski and of Armies on the Danube are identical to those of the French Archives Carton C2 675 .

(2) J. Lochet in his EEL 77 article used an English translation of Exner. Apparently a typo on the translation is the cause of the discrepancy on the last two lines of the Saxon losses.

CASUALTIES AT EBELSBERG: THE AUSTRIAN SIDE ; ANOTHER LOOK by Marc Raiff

Per Jean Locket's invitation (EEL #78), I would like to submit the following translation of an excerpt from Krieg, 1809, the Austrian military history of the 1809 campaign. One of the most pertinent points to be derived from the discussion below is the inherent uncertainty of any casualty data from the Napoleonic wars. Data collection was as imprecise as the technology and accordingly, one can only arrive at a best "guess". I doubt that the "actual casualties" at Ebelsberg will ever be known.

A few translator's notes are in order before we start. I have added a few explanatory notes not contained in the original German text. These are contained in brackets [] to distinguish them from the text. Most importantly, I have tried to follow the German as closely as possible. Accordingly, the English may suffer a bit due to different idiomatic and grammatical treatments. I apologize in advance for any mistranslations caused by my very rusty German. For those interested in a copy of the original German text, please contact me via the editor and I will be happy to provide one.

KRIEG, 1809 Vol. II, pp. 420-423

To arrive at a clear view of the casualties is difficult for both sides. On the Austrian side, a very definite statement is presented (Note 1):

dead	29 officers,	537 men
wounded.....	56 "	, 1657 "
prisoners.....	31 "	, 2185 "

Total 116 " , 4379 "

Continued from page 22

In connection with these figures, Stutterheim remarked, that these were the casualties of the 5th and 6th Korps, while the 2nd Reservekorps lost about 50 grenadiers in addition. Whether the losses of troops assigned from other corps have been included, has not been made evident, just as on what these figures depend.

Regarding the 2nd Reservekorps, in its report was found another statement, about 80 men dead and wounded, of which some of the latter had to be left behind untransportable (Note 2).

Detailed compilations, the last of which is dated August 17, 1809, of the casualties of its own troops, differing from each other in details, turn up repeatedly in the operations journal of the 6th Korps. Only a summary for the 5th Korps is contained in the operations journal of Archduke Louis (Note 3). Indeed, a basis now lies in both general reports which were written in the time from May 4 to 8 of the troops lost, which upon closer examination proves to be not at all reliable (Note 4).

This is valid also for Stutterheim's count, as it is gathered from the easily controlled officer casualties (Note 5).

It is established, that 19 officers died and 87 were taken prisoner, of the latter the greater part, as the notes in the casualty lists of the particular regiments show, were wounded. Furthermore, 27 officers can be proven to have been wounded, yet their count must have been greater, since for all troop formations, where promotion could only have been based on the strength lists [Standeslisten-I couldn't think of a better term], the makeup for the state of the wounded is missing.

As can be gathered from the strength lists (Note 6), the battle for Ebelsberg cost 7200 men dead, prisoners and missing, along with whom the wounded, who were taken away with the army group, must still be counted, certainly 1000 men (Note 7); consequently, the total casualties were likely to have amounted to 8200 men. Undoubtedly, the most were suffered by both battalions of Josef Mittrowsky [IR 40] participating in the town battle, in addition to which are ranked the regiments Splenyi [IR 51] and Benjovzsky (sic) [IR 31] roughly treated at the battle at the bridge. The casualties of Klebek [IR 14] account for the remaining after that, since disregarding the capture of the 2nd battalion, many people had to have been turned away in the pushing and crowding at the crossing over the Traun and part must have perished by the hand of the enemy and in the flood of the river, part must have gone into captivity.

The French bulletin estimated the count of prisoners at 7500 men and followed obviously the statement of Massena immediately after the end of the struggle in his report written around 5:30 PM. As a basis for this superficial estimate, the marshal had reported taking between 7000 and 8000 Austrians prisoner. During the battles on the left of the Traun, it is likely that not more than 2000 of the 3000 men, which were lost by the participating troops, had been captured; in the town battle, Claparede's division probably had the opportunity to take prisoners, although their numbers could not have been very large, partly from the people of Brigades Hoffmeister, Radetzky and a number of Walachish-Illyrier [GR 13] remaining in the town, partly from the Wuerzburg [IR 23] battalion surprised at its first arrival on the plateau and finally from the Beaulieu [IR 58] division [two companies] led by Pirquet, altogether scarcely around 500 men. Legrand took, according to his own statement, 600 men prisoner in the castle and the town; together [with Claparedel] around 1100, the majority from the 2172 men, who had been lost by the troop formations participating in the town battle. At any rate, a greater yield was gained on the plateau of the Schildenberg and finally in the pursuit through the wood, where recently dispersed detachments had been cut off or, like the 3rd battalion of Czartoryski [IR 9], had to fight their way through. The troops coming into question here lost around 1500 men. One can still take into consideration, that the detachments retreating from the town also left behind prisoners on the plateau and in the wood, so that the accumulated amount [of prisoners] in this latter phase could well have reached 1000. Together it amounts to about 4000, which concurs with the statement taken from Thiers.

The battle of Jordis [IR 59] at Kremsdorf seems to have been quite

high in casualties, although the loss of 310 men is likely to have resulted on the part of the newly inducted recruits of the depot company especially during the withdrawal.

Consequently, there still remains the loss of around 2900 men, who fall into the category of dead or wounded. One estimates that the count of those, who had straggled, become lost and not returned to the colors, is very high; still, at least 1000 found their death in the Traun and in the flames. These accompanying circumstances at any rate allow the number of dead to increase in an unusually high proportion to the wounded, especially for the enlisted ranks, since, with respect to officers, the rescue of the wounded had been paid special attention to on the part of their own people and also, the enemy had more interest, to verify officers wounded or close to drowning.

So of the somewhat 140 officers of the Austrian casualties (Note 8), 19 were dead, about 80 were wounded, of which approximately 45 were taken prisoner and finally by the way 40 unwounded were taken prisoner. The bloody loss of around 100 officers is likely to indicate that of 3000 men, of which approximately 1000 are dead, about 1000 wounded prisoners and 1000 wounded brought back [with the army], in all 10% of the 30,000 men who, one after another, came under fire. The proportion worsens substantially for those bodies of troops, who had to undergo the severe fighting at the bridge and in the town and [the proportion] is likely to have crossed over 30% for each unit.

NOTES:

Note 1: Stutterheim, II, 62. [Full reference to this source not available at this time]

Note 2: Kriegsarchiv, Feldakten 1809, 6. Korps, V, 92.

Note 3: Summarizing both, the losses are shown as follows:

	Dead			Wounded			Missing			Prisoners		
	Off.	M.	Hor.	Off.	M.	Hor.	Off.	M.	Hor.	Off.	M.	Hor.
5. Korps	6	230	46	20	1034	42	3	1793	15	27	1266	319
6. Korps	15	313	8	14	723	6	3	887	69	30	1319	
Together	21	543	54	34	1757	48	6	2680	84	57	2585	319
Grand Total 118 Officers, 7565 Men, 505 Horses												

Note 4: Casualty lists Appendix XLV. The difference opposite the compilation in the previous footnote is explained from the fact that, in the casualty lists, the known casualties of the Archduke Charles Uhlans [Uhlans Regiment 3] for May 1 and 2, 3 officers, 31 men, 25 horses, had already been subtracted and moreover, in the casualty lists of the corps, variances are indicated for particular categories opposite the documents.

Note 5: Specification of the officer losses of the Austrians in the battle at Ebelsberg on May 3, 1809 [are in] Appendix XLVI.

Note 6: The summary of the rectified Austrian officer casualties and the losses in dead, wounded and missing of the enlisted men strength in the battle at Ebelsberg according to the strength lists [are in] Appendix XLVII.

Note 7: In the casualty lists of the troop formations, more had been stated, yet prisoners are also included herein, as for Deutschmeister.

Note 8: The 5th and 6th Vienna Volunteer battalions, the 3rd of Czartoryski, Wuertemberg and Chasteler had 5 officers dead and at least 7 wounded, who have to be added to the 133 identified.

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Compiled according to the casualty statements of the troop units written during the time from May 4th to 8th. (Kriegsarchiv, H.K.R. 1809, 5. Korps, V, 2 to 12; 6. Korps, V, 4 to 11; XIII, 1) The quoted data is by no means reliable, as can be easily be detected with respect to the officers. Those identified as dead often turned out to actually be in captivity, while prisoners often turned out to be killed in action and the missing showed up again after a few days. On the other hand, the lists [i.e., strength lists in Appendix XLVIII] often contain casualties from May 1st and 2nd.

Notes:

- 1) Apparently only the casualties of the 2nd battalion.
- 2) According to a 6. Korps casualty list from August 17, 1809 (Operations-journal Nr. 31). Lt. Col. Kueffel (Operationsjournal Nr. 37) estimated the battalion's casualties at 1 officer and 50 men dead, about 130 [men] wounded.
- 3) According to the "Historical Account of the Part, which the 5th Vienna Voluteer Battalion Played in the Campaign of the Year 1809" (Oesterr. Militaerische Zeitschrift 1811, III, 72), the battalion lost 2 officers dead, 1 severely wounded and further, about 120 dead and wounded among the enlisted men.
- 4) According to the report of GM Reinwald, the 1st and 3rd battalions of Josef Mittrowsky lost: dead 1 officer, 31 men; wounded 6 officers, 667 men; captured and missing 6 officers, 923 men.
- 5) Casualties on May 2nd are included. According to the summary of the losses for 5. Korps for the entire campaign, Duka lost on May 3rd 4 dead, 24 missing, 17 captured, altogether 43.

6) In the casualty list, it is noted that most of the wounded turned out to be in captivity. In a report written a day later, the categories were stated differently: 32 dead, 184 wounded, 52 missing, 137 captured, in which [numbers] the officers are included. The total is as before.

7) According to the report of GM Reinwald, the 2nd battalion of Josef Mittrowsky lost: dead 1 man, wounded 1 officer, 2 men.

8) According to the report of GM Reinwald, the 5th Legion battalion lost 4 wounded.

9) According to the casualty lists of 6. Korps, their artillery had lost: 9 dead, 10 wounded, 10 missing, and further 10 horses.

APPENDIX XLVII

Summary of the Rectified Austrian Officer Casualties and Losses in Dead, Captured and Missing for the Enlisted Men in the Battle for Ebelsberg According to the Strength Lists

Gefechtsgruppe	Truppenkörper	Offiziere				Tot geblieben und ermordet von Feindwaffen (ab- wärts)
		tot	verwundet	gefangen	Summe	
Einführungskampf bei Kl. München	Infreg. Benjovszky Nr. 31	1	2	6	9	580
	" Splényi Nr. 51	4	4	14	22	700
	Rosenberg-Chevaulegers Nr. 6	1	2	1	4	45
	Gradiskaner Grenzregiment Nr. 8			13	13	569
	Erzherzog Karl-Ulanen Nr. 3	1	2	3	6	108
	Infreg. Klebek Nr. 14			21	21	836 ¹⁾
	Kienmayer-Husaren Nr. 8	1		6	7	191
Ortskampf in Ebelsberg	Stäbe		1		1	
	Wiener Freiwilligenbataillon Nr. 4	1	3		4	80
	" " " 5	2			2	88
	" " " 6					69
	Infreg. Lindenau Nr. 29			2	2	274
	" Beaulieu Nr. 58	3	4	3	10	216
	" Josef Mittrowsky Nr. 40	1	6	9	16	1014
Krems- dorf	" Stuart Nr. 18 (3. Bataillon)	1	1	1	3	215
	" Karl Schröder Nr. 7 (7. Division)					125
	Walachisch-illyrisches Grenzregiment Nr. 13					91
	Infreg. Jordis Nr. 59					310
	Infreg. Duka Nr. 39					65
	" Gyulai Nr. 60			1	1	75
	" Deutschmeister Nr. 4		1	3	4	326
Rückzugskämpfe	" Kerpen Nr. 49			1	1	430
	" Czartoryski Nr. 9	2			2	42
	" Würzburg Nr. 23			1	1	86
	" Württemberg Nr. 38	1		1	2	153
	" Chasteler Nr. 46					224
	5. Bataillon der Legion Erzherzog Karl			1	1	134
	6. Bataillon der Legion Erzherzog Karl					128
Sonstiger Verlust	4. Artillerieregiment			1	1	
	Liechtenstein-Husaren Nr. 7					16
	Stipaicz-Husaren Nr. 10					1
	Summe	19	27	87	133	7200

Note 1) According to the strength list 1051, yet included herein are 215 men, who had already been missing on May 1st and 2nd, most of whom had straggled on the march.

The following troops, most of whom did not come under fire or like the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Vienna Volunteer battalions incurred casualties wholly from artillery, disclose for May 3rd:

3rd Batt. Stain Nr. 50	4 men
3rd Batt. Archduke Charles Legion	17 men
2nd Batt. Vienna Volunteers	37 men
3rd Batt. " "	6 men

Together

64 men

These people in part were already left behind during the march from Linz to behind the Traun or were lost during the later retreat.