

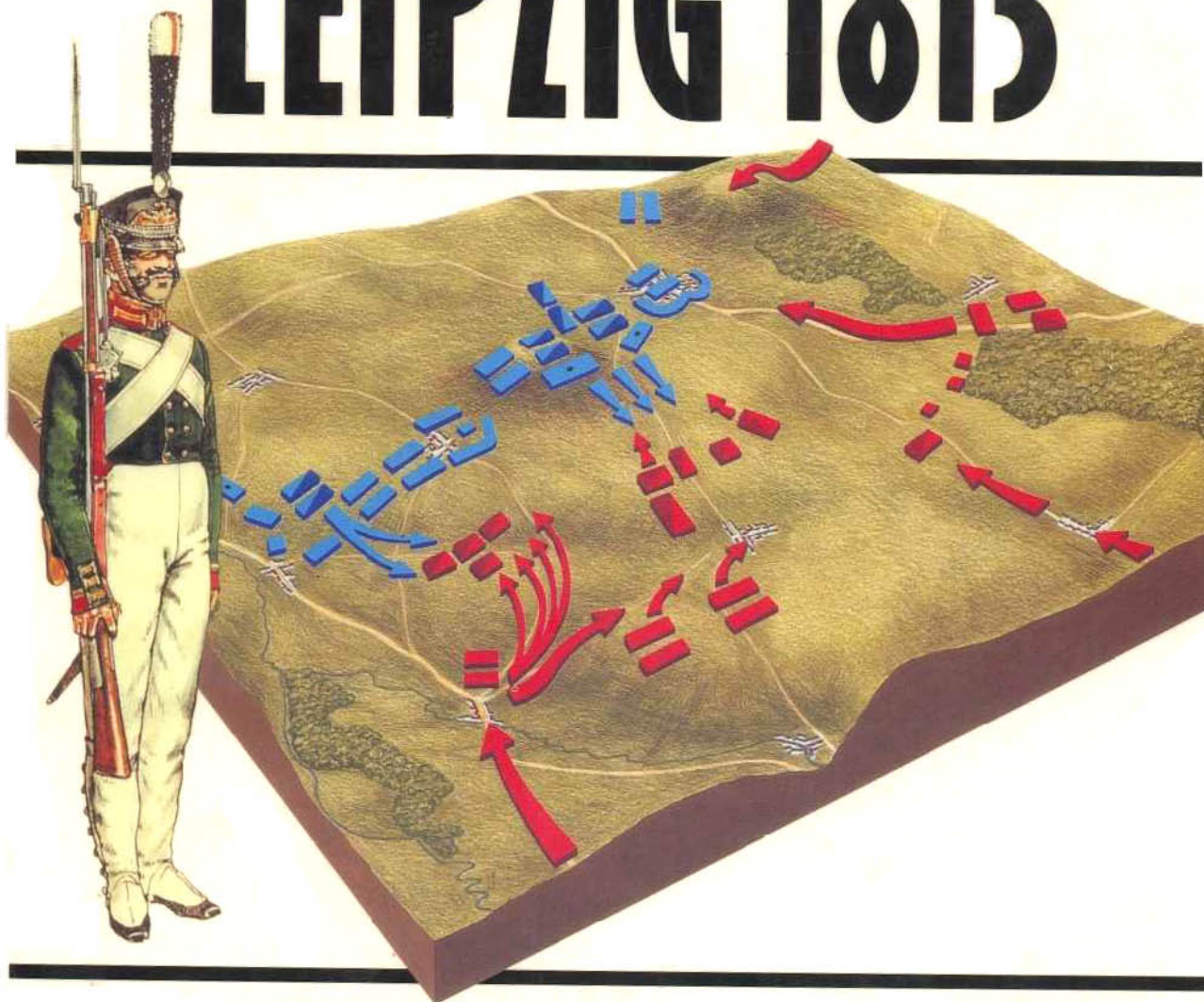
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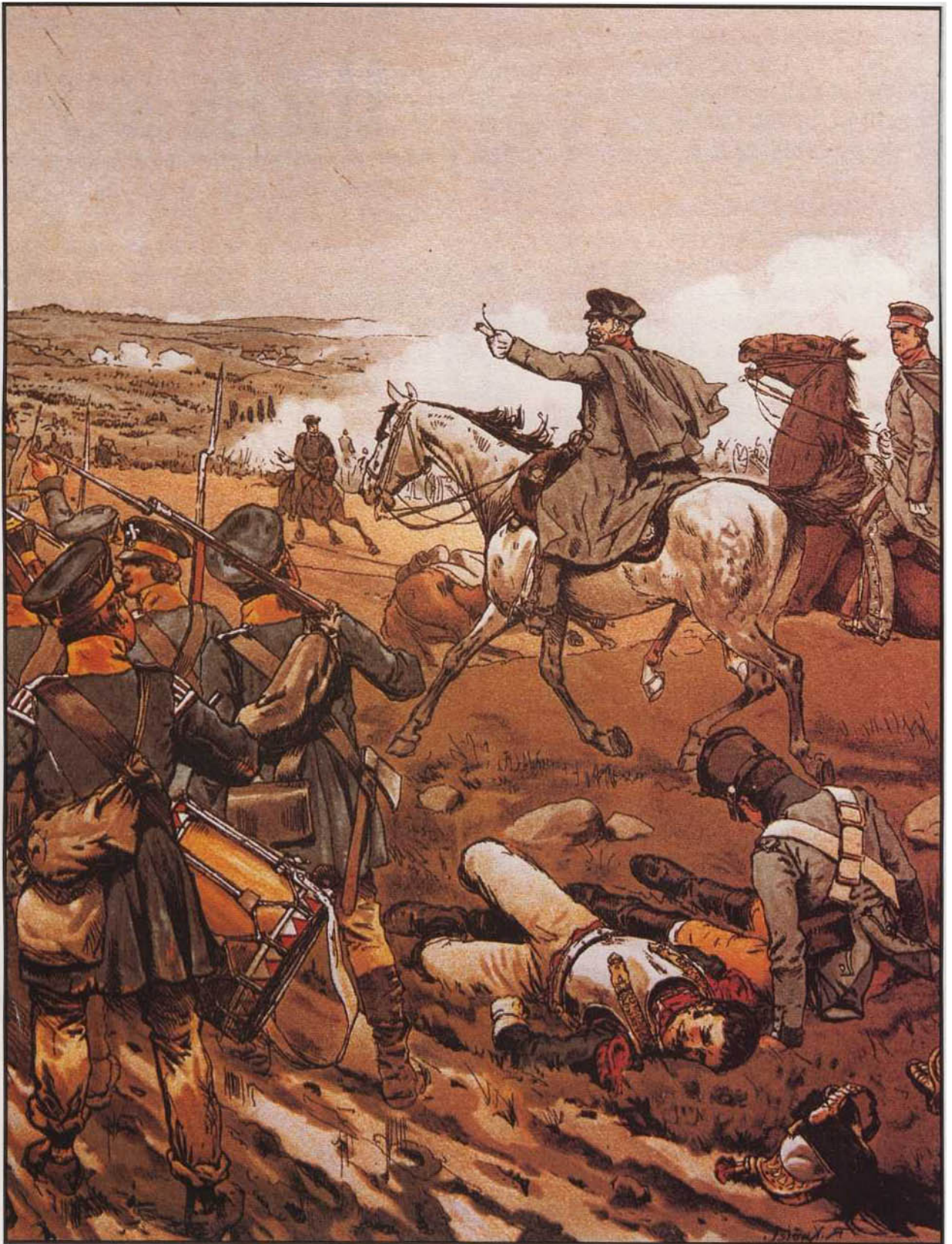
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# LEIPZIG 1813



## THE BATTLE OF THE NATIONS

PETER HOFSCHROER



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THE BATTLE OF  
THE NATIONS

PETER HOFSCHROER

*Blücher leads men of the  
Silesian Militia forward  
at the Battle on the  
Katzbach, 26 August  
1813. By Richard  
Knötel.*

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### Key to Map Symbols

Army		Brigade		Infantry	
Corps		Regiment		Cavalry	
Division		Battalion		Artillery	

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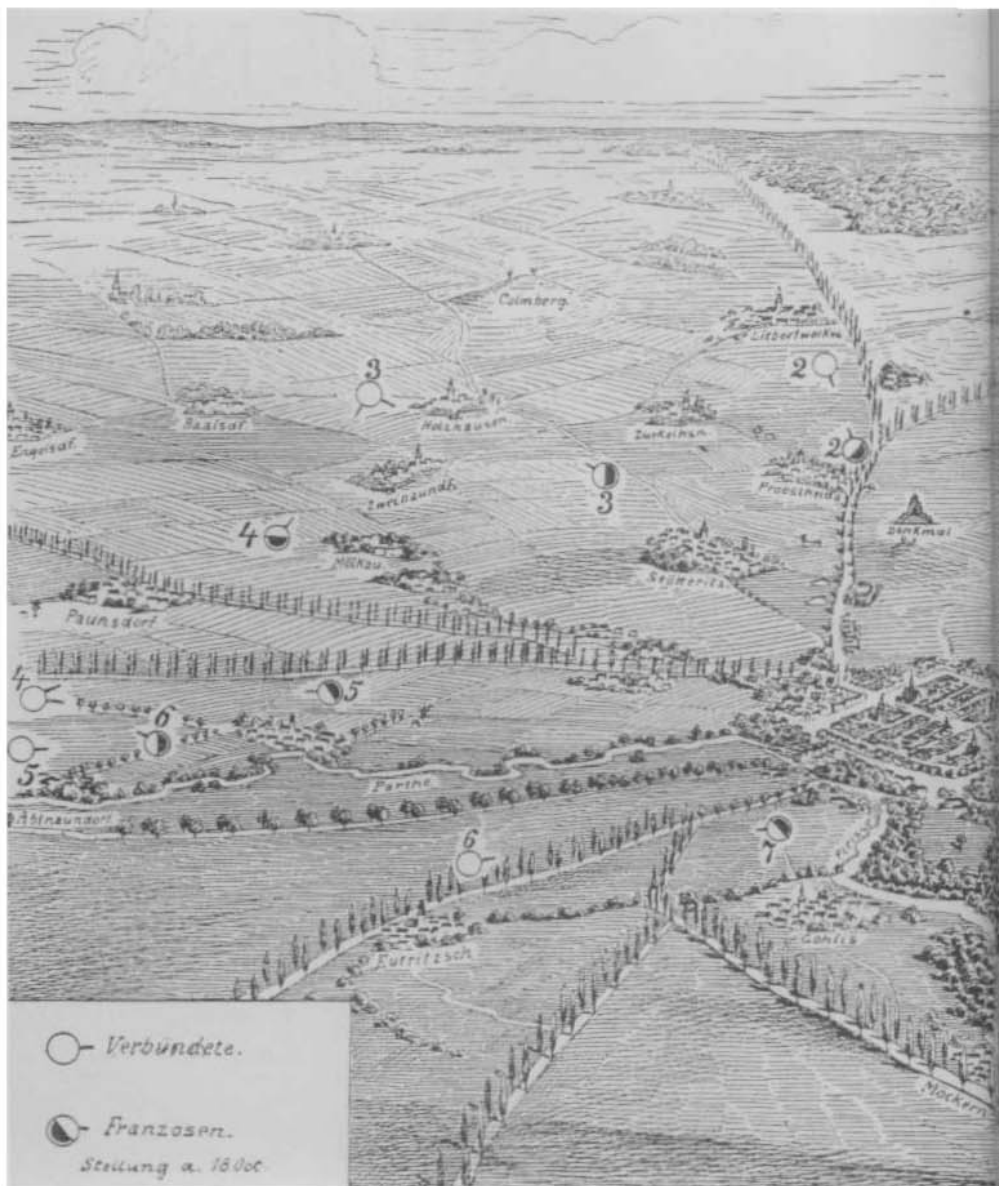
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#### AUTHOR'S NOTES

The armies involved in this fateful campaign consisted of troops from all over the continent of Europe. On the one side stood those forces available to Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor of France. His army consisted of men from not only France but its empire, allies and vassals, particularly of Germans, Italians and Poles. The German contingents came from a number of states, notably Saxony, Bavaria and Württemberg. For the sake of convenience, these troops are normally referred to in this text as 'French' so as to distinguish them from their opponents, the Armies of the Allied Coalition. These consisted of contingents from Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden and certain other German states and are normally referred to in this text as the 'Allies'. Town names are usually given in the original language, names in parentheses being the modern equivalent, Polish, Czech or Slovak.

▼ *This bird's eye view graphically illustrates the salient features of the battlefield of Leipzig. Control of the Kolberg, Liebertwolkwitz, the Galgenberg and Wachau were essential. The two mound-like hills were ideal*

*artillery positions and also provided dead ground in which reinforcements could be safely hidden. The two villages were ideal strongpoints, which were prepared for defence and turned into mini-fortresses.*



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# INTRODUCTION

The fact of the matter is that in October 1813, Napoleon met his real Waterloo at Leipzig. Those events in and around the city of Leipzig in Saxony amounted to the greatest battle of the Napoleonic Wars and resulted in the most devastating defeat suffered by the Emperor of the French. Not for nothing was this great clash of arms known as the



▲ *Napoleon Bonaparte. His period of rule in Europe in the early 19th century was marked by a series of wars, the scale of which were unprecedented. Not to be forgotten however are the benefits*

*this regime brought, particularly wide-scale reforms of administration throughout Europe. From a painting by David, drawn by Bourgeois and engraved by Bertrand.*

‘Battle of the Nations’. Approximately half a million men from most of the nations of Europe took part in this battle, and decided the fate of that continent for a generation and more. Moreover, in terms of numbers involved it was the greatest battle in history, until overshadowed by the global conflicts of this century. The events in the Low Countries in June 1815 were of lesser significance and the result of the Battle of Waterloo merely underlined the decision made by force of arms two years previously.

This brief outline of the Leipzig Campaign is written in the hope of stimulating the minds of those interested in the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire and awaken their interest in a battle that, thanks to the fateful events of autumn 1989 in which Leipzig again played a major role, is now open to the visitor from the West.

The destruction of Napoleon’s Grande Armée of 1812 in Russia, which had been until then the largest force of arms ever assembled, was a blow that would have finished most mortals. For Napoleon it proved merely a temporary set-back. While the rest of Europe paused to consider how to fill the power vacuum that had occurred as a result of the retreat from Moscow in the sub-zero temperatures of the winter of 1812/13, Bonaparte returned to France and set about filling it. Within weeks he had a new army ready to take the field against the coalition of forces preparing to confront him.

Meanwhile some of his reluctant allies had deserted him, notably Prussia, ruled by Frederick William III, the first to throw in his lot with Tsar Alexander of Russia. Austria, under Emperor Francis, sat on the fence and hesitated, waiting to take sides with whomever offered the best terms and prospects. ‘Perfidious Albion’ was behind the scenes everywhere, offering encouragement and golden guineas to whomever would risk his throne to overthrow the arch-enemy. The rulers of

► *The Grande Armée returning from Russia at the beginning of 1813. This contemporary engraving showing the sorry state of the remnants of Napoleon's largest army was produced by Geissler, a resident of Leipzig at that time and an eye-witness.*



► *A later painting showing an artistically more realistic impression of the Grande Armée of 1812 on its way home. Painting by Arthur Kampf.*



Germany's smaller states were caught between popular discontent and a desire for self-preservation and loyalty to the man who had after all, made them a present of regal status. The lesser princes of Germany vacillated. Events soon forced them to make a decision and most considered loyalty to the Emperor of France expedient, at least for the time being.

The armies of the King of Prussia and the Tsar of Russia took the field in the spring of 1813 against the hastily mobilized but highly motivated force of raw recruits fielded by France. Sweden, her Crown

Prince a former Marshal of Napoleon's, joined the war in favour of the Allies and hoped for territorial gain. It is possible that Sweden's king-to-be even had a hankering for the crown of France. The other great European power, the Austrian Empire, awaited events. Vienna, as so often in her history, was a hotbed of spies and conspiracies.

The first major clash of arms of this spring campaign came within a whisker of being the decisive battle of the Napoleonic Wars. On 2 May 1813 a Prusso-Russian Army under the command of Kutusov's successor, Wittgenstein, moved against

the flank of the French Army marching towards Leipzig. Ney's Corps was caught asleep around the village of Gross-Görschen. His command could have been wiped out, but a determined defence and the confusion that prevailed at Allied Headquarters saved him. The chance to defeat the French corps in detail as it marched up the road from Weissenfels to Leipzig was lost and the Allies, heavily outnumbered, were compelled to retire from that corpse-strewn field in Saxony, leaving the French claiming victory even though they failed to launch a pursuit of the Allies and had suffered twice the number of casualties.

Gone was the opportunity for a Prusso-Russian alliance to defeat France unaided. The Prussian General Scharnhorst, wounded at Gross-Görschen, departed for Vienna in the hope of pushing the Austrians off their proverbial fence.

The French now had the initiative, but their lack of cavalry caused by the enormous loss of horses suffered during the Russian campaign, meant that they could do little with it. Gross-Görschen (otherwise known as Lützen) was not an easy contest. It was clear that Napoleon, despite having the larger army, was not going to defeat this Prusso-Russian alliance with the relative ease of 1806–7.

The second major battle of this campaign took place at Bautzen in Saxony on 21 and 22 May 1813. A total of 96,000 Prusso-Russian troops held their ground against more than 150,000 French before being compelled to retire into Silesia.

Both sides had now exhausted themselves and needed time to take stock of the situation and bring up fresh forces. At Napoleon's suggestion the protagonists agreed to an armistice which was eventually extended into August. The French, twice victorious on the field of battle, were too weak to make anything of their favourable position. The Allies, exhausted by these two battles and lacking the strength to offer a third, welcomed an opportunity to lick their wounds and recover. Their ability to take on a larger French force and not suffer a decisive defeat gave them the moral victory and increased the chances of Austria joining this coalition, which would shift the weight of numbers from the French side to the Allies.

That summer Vienna was a hive of diplomatic activity. Austria joined the Allies and tipped the scales in their favour. Sweden put an army into northern Germany to assert her claims to a role in Europe, and the stage was set for the Campaign of Autumn 1813, for Leipzig, the Battle of the Nations, and one of the decisive battles in history.



◀ *Napoleon planning a battle. This painting is an interesting indication of how the Napoleonic command system functioned. He is sitting alone making his plans. Orders are then given to the clerk on his left who transcribes them and passes them on to the aides in the background. The orders are then delivered to the various sub-commanders. Such a system worked well with the smaller armies Napoleon commanded in his earlier campaigns but by 1813 it was shown to be outdated. Napoleon's system was simply too inflexible to cope with warfare on such a massive scale. Painting by Armand-Dumaresq.*



# THE OPPOSING ARMIES

## The French Army and its Allies

The Grande Armée of 600,000 men that went to Russia in 1812 was virtually entirely destroyed. The Viceroy of Italy, acting as Napoleon's representative in Germany, was able to put together a holding force of 15,000 men, 1,600 horses and 28 cannon while Bonaparte, having returned to Paris on 18 December 1812, set about building a new army. He was fortunate in that he still had 20,000 officers and NCOs who would form the backbone of his new army. In his depots he had at least 10,000 men with a certain level of training. Then there were the 98 companies guarding French warships in their harbours, a total of about 7,000 men. The naval artillery regiments, some twelve battalions, provided him with 12,000 veterans and 4,000 new recruits from the class of 1812. The Municipal Guard of Paris (two battalions) and the Reserve Companies of the Départements (116 companies) provided another 4,050 trained men, and 3,000 men of the Gendarmerie were also available plus about 40,000 veterans of the Peninsula campaigns. Not counting the men already deployed in Germany, Napoleon had a total of approximately 100,000 trained men around whom he could form a new army. This task was to be his main objective during the coming weeks.

Immediately to hand were the 78,000 men in the cohorts of the National Guard, a kind of para-military police force. These were young men between the ages of 20 and 27 who had not already served in the field. Having been called up in March 1812, they were already clothed and equipped in the same way as the line infantry. By the spring of 1813 they had one year's service behind them and were transferred to the army to form 22 infantry regiments of four field battalions of six companies each and one depot battalion of four companies together with three artillery regiments each of 22 companies.



▲ *French Honour Guard. These volunteers came from the wealthier classes of French society. They provided their own uniforms and equipment as well as horses. They formed several mounted units which helped to alleviate the great shortage of cavalry in the French Army. Drawing by Rasset.*

Raw recruits were formed into an army of about 567,000 men around this core: 137,000 men of the class of 1813. Their mobilization had commenced in September 1812 and by the end of November these 19-year-olds were in their training depots; 100,000 men of the classes of 1809-1812 not called up previously. They were aged between 20 and 24; 150,000

*Trooper, 1st Regiment of  
Lancers of the Imperial  
Guard. Plate by Bellange.*



men of the class of 1814 were called up early. They were aged 18 to 19 and started to arrive in the training depots in March and April 1813; 80,000 men of the classes of 1807-1812. Aged 20 to 27, they arrived in their training depots in May 1813; a further 90,000 men of the class of 1814; 10,000 men of the so-called Guards of Honour. These were volunteers from the wealthier social classes who provided their own mounts and a minimum sum of 1,000 francs.

The total of men thus available in the spring of 1813 was some 745,000. Of these, a considerable number still needed to be trained and equipped. About 20 per cent of this total would either desert or would not be fit for service.

In addition to this came the armies of those nations and states allied to the French Empire. Hitherto troops from Italy and Naples had provided a significant part of the forces available to the French Empire, but for this campaign, with few exceptions, this usual source was not available, being needed to defend Italian soil. A more readily available source of reliable manpower was the so-called Confederation of the Rhine, those German states organized under French hegemony. At the beginning of 1813 this source was already providing 25,000 men and by the time of the summer armistice the number had risen to about 75,000. This figure included 25,000 Bavarians who fought as an ally of the French but unlike other Confederation armies, under its own command. They changed sides just before the Battle of Leipzig. Furthermore, some 16,000 Poles fought under French command, and Denmark raised an auxiliary corps of 10,500 men. The bulk of these troops became available during the course of the armistice or thereafter.

It was fortunate for Napoleon that he was continuing to raise new forces throughout 1813. His losses during the spring campaign at the battles of Lützen and Bautzen and from a high rate of desertion were considerable. For instance, French losses at Lützen were about 18,000 men, and an equivalent number is thought to have left the army of their own volition by that time. French losses at Bautzen were some 25,000 men. This rate of attrition could not be sustained without a breathing-space to bring up reserves. Napoleon had started the Spring Campaign with about 130,000 men under his per-

sonal command, and reinforcements were constantly on the march to the front. At Bautzen he had nearly 160,000 men at his disposal, but his losses were high, affecting mainly his veterans, troops he could ill afford to lose. The troops in the campaign of autumn 1813 were thus of a lower calibre. The forces at his disposal in mid August 1813 were as shown in Table 1. IX and X Corps are missing from this list because the Bavarian Corps under Wrede was designated as IX Corps, but this number was later given to the Corps under Augereau which was still in the process of formation when the armistice came to an end. The garrison of Danzig consisted of X Corps under Rapp and is listed in Table 2. The garrisons on the River Elbe should also be considered as part of the field army during the opening phase of this campaign because at that time they were in a position to influence operations in the field.

**Table 1. Forces (Field Army) at Napoleon's disposal in mid-August 1813**

Corps	Commander	Men
Guard		58,191
I	Vandamme	33,298
II	Victor	25,158
III	Ney	40,006
IV	Bertrand	23,663
V	Lauriston	27,905
VI	Marmont	27,754
VII	Reynier	21,283
VIII	Poniatowski	7,573
XI	Macdonald	24,418
XII	Oudinot	19,324
XIII	Davout	37,514
XIV	St.Cyr	26,149
<b>Cavalry</b>		
I	Latour-Maubourg	16,537
II	Sebastiani	10,304
III	Arrighi	6,000
IV	Kellermann	3,923
V	l'Héritier	3,000
<b>Girard's Corps</b>		
Division Dambrowski		4,000
Division Lanusse		11,000
Reserve Artillery and Engineers		8,010
Corps of Observation of Leipzig under Margaron		7,800
<b>Total strength of French Field Army</b>		<b>442,810</b>

**Table 2. French Garrisons on the River Elbe**

Hamburg	12,000
Bremen	1,500
Magdeburg	3,250
Wittenberg	2,318
Torgau	2,000
Dresden	5,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26,068</b>

**Formations in the Second Line**

Division Lemoine at Minden, seven battalions, 500 horses, eight cannon	5,400
Augereau's Corps (still being fitted out)	10,000
Milhaud's Cavalry Corps, ditto	2,500
Wrede's Corps (Bavarians) 25,000 men	
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>42,900</b>

**Garrisons of Fortresses in Poland and Germany:**

Danzig (Gdansk)	25,000
Zamosc	4,000
Modlin	3,000
Stettin (Szczecin)	8,500
Küstrin (Kostrzyn)	4,000
Glogau (Glogow)	5,500
Erfurt	1,874
Würzburg	2,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>55,374</b>



These men were largely veterans of the 1812 campaign with experienced officers. The fact that they were cut off and could not return to Napoleon's field army proved a great loss to him. It is true that these garrisons did tie down a large number of Allied troops in observation corps, but most of those corps consisted of very second-rate

formations such as Tauentzien's Prussian IV Corps which was made up of poorly trained and equipped militia.

Taking into account those formations still in the process of mobilization, Napoleon had about 700,000 men available for use in the Autumn Campaign. One can admire the organizational

◀ *Top left: Marshal Oudinot. A highly experienced soldier, poor Oudinot is best remembered in this campaign for his defeat at Grossbeeren at the hands of Bülow and his failure to offer Ney sufficient support at Dennewitz. He was twice given the chance by Napoleon to capture Berlin, the capital of Prussia, and failed on both occasions. Painting by Le Fevre.*



◀ *Below far left: Marshal Macdonald. This Napoleonic marshal also proved unable to obtain success when given an independent command. Badly mauled by Blücher on the Katzbach, he fought bravely with the rearguard at Leipzig and had to swim the Elster to escape capture. Engraving by Carl Meyer.*



◀ *Left: Marshal Ney. One of the most famous of Napoleon's marshals. A romantic figure remembered best for bravery on the field of battle. His performance in 1813 clearly indicated that an independent command was beyond his capabilities; his corps came close to destruction at Gross-Görschen, his attempt to outflank the Prusso-Russian army at Bautzen was a flop, he suffered a heavy defeat at*

*Dennewitz. Drawing by Maurin, etched by Delpesch.*

▲ *Top: Bavarian Hussars 1813. One of the major states of the so-called Confederation of the Rhine, Bavaria remained*

*an ally to Napoleon until only a matter of days before the Battle of Leipzig. Drawing by Anton Hoffmann.*

▲ *Above: French soldiers billeted in Germany. To many victims of the*

*Napoleonic Wars, this is how the period of French occupation was often perceived – arrogant foreigners lording it up and plundering wherever they went. Painting by Henseler.*

*Joachim Murat, commander of the French cavalry at Liebertowitz, 14 October 1813 and a well-known dandy of the period. Plate by Bellange.*





▲ *General Vandamme. The most unfortunate French commander of the campaign. Entrusted with the pursuit of the Army of Bohemia after Dresden, he had the opportunity of deciding the campaign in his master's favour.*

*However, more by accident than design, the pursuer was surrounded and his command wiped out. A brave man but the one who turned the victory at Dresden into a major defeat for Napoleon. Painting by Rouillard.*



▲ *General Bertrand commanded IV Corps in the Grande Armée in this campaign. Always loyal to Napoleon, his performance in 1813 was satisfactory, but then he was never trusted with an independent com-*

*mand. He was defeated by Yorck at Wartenburg after a determined fight. Painting by Delaroche.*

achievement in producing such a large army in a matter of months after having an equivalent force wiped out virtually to a man in Russia. On the other hand, one should bear in mind that significant numbers of these troops were poorly trained and equipped, although it should be pointed out that much of the preparations of raising this new army had been started even before Napoleon left for Moscow in 1812. Finally, Napoleon was now using up his veterans faster than he could replace them. He was running out of time and resources with which to retain his Empire.

### Training

Training of this army was largely a rushed and improvised matter. Much training was done on the

march while new units were being moved from their depots in France to the front in Germany. One has to admire the rationality and minimal use of resources of manpower in this system. Cannon-fodder was being turned out within a matter of weeks.

A recruit's training programme ran roughly as follows. The first four weeks were spent in the recruitment depot where he was kitted out and did his basic training. After having fired four blanks and two live rounds from his musket, he was considered fit for service and marched off to the front in a group of about 100 men with requisite officers and NCOs. Further training was given on the march. These companies of recruits marched for six hours in the morning and received two to three hours of additional training in the afternoons. In this fashion, platoon- and company-level manoeuvres were prac-

tised. After a time, four to six of these march columns were united to form a *bataillon de marche*, a provisional tactical formation. A battalion commander, normally from one of the Paris depots or from the army in Spain, would then be posted to this formation. The march to Germany continued, the afternoons being spent practising battalion manoeuvres. By the time Mainz was reached the battalion was expected to be fully trained. Here, Marshal Kellermann (the elder) would inspect the battalion and deal with any deficiencies of clothing or equipment. Several such battalions were then amalgamated to form provisional regiments which were then sent to the front in Saxony, if possible accompanied by artillery and cavalry formations so that inter-arm training could be undertaken. Once in Saxony, the Emperor would conduct a final inspection, the provisional formations were disbanded and the men were posted to their allocated units.

That was the theory, but this superficially remarkable machine broke down under the massive demands made upon it. The first link in the chain to snap were the depots themselves. They soon ran out of kit with which to supply the new recruits. Moreover there was insufficient room in the depots to house the recruits for their four weeks' basic training and this led to its being cut to a mere two weeks. As there were insufficient firearms, these formations were often sent to Germany without ever having fired a musket. There was also a chronic shortage of officers. Even stripping the army in Spain of every available officer failed to produce enough to provide the provisional companies with one captain and one lieutenant each. This led to officers of dubious quality being called up and for individuals being promoted to officer rank without necessarily having the ability to perform its functions.

If that were not enough, the low average age of the recruits – two-thirds of the army was aged between 18 and 20 – gave rise to a higher rate of sickness as a consequence of physical immaturity. It was not unknown for 50 per cent of a formation to be on the sick list. The battalions arriving in Mainz were thus of varied size, quality and with different levels of equipment. Even the energetic Kellermann could do little but deal with the most glaring deficiencies.

France was a populous country so manpower was an appreciable resource, but horsepower was not. The French cavalry had been wiped out in Russia. A good deal more time was needed to train a cavalryman than an infantryman. France was not a horse country so the military normally purchased their mounts in Germany, but those horse-rich provinces were largely in the hands of the enemy. Those trained riders available in France were sent on foot to Germany where it was hoped they would find mounts. It should also be remembered that not only the riders but also the horses needed training to make proper cavalry mounts. The quality of these formations was very poor. The best cavalry units available to the army in Germany came either from Spain or Poland, but there were precious few of these and the performance of the entire French Army was to suffer because of this. Without good cavalry the enemy could not be out-scouted or pursued. Without good Intelligence, one could not determine the strength and dispositions of the enemy – a positive disadvantage when making the decision to give battle or not. Furthermore one characteristic of the Napoleonic battle was the determined pursuit following it. With insufficient and inadequately trained cavalry, Napoleon might win battles but without the destruction of the enemy army at its most vulnerable – on the retreat – he could not win the campaign.

Napoleon relied on his artillery to compensate deficiencies elsewhere. Experienced gunners were available and draught horses were easier to obtain than cavalry chargers, and there was an adequate supply of ordnance, even if older pieces had to be brought into service.

All in all, the Grande Armée of the autumn of 1813 left much to be desired. The corps commanders had their hands full trying to overcome some of the deficiencies. That summer had been spent constantly drilling the new formations. Even during the armistice, food supplies were irregular and the young recruits, growing lads all, were found to need substantially more nutrition than was normally to be expected. The army approached the reopening of hostilities with 90,000 on the sick list. Desertion was rife. There was, however, a hard core of veterans who would soon take the bit between their teeth and drag the rest of army forward with them.



At senior levels, the French officer corps consisted of highly experienced and well motivated men – arguably the best senior officer corps the French Army had ever had. The lower ranks, on the other hand, consisted in too many cases of inexperienced and unsuitable men.

The French Army may have been in a sorry state at this time, but its opponents were in not much better case.

### The Russian Army

The theoretical strength of the regiments mobilized for the 1812 campaign was 1,476 men in two field battalions. The Russian battalions present at the Battle of Bautzen in May 1813 averaged 150-200 men each. Even though 70,000 reinforcements arrived in Germany during the summer of 1813, this was insufficient to bring the battalions up to



▲ *Tsar Alexander of Russia. Generally regarded as a benevolent and liberal ruler, Alexander spent the campaign of autumn 1813 at the headquarters of the Army of Bohemia. His skill as a soldier tends not to be*

*highly regarded, but it should not be forgotten that his intervention at a critical moment in the battle on 16 October stabilized the situation for the Allies. Etching by Katzler.*

strength. Most battalions were brought up to 500 to 600 men, but many regiments could muster only one battalion. The vast losses sustained in 1812 were replaced by calling up men of the older classes. They marched from their depots in Russia to the front in Germany thereby accustoming themselves to life in the open and the hardships facing a soldier. They were well clothed and equipped but lacked the tactical subtleties of western armies. Only the Jäger (light) regiments showed any expertise in skirmish tactics.

The cavalry had been reorganized at the end of the 1812 campaign, each branch being mustered in divisions. Including the Guard Cuirassiers, there were three cuirassier divisions, two of chasseurs, three of hussars and three of lancers. Each division consisted of two brigades each having two regiments. The Guard Cavalry (excluding the Guard Cuirassiers) formed a separate division.

The theoretical strength of a cavalry regiment was seven squadrons of 208 men and 179 horses, the 7th Squadron acting as a reserve for the others, but despite having received 14,000 reinforcements, most regiments consisted of only two to four squadrons of 120 horses, although of the best quality, well trained, and with good kit. Together with a sabre, the dragoons and chasseurs were armed with muskets, the cuirassiers, hussars and lancers with pistols and sixteen men per squadron were armed with short carbines so that they could be used as flankers or skirmishers.

The irregular cavalry formations that accompanied the Russian Army – Cossacks, Bashkirs, Kalmucks, Tartars, etc. – were somewhat controversial. German eye-witnesses describe them as being well mounted and armed but undisciplined; incapable of carrying out an orderly attack on formed troops, lacking proper military training, and unreliable as scouts. Eye-witnesses on the French side mention the effect these hordes of wild tribesmen had on them. And one should not forget that the citizens of towns and villages in Prussia, an allied state through which these troops passed, had to take special security measures to prevent looting by what was generally known as the ‘Cossacks’.

The Russian artillery had a good reputation for its guns, equipment and training. Although sources do not agree on the number of artillery companies,

*Senior officer, Russian  
Life Cuirassier Regiment.  
Contemporary painting  
by Krause.*



► *The popular view of Cossacks. At times, they plundered friend and foe alike with no regard for their victims. At other times, they overwhelmed their hosts with their friendliness and honesty. Their name alone inspired fear in the hearts of the French who had suffered terribly at their hands during the retreat from Moscow. Of limited military value, their effect was largely psychological.*



► *Hetman Platow and his Cossacks. This is a most interesting painting that shows details of uniforms and equipment carried by the Cossacks. Schadow/Jügel.*



it is known that each served twelve pieces. A so-called position battery consisted of four 20pdr howitzers, four medium and four light cannon. A light battery consisted of four 12pdr howitzers and eight 6pdr cannon. A horse battery consisted of six 12pdr howitzers and six 6pdr cannon.

The Russian officer corps was a mixed bunch. Native officers tended to be poorly educated. The Guard, however, drew its officers from the higher nobility and certain cavalry regiments also had a

solid officer corps. A good number of officers were foreigners, for the most part German.

An army corps normally consisted of two infantry and one cavalry corps. An infantry corps normally consisted of two divisions each of three brigades of four infantry and two Jäger (light) regiments. A cavalry corps consisted of two brigades each of two regiments. An infantry division also had an artillery brigade of one heavy (position) battery and two light, a total of 36 pieces.



▲ Top left: Russian soldiers. Left to right: Cossack, Kalmuck and Militiaman. Contempor-

ary drawing by Schadow, etched by Jügel.

▲ Above: a Bashkir. From this picture, it is clear why these asiatic tribesmen inspired fear in both friend and foe. Schadow/ Jügel.

◀ General Count Wittgenstein. Replacing Kutusov as senior Russian commander in the of spring 1813, Wittgenstein was a mere 44 years old. He commanded a corps during the autumn, fighting at Dresden and Leipzig. Painting by Dähling.

► Count Hieronymus Colloredo. Austrian Corps commander with Army of Bohemia. His corps was in the thick of the fighting at Dresden, Kulm and Leipzig. Colloredo continued to serve his Emperor after Leipzig, advancing with his troops into France in 1814. Painting by P. Krafft.



▲ Duke Eugène of Württemberg. German by birth, he was a Russian lieutenant-general and commanded a corps in the Army of Bohemia. Fought at Kulm and Leipzig. Painting by Lauchert.



**Table 3. Organization of the Russian Field Army**

Corps	Men
<b>In Silesia</b>	
Langeron	34,551
Sacken	18,353
Wittgenstein	34,926
St. Priest	13,586
Guards & Reserves	44,347
<b>In Brandenburg</b>	
Corps Wittgenstein, Woronzow and Detachment Tschernitschew	29,357
With III Corps	1,160
With IV Corps (Prussians)	318
<b>In Mecklenburg</b> attached to Wallmoden's Corps	
Tettenborn	1,495
Russo-German Legion	4,475
With Dörnberg's Cavalry	1,192
Russo-German Artillery	363
<b>Total Field Army</b>	<b>184,123 men</b>
<b>In Reserve</b>	
Bennigsen's Reserve Army near Warsaw	59,000
Roth's Corps blockading Zamosc	15,000
Kleinmichel's Corps blockading Modlin	9,000
Before Danzig under Duke Alexander of Württemberg	29,100
TOTAL RUSSIAN RESERVES AND BLOCKADING TROOPS: 112,100	

Towards the end of the armistice, the Russian Field Army was organized as shown in Table 3. The total strength of the Russian forces in Germany and Poland was thus about 296,000 men.

### The Austrian Army

The Austrian Corps under Prince Schwarzenberg that went to Russia in 1812 returned relatively intact. In January 1813 this corps consisted of four divisions with 25 battalions and 44 squadrons, about 29,000 men and 7,000 horses. In addition to this was the Reserve Corps under the Prince of Reuss raised in 1812. This had been deployed in Galicia (on the border of the Austrian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw) to act as a reserve for Schwarzenberg. It consisted of four divisions with 28 battalions and 42 squadrons, some 30,807 men and 5,129 horses. The Austrian Army at this time consisted of about 60,000 men and 12,000 horses. Further forces were raised during the early part of 1813 so that by the commencement of hostilities with France in August 1813, the Austrian Army consisted of the forces shown in Table 4. In addition to this, a reserve army was being formed under Duke Ferdinand of Württemberg in Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava).

At the commencement of hostilities in August 1813 the army was formed into three light divisions consisting largely of border troops (Grenzer); the right wing consisting of five infantry and two cavalry divisions; the left wing consisting of two infantry and one cavalry divisions; and the reserve corps of two infantry divisions and one brigade of cavalry. In

**Table 4. Austrian Army, August 1813**

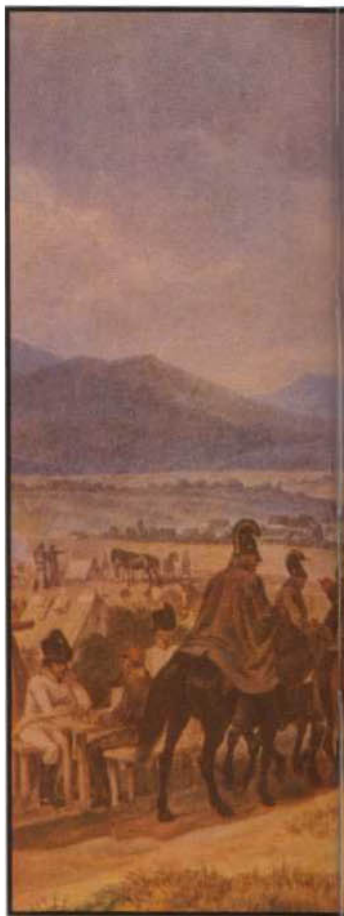
<b>With the Army of Bohemia (or Main Army)</b>	
107 battalions, 117 squadrons, 290 guns, 127,345 men	
<b>Between the Ens and Traun</b>	
under Prince of Reuss:	30,079
The Army of Inner Austria under Hiller:	36,557
TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE FIELD ARMY:	193,981
<b>Fortress Garrisons:</b>	
Prague	7,320
Königgrätz (Hradec Kralove)	9,424
Josefstadt (Josefov)	10,800
TOTAL STRENGTH OF FORTRESS GARRISONS	27,544





◀ *Joseph Count Radetzky. Chief-of-Staff of the Army of Bohemia, a very capable officer who helped form the successful Allied strategy of avoiding a battle with Napoleon in person until all forces had been concentrated. Engraving by H. Mansfeld.*

▶ *Austrian Cuirassiers. Contemporary painting by J.A. Klein in the Albertina Collection in Vienna. Author's photograph.*



September, the army was reorganized into corps after the fashion of its allies. Two-thirds of this army consisted of recruits with three months' service. They were poorly trained, the more so because of a shortage of junior officers. Sufficient firearms were available but there was a shortage of greatcoats and footwear which became particularly noticeable during the rains of that August.

The Austrians lacked the enthusiasm of the Prussians and the determination of the Russians, which is understandable given that it was not until shortly before the commencement of hostilities that they knew on whose side they were going to fight. The Prussians were fighting to free their homeland and saw this campaign as part of their war of liberation; for the Russians, the campaign was a continuation of the patriotic war of 1812. The Austrians were merely playing power politics. Although they wanted to end the period of French domination of their affairs, they also wanted to prevent a power vacuum arising which the Russians and their junior partner, the Prussians, would fill. For the Prussians and Russians, the overthrow of the Bonaparte dynasty was paramount. For the Austrians, curtail-

ing it was sufficient, its overthrow undesirable. Their involvement in this campaign was half-hearted and, generally speaking, their performance reflected this fact.

### The Prussian Army

The Prussians started the year of 1813 with a core of 56,000 experienced soldiers. To this, a further 33,642 reservists were added, and 42 new battalions were formed from these men and new recruits. Volunteers from the middle classes were formed into detachments totalling about 5,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 500 gunners. Then came the so-called free corps, of limited military value. The bulk of the rapid expansion of the Prussian Army for the campaign of autumn 1813 came from the militia (Landwehr), adding about 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry to the field army and blockading forces. In total, the Prussians raised a force of approximately 271,000 men of which some 192,000



were with the field army. It was broken down as shown in Table 5.

The Royal Guard and II Corps were attached to the Army of Bohemia under the Austrian Schwarzenberg, I Corps was attached to Blücher's Army of Silesia, III and IV Corps to the Army of the North under the Crown Prince of Sweden, IV Corps was used to blockade various French garrisons behind Allied lines.

### The Swedish Army

The Swedish Army consisted of Swedes and Germans, the latter coming from areas of Germany then under Swedish control. The latter were organized into two regiments of infantry, a militia which was not used in active service and two small volunteer detachments. The ethnic Swedish troops were partly volunteers, men performing military service to the crown in return for a grant of farm land on completion of their service. The army's discipline,

**Table 5. Prussian Army**

<b>In Silesia</b>	
Royal Guard	7,091
I Corps Yorck	38,484
II Corps Kleist	37,816
<b>In Brandenburg</b>	
III Corps Bülow	41,135
IV Corps Tauentzien	33,170
<b>In Mecklenburg</b> attached to Wallmoden's Corps	
Free Corps Lützow, Reiche and Schill	4,068
<b>Total Field Army</b>	<b>161,764</b>
<b>Blockading Corps</b>	
Before Küstrin under Hinrichs	7,122
Before Stettin under Ploetz	10,548
Besieging Danzig under Count Dohna	8,000
Besieging Glogau	5,000
Total of Blockading Corps:	30,670
<b>Total of Prussian forces mobilized:</b>	<b>192,434</b>



▲ King Frederick William III of Prussia. Regarded by some as a weak and vacillating monarch, his main role in this campaign was to persuade Tsar Alexander

and Emperor Francis to stand and fight at Dresden despite Napoleon's presence. Although not the right decision, it nevertheless shows a determined



streak in his character. Painting by Franz Krüger.

◀ Below left: General von Bülow. Prussian corps commander under Crown Prince of Sweden

with the Army of the North. Bülow earned his reputation for his role in the Battles of Grossbeeren and Dennewitz. On these two occasions, Bülow prevented Berlin falling into





French hands, inflicting heavy defeats on Oudinot and Ney. Engraving by Hüllmann.

◀ Near left: Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher. Commander of the Army of Silesia and no doubt the most famous Prussian general of the Napoleonic Wars. Blücher had a passionate hatred of Napoleonic Imperialism. This wily warhorse steered clear of Napoleon in the early part of the campaign, defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach and Bertrand at Wartenburg before joining forces with the Crown Prince of Sweden and marching on Leipzig. Painting by P.E. Gebauer.

▶ Charles John, Crown Prince of Sweden. Commander of the Army of the North and also a Marshal of Napoleon's, the then Jean Bernadotte accepted an offer of succession to the Swedish throne on the death of its childless holder. Bernadotte was always a controversial character who certainly knew how to look after his own interests best. Unpopular among his peers, regarded as a traitor by the French and an upstart by the Prussians, his successors still hold the crown of Sweden, the only surviving family to have received royal status during the Napoleonic Wars.

◀ Near left: General von Kleist. Commander of Prussian corps attached to the Army of Bohemia. He is best known for his role in the Battle of Kulm which resulted in the



destruction of Vandamme's Corps. Kleist was able to move on the rear of the French, thereby surrounding them. The Battle of Kulm more than cancelled out the gains made by Napoleon at Dresden a few days earlier.

**Table 6. Swedish Forces in Germany**

<b>In Brandenburg</b>	
Corps Stedingk	23,449
<b>In Mecklenburg</b> as part of Wallmoden's Corps	
Brigade Bergenstrohla	3,814
The Baltic port of Stralsund was garrisoned with 2,452 men.	



◀ *Silesian Militia, August 1813, by E. Rabe, produced early in the 19th century. Note the anachronism – the models are carrying the 1839 pattern percussion musket which was, however, apart from the lock, identical with the flintlock used in the Napoleonic Wars.*

▶ *Below right: Neithardt von Gneisenau. With Scharnhorst, a leading reformer of the Prussian Army, Gneisenau spent this campaign in the role of chief-of-staff to Blücher, the beginning of a team which pressed on to Leipzig from Silesia, crossed the Rhine in the depths of a hostile winter to carry the war deep into France, capturing Paris in 1814 and which then staged a 'repeat performance' at Waterloo in 1815. The staff work for which Gneisenau was famous became the basis for all modern general staffs and showed that the lessons of the Napoleonic Wars had been analysed and learned, at least in Prussia.*

▶ *Far right: Scharnhorst. A German patriot and Prussian general whose military reforms helped shape the face of modern Europe. Together with Gneisenau and others, he founded the general staff system on which all modern military command systems are based. Mortally wounded at Gross-Görschen, he never lived to see the final results of his labours. Painting by Gebauer.*

equipment, kit and armament were of good standard. The officer corps was considered mediocre because of its lack of experience in the field.

About half the army remained in Sweden, deployed along the border with Norway which, being under the Danish crown at that time, was fighting in alliance with the French. The corps deployed in Germany was as shown in Table 6. The Corps consisted of three divisions of six brigades and reserve artillery.

The Swedes too were unenthusiastic participants in this war. Their small force was participating largely for political reasons so that the Crown of Sweden could claim representation at the peace talks, hoping for territorial aggrandisement.

### The Anglo-German Forces

Britain deployed or subsidised in northern Germany the following troops:

King's German Legion	4,506
With Cavalry Division Dörnberg	1,322
With Wallmoden's Reserve Artillery	412
Hanseatic Legion	3,043

The only ethnic British with the above were a husar regiment of five squadrons, one rocket and two horse batteries. There were a further six battalions of British in the garrison of Stralsund. These troops

were still in the process of formation and were lacking equipment.

In terms of manpower Britain's contribution to this campaign was minimal. Her efforts came mainly on the diplomatic front and her contribution was largely financial and material. 'Perfidious Albion' was behind the scenes conspiring, manipulating and putting together an alliance while her naval and industrial dominance allowed her to move supplies, arms, ammunition and golden guineas to her allies in Germany. During 1813 Britain sent her allies nearly 1,000,000 muskets and pledged them more than £11,000,000 in subsidies.

### The Mecklenburg Contingent

This consisted of four battalions, four squadrons and two cannon, a total of 6,149 men. The only veterans were in the Grenadier Guard Battalion.

**Table 7. Total Allied Forces Available**

Russians	184,123
Prussians	161,764
Austrians	127,345
Swedes	23,449
Anglo-Germans	9,283
Mecklenburgers	6,149
<b>Total</b>	<b>512,113</b>

Including the troops in reserve, the Allies had about 860,000 men at their disposal.



## ORDER OF BATTLE: FRENCH ARMY, OCTOBER 1813

The figure in parentheses after a unit's name indicates the number of battalions, squadrons or guns in that formation.

### FRENCH ARMY NAPOLEON

#### OLD GUARD Friant

BRIGADE CURIAL: 1st Chasseur Regt (2); 2nd Chass Regt (2); BRIGADE MICHEL: 1st Grenadier Regt (2); 2nd Gren Regt (2); Velites of Turin (1); Velites of Florence (1); 1 foot battery

#### YOUNG GUARD

**1st Division Dumoustier**  
BRIGADE ROUSSEAU: Fusilier-Chasseurs (2); Fusilier-Grenadiers (2)  
BRIGADE TINDAL: 1st Voltigeur Regt (2); 2nd Volt Regt (2) BRIGADE COULOUY: 3rd Volt Regt (2); 6th Volt Regt (2); 7th Volt Regt (2); 3 foot batteries; 1 coy engineers  
**2nd Division Barrois**  
BRIGADE ROTHENBOURG: 1st Tirailleur Regt (2); 2nd Tir Regt (2) BRIGADE PORET (?): 3rd Tir Regt (2); 6th Tir Regt (2); 7th Tir Regt (2)  
BRIGADE BOYELDIEU: Flanqueur-Chasseur Regt (2); Flanqueur-Grenadier Regt (2); 3 foot batteries; 1 coy engineers

**3rd Division Decouz**  
BRIGADE GROS: 4th Voltigeur Regt (2); 5th Volt Regt (2)  
BRIGADE COMBELLE: 8th Volt Regt (2); 9th Volt Regt (2); 10th Volt Regt (2) BRIGADE DULONG: 11th Volt Regt (2); 12th Volt Regt (2); 3 foot batteries

**4th Division Roguet**  
BRIGADE BOYER DE REBEVAL: 4th Tirailleur Regt (2); 5th Tir Regt (2) BRIGADE MARQUET: 8th Tir Regt (2); 9th Tir Regt (2); 10th Tir Regt (2) BRIGADE PELET: 11th Tir Regt (2); 12th Tir Regt

(2); 3 foot batteries  
**Guard Cavalry** Nansouty 1st (Polish) Lancers (7); 2nd (Polish) Lancers (10); Berg Chevauxlegers (6); Chasseurs à Cheval (10); Dragons (6); Grenadiers à Cheval (6); Gendarmes d'Elite (2); 4 regts Gardes d'Honneur (12); 4 horse batteries.

**Reserve Artillery:** 5 foot batteries of the Old Guard; 4 foot batteries of the Young Guard; 2 horse batteries; 1 Berg battery; 1 coy pontonniers; 1 coy Guard engineers; 3 coys sailors.

TOTAL IMPERIAL GUARD: 30,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry, 202 guns.

**I CORPS** formed the garrison of Dresden and did not participate in the Battle of Leipzig; its order of battle is not included here.

#### II CORPS Victor

**4th Division** Dubreton  
BRIGADE FERRIERE: 24th Light Regt (3); 19th Line Regt (3)  
BRIGADE BRUN: 37th Line Regt (3); 56th Line Regt (3); 2 divisional batteries (16)  
**5th Division** Dufours  
BRIGADE D'ETSKO: 26th Light Regt (3); 93rd Line Regt (3)  
Brigade ?: 46th Line Regt (1); 72nd Line Regt (1); 1 divisional battery (8)

**6th Division** Vial  
BRIGADE VALORY: 11th Light Regt (2); 2nd Line Regt (3)  
BRIGADE BRONIKOWSKY: 4th Line Regt (3); 18th Line Regt (3); 2 divisional batteries (16).

**Reserve Artillery:** 1 horse, 2 foot batteries; 3 coys engineers. II Corps total: 17,241 men, 32 batteries, 55 guns.

**III CORPS** Souham  
**8th Division** Brayer (French) BRIGADE BARON ESTEVF: 6th Light Regt (2);

16th Light Regt (2); 28th Light Regt (2); 40th Line Regt (2) BRIGADE CHARRIERE: 59th Line Regt (2); 69th Line Regt (2); 22nd Light Regt (3); 2 batteries (12)

**9th Division** Delmas (French) BRIGADE ANTHING: 2nd Provisional Regt(4); 43rd Line Regt (2); 136th Line Regt (3) BRIGADE VERGEZ DES BAREAUX: 138th Line Regt (3); 145th Line Regt (3); 2 batteries (13)

**11th Division** Ricard (French) BRIGADE VAN DEDEM VAN DE GELDER: 9th Light Regt (3); 50th Line Regt (3); 65th Line Regt (2) BRIGADE DUMOULIN: 142nd Line Regt (3); 144th Line Regt (3); 2 batteries (12) 23RD LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE BARON BEURMANN (mixed nationalities): 10th Hussar Regt (French) (6); 1st Dragoon Regt (Baden) (5).

**Reserve Artillery:** 2 12pdr batteries (16). (Two 6pdrs arrived in mid September but it is not known to which formation they were attached.)

III CORPS TOTAL: 42 battalions 13,034 men, 11 squadrons 1,065 men, 61 guns.

#### IV CORPS Bertrand

**12th Division** Morand (French) BRIGADE DE BELAIR: 8th Light Regt (4); 23rd Line Regt (4) BRIGADE BARON HULOT: 23rd Line Regt (3); 137th Line Regt (2); Provisional Croatian Regt (2); 2 divisional batteries (12)

**5th Division** Fontanelli (Italians) BRIGADE SANT' ANREA: 1st Light Regt (2); 6th Line Regt (1) BRIGADE MORONI: Milan Guard (1); 7th Line Regt (1); 1st Line Regt (1); 4th Line Regt (1); 1 divisional battery (6)

**38th Division** Franquemont (Württembergers)

1ST BRIGADE STOCKMAYER: 1st Combined Bn (Inf Regt No. 1); 4th Comb Bn (both light inf regts) 2ND BRIGADE DORING: 2nd Comb Bn (Inf Regt No. 4); 3rd Comb Bn (Inf Regt No. 6); 1 foot battery (4). This division had been reduced to three battalions by mid October, but it is not known which battalion was disbanded.

**Cavalry Division** Briche 24TH LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE JETT (Württembergers); Chevauxleger Regt Prince Adam No. 1 (1); Jäger Regt Duke Louis No. 3 (1)

**Cavalry Division** Beaumont 29TH LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE WOLF (Germans): Hessian Chevauxleger Regt (1); Westphalian Guard Chevauxleger Regt (1).

**Reserve Artillery:** 1 battery (French) (8).  
IV CORPS TOTAL: 26 battalions 6,124 men, 4 squadrons 349 men, 26 guns.

#### V CORPS Lauriston

**10th Division** Albert BRIGADE BACHELET: 4th Provisional Light Regt (2); 139th Line Regt (3) BRIGADE BERTRAND: 140th Line Regt (3); 141st Line Regt (3); 2 divisional batteries (10)

**16th Division** Maison BRIGADE MONTENELLE: 151st Line Regt (3); 152nd Line Regt (3) BRIGADE MONTESQUIEU: 153rd Line Regt (3); 154th Line Regt (3); 1 horse, 2 foot batteries (10)

**19th Division** Rochambeau BRIGADE HARLET: 135th Line Regt (3); 149th Line Regt (3) BRIGADE LAFITTE: 150th Line Regt (3); 155th Line Regt (3); 2 divisional batteries (10) 6TH LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE DERNONCOURT: 2nd Chasseur Regt (3); 3rd

Chass Regt (2); 6th Chass Regt (3). **Reserve**

**Artillery:** 3 foot batteries (15); 1 horse battery (8); 3 coys engineers.

V CORPS TOTAL: 35 battalions 14,892 men, 8 squadrons 3,056 men, 53 guns.

#### VI CORPS Marmont

**20th Division Compans** (French)

BRIGADE PELLEPORT: 32nd Light Regt (2); 1st Naval Regt (5) BRIGADE JOUBERT: 3rd Naval Regt (3); 20th Provisional Regt (2); 25th Prov Regt (2); 2 divisional batteries (16)

**21st Division Lagrange** (French) BRIGADE JAMIN: 37th Light Regt (4); Regt Joseph Napoleon (Spanish) (1); 4th Naval Regt (3)

BRIGADE BUQUET: 2nd Naval Regt (6); 2 divisional batteries (16)

**22nd Division Friedrichs** (French)

BRIGADE VAN COEHORN: 23rd Light Regt (2); 11th Provisional Regt (2); 13th Prov Regt (2); 15th Line Regt (2) BRIGADE DE CHOISY: 16th Prov Regt (2); 70th Line Regt (2); 121st Line Regt (2); 2 divisional batteries (16) 25TH LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE (Württembergers): Life Chevauxleger Regt No. 2 (4); King's Jäger Regt No. 4 (4); Horse Battery Fleischmann (6).

**Reserve Artillery:** 2 horse batteries (12); 2 12pdr batteries (16); 4 coys engineers.

VI CORPS TOTAL: 42 battalions 15,342 men, 8 squadrons 935 men, 82 guns.

#### VII CORPS Reynier

**13th Division Guillemot** (French) BRIGADE GRUYER: 1st Light Regt (4); 18th Light Regt (2); 7th Line Regt

(1); 42nd Line Regt (1); 156th Line Regt (2) BRIGADE LEJEUNE: Illyrian Regt (1); 52nd Line Regt (1); 67th Line Regt (1); 101st Line Regt (2); 1 divisional battery (6)

**24th Division Von Zeschau** (Saxons) 1ST BRIGADE VON BRAUSE: Light Inf Regt Lecoq (1); Inf Regt Rechten (1); 1st Grenadier Bn (1); Inf Regt Prince Frederick (1); Inf Regt Steindel (1); Field Jäger Coy (¼) 2ND BRIGADE VON RYSSSEL: 2nd Grenadier Bn (1); Light Inf Regt Sahr (1); Inf Regt Niesemeuschel (1); Inf Regt Prince Anthony (1); Inf Regt Low (1) ARTILLERY BRIGADE VON ROTH: 1st Foot Battery (8); 2nd Foot Battery (8)

**32nd Division Durutte** (French) BRIGADE DEVAUX: 35th Light Regt (1); 131st Line Regt (1); 132nd Line Regt (1) BRIGADE JARRY: 36th Light Regt (1); 133rd Line Regt (1); 1 divisional battery (6)

**26th Light Cavalry Division Lindenau** (Saxons) Hussar Regt (8); Uhlan Regt Prince Clemence (5); Horse Battery Probsthain (4).

**Reserve Artillery:** Horse Battery (Saxons) (4); Reserve Battery (Saxons) (6); Reserve Battery (French) (6).

VII CORPS TOTAL: 28¼ battalions 11,587 men, 13 squadrons 684 men, 48 guns.

**VIII CORPS Prince Poniatowski** (Polish)

**26th Division Kamieniecki** BRIGADE LINAWSKI: 1st Inf Regt (2); 16th Inf Regt (2) BRIGADE MALACHOWSKI: 8th Inf Regt (2); 15th Inf Regt (2); 3 foot batteries (?)

#### 27th Division

Dambrowski BRIGADE ZOTOWSKI (attached to Ney's

command); BRIGADE GRABOWSKI: 12th Inf Regt (2); 1st Combined Regt of Vistula Legion (2); 1½ foot batteries (?) 27th Light CAVALRY BRIGADE UMINSKI: 14th Cuirassier Regt (2); 1st Comb Vanguard (4).

**Reserve Artillery:** 2 foot batteries (?); 1 coy engineers.

VIII CORPS TOTAL: 12 battalions, 6 squadrons approx. 6,000 men, 44 (?) guns.

#### IX CORPS Augereau

**51st Division ?** 32nd Provisional Regt (2); 63rd Line Regt (1) BRIGADE AYMARD: 34th Prov Regt (2); 35th Prov Regt (2); 1 battery (?)

**2nd Division Semele** BRIGADE BAGNERIS: 37th Provisional Regt (2); 39th Line Regt (1) BRIGADE GODARD: 121st Line Regt (1); 122nd Line Regt (1); 86th Line Regt (1); 1 battery (?)

IX CORPS TOTAL: 13 battalions 8,647 men, 14 guns.

#### XI CORPS Macdonald

**31st Division Ledru des Essart** (mixed nationalities) BRIGADE FRESSINET (French): 5th Line Regt (2); 11th Line Regt (2); 20th Line Regt (1); 102nd Line Regt (1) BRIGADE D'HENIN (Westphalians): 4th Light Bn (1); 8th Line Regt (2) BRIGADE MACDONALD DE KLOR RENALD (Neapolitans): 4th Light Regt (2); Elite Regt (1); 1 foot battery (French) (8); 2 foot batteries (Westphalians) (12)

**35th Division Gérard** BRIGADE SENEAL (French): 6th Line Regt (3); 112th Line Regt (4) BRIGADE ZUCCHI (Italians): 2nd Light Regt (2); 5th Line Regt (4); 1 foot battery (Italians) (8); 1 horse battery (Italians) (6)

**36th Division Charpentier**

(French) BRIGADE BARON SIMMER: 22nd Light Regt (4); 10th Line Regt (2) BRIGADE MEUNIER: 3rd Light Regt (2); 14th Light Regt (3); 2 divisional batteries (16)

**39th Division Marchand** (Germans) BRIGADE VON STOCKHORN (Badeners): 1st Inf Regt (2); 3rd Inf Regt (2) BRIGADE PRINCE EMIL OF HESSE (Hessians): Fusilier Guards (1); 2nd Line Regt (2); Guard (2); 1 battery (Badeners) (4); 1 battery (Hessians) (8) 28TH LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE (mixed): 4th Chasseur Regt (Italians) (2); 2nd Chass Regt (Neapolitans) (4); Würzburg Chevauxlegers (1).

#### Reserve Artillery

(French): 1 horse battery (6); 2 12pdr batteries (16); 1 or 2 engineer coys (French); 1 engineer coy (Italian).

XI CORPS TOTAL: 45 battalions 19,405 men, 7 squadrons 496 men, 52 guns. This corps lost 16 guns on the Katzbach but it is not known from which batteries, so it has not been possible to make the correct deduction from individual batteries.

#### Division Dambrowski

(Polish) INFANTRY BRIGADE ZOTOWSKI: 2nd Inf Regt (2); 4th Inf Regt (2) CAVALRY BRIGADE KRUKOWIECKI: 2nd Lancer Regt (4); 4th Lancer Regt (4); 1 horse artillery battery (4); 1 foot artillery battery (4); 1 coy engineers. TOTAL 4 battalions, 8 squadrons 3,250 men, 8 guns.

#### Division Margaron

2nd Baden Line Regt (2); Baden Light Bn (1); 35th

Continued overleaf

**ORDER OF BATTLE: FRENCH ARMY, OCTOBER 1813 continued**

French Light Regt (1);  
132nd Fr Light Regt (1);  
96th Fr Light Regt (1);  
103rd Fr Light Regt (1).  
Total: 7 battalions 4,670  
men.

**Column Lefol**

7,116 infantry, 2,733 cavalry,  
6 guns.

**I CAVALRY CORPS**

Latour-Maubourg

**1st Light Cavalry****Division Berckheim**

1ST BRIGADE PIRE: 6th Hussar  
Regt (2); 7th Huss Regt (3);  
8th Huss Regt (3) 2ND  
BRIGADE MONTMARIE: 16th  
Chasseur Regt (2); 1st  
Chevauxleger Regt (2); 3rd  
Chevleg Regt (2) 3RD  
BRIGADE PIQUET: 5th Chevleg  
Regt (2); 8th Chevleg Regt  
(2); 1st King's Chasseurs  
(Italians) (4); 1 horse  
battery (French) (?)

**3rd Light Cavalry****Division Chastel**

4TH BRIGADE VALLIN: 8th  
Chasseur Regt (2); 9th  
Chass Regt (2); 25th Chassr  
Regt (2) 5TH BRIGADE VIAL:  
1st Chass Regt (3); 19th  
Chass Regt (3); 1 horse  
battery (French)

**1st Heavy Cavalry****Division Bordesoulle**

1ST BRIGADE SOPRANSI: 2nd  
Cuirassier Regt (2); 3rd  
Cuir Regt (2); 6th Cuir Regt  
(2) 2ND BRIGADE BESSIERES:  
9th Cuir Regt (3); 11th Cuir  
Regt (3); 12th Cuir Regt (2)  
3RD BRIGADE LESSING  
(Saxons): Guard Cuir (4);  
Zastrow Cuir (4)

**3rd Heavy Cavalry****Division Doumerc**

1ST BRIGADE D'AUDENARDE:  
4th Cuirassier Regt (3); 7th  
Cuir Regt (3); 14th Cuir  
Regt (2); Italian Dragoons  
(4) 2ND BRIGADE REISET: 7th  
Dragoner Regt (2); 23rd  
Drag Regt (3); 28th Drag  
Regt (2); 30th Drag Regt  
(2); 1 horse battery (Italian).

**Reserve Artillery: 2**

horse batteries.

I CAVALRY CORPS TOTAL: 78  
squadrons 6,480 men, 27  
guns. This number of  
squadrons is as at campaign  
beginning; it is likely to have  
decreased by October.

**II CAVALRY CORPS**

Sebastiani

**2nd Light Cavalry****Division Roussel d'Hurbal**

7TH BRIGADE GERARD: 11th  
Chasseur Regt (3); 12th  
Chass Regt (3); 5th Hussar  
Regt (3) 8TH BRIGADE  
DOMMANGET: 9th Huss Regt

(4); 2nd Chevauxleger Regt  
(3); 4th Chevleg Regt (3)

**4th Light Cavalry****Division Exelmans**

9TH BRIGADE MAURIN: 6th  
Chevauxleger Regt (2); 4th  
Chasseur Regt (2); 7th  
Chass Regt (3) 10TH  
BRIGADE WATHIEZ: 20th  
Chass Regt (4); 23rd Chass  
Regt (4); 24th Chass Regt  
(3); 11th Hussar Regt (2)

**2nd Heavy Cavalry****Division Saint-Germain**

1ST BRIGADE DAVRANGE  
d'Haugeranville: 1st  
Carabineer Regt (2); 2nd  
Carab Regt (2); 1st  
Cuirassier Regt (2) 2ND  
BRIGADE THIRY: 5th Cuir  
Regt (3); 8th Cuir Regt (2);  
10th Cuir Regt (2).

II CAVALRY CORPS TOTAL: 52  
squadrons 5,679 men, 12  
guns.

**III CAVALRY CORPS Arrighi****4th Heavy Cavalry****Division Defrance**

1ST BRIGADE AVICE: 4th  
Dragoon Regt (1); 5th Drag  
Regt (1); 12th Drag Regt  
(1); 14th Drag Regt (1);  
24th Drag Regt (1) 2ND  
BRIGADE QUINETTE: 16th  
Drag Regt (1); 17th Drag  
Regt (1); 21st Drag Regt (1);  
26th Drag Regt (1); 27th

Drag Regt (1); 13th  
Cuirassier Regt (1)

**5th Light Cavalry****Division Lorge**

12TH LIGHT CAVALRY  
BRIGADE JAQUINOT: 5th  
Chasseur Regt (2); 10th  
Chass Regt (2); 13th Chass  
Regt (2) 13TH LIGHT  
CAVALRY BRIGADE MERLIN:  
15th Chass Regt (1); 21st  
Chass Regt (1); 22nd Chass  
Regt (1); 1 horse battery  
(6)

III CAVALRY CORPS TOTAL: 27  
squadrons 4,000 men, 6  
guns.

**V CAVALRY CORPS Pajol****5th Heavy Cavalry****Division l'Héritier**

BRIGADE QUICUNOT: 2nd  
Dragoon Regt (3); 6th Drag  
Regt (4) BRIGADE COLLAERT:  
11th Drag Regt (4); 13th  
Drag Regt (2); 15th Drag  
Regt (3)

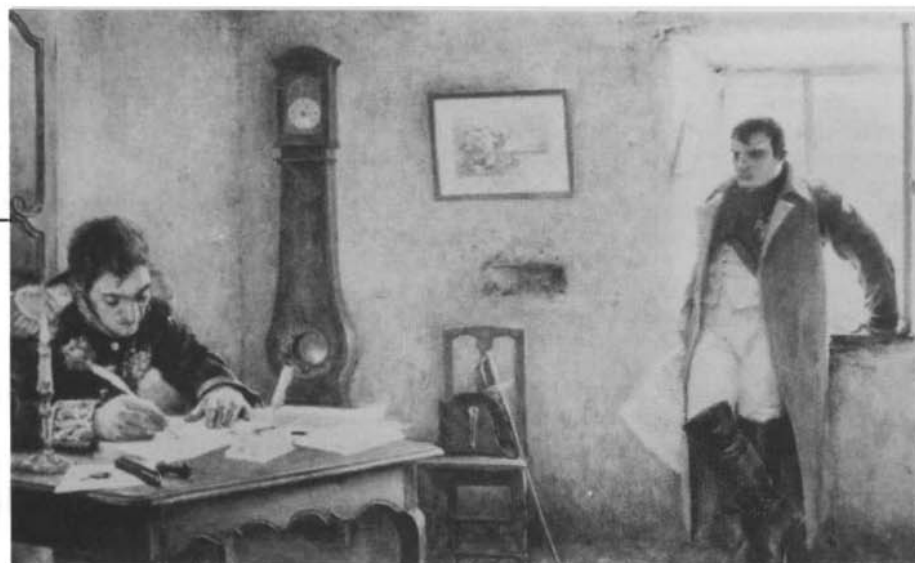
**6th Heavy Cavalry****Division Milhaud**

BRIGADE LAMOTTE: 18th  
Dragoon Regt (2); 19th  
Drag Regt (2); 20th Drag  
Regt (3) BRIGADE  
MONTLEGIER: 22nd Drag  
Regt (3); 25th Drag Regt (4)

**9th Light Cavalry****Division Subervie**

BRIGADE KLUICKY: 3rd Hussar  
Regt (3); 27th Huss Regt (4)  
BRIGADE VIAL: 14th Chasseur  
Regt (3); 26th Chass Regt  
(3); 13th Huss Regt (4); 1  
horse battery (6).

V CAVALRY CORPS TOTAL: 47  
squadrons approx. 5,000  
men, 6 guns.



◀ *The loneliness of command. Napoleon dictating orders to his clerk while the clock ticks away in the corner. A rather symbolic view of Napoleon's position and another illustration of the major flaw in his system of command. Painting by J.A. Meunier.*

*Joseph Poniatowski.  
This dashing commander  
in the French Army met  
his death by drowning  
while attempting to cross  
the Elster during the  
retreat from Leipzig.*



## ORDER OF BATTLE: ALLIED ARMY, OCTOBER 1813

The figure in parentheses after a unit's name indicates the number of battalions, squadrons or guns in that formation.

## ARMY OF BOHEMIA

Commander Charles, Prince of Schwarzenberg

## AUSTRIANS

## 1st Light Division

Maurice, Prince of Liechtenstein  
BRIGADE PRINCE OF HESSEN-HOMBURG: Jäger Bn No. 1 (1); Jäger Bn No. 2 (1); Emperor's Chevauxlegers (6); 1 6pdr horse battery (6); BRIGADE SCHEITHER: 1 Bn Brooder Border Troops (1); Jäger Bn No. 7 (1); Levenehr Dragoons (4); Vincent Chevauxlegers (6); 1 6pdr horse battery (6). 1st Light Division total: 4 battalions, 16 squadrons 4,988 men, 12 guns.

**2nd Light Division** Bubna  
BRIGADE ZECHMEISTER: Peterwardein Border Troops (1); Jäger Bn No. 6 (1); Liechtenstein Hussars (6); 1 6pdr horse battery (6)  
BRIGADE WIELAND: Militia (4); Blankenstein Hussars (6); 1 3pdr battery (6)  
Brigade Neiperg: Jäger Bn No. 5 (1); Emperor's Hussars (6); 1 6pdr horse battery (6). 2nd Light Division total: 7 battalions, 18 squadrons 9,993 men, 18 guns.

## IV CORPS Klenau

## Division Mohr

BRIGADE PAUMGARTEN: 1st Walachian Border Regt (1); Walachian-Illyrian Border Regt (2); Hohenzollern Chevauxlegers (6); Palatinal Hussars (6); Archduke Ferdinand's Hussars (6); 1 6pdr horse battery (6)

## Division Prince

## Hohenlohe

BRIGADE SCHÄFER: Josef

Colloredo Inf Regt (2); Zach Inf Regt (3) BRIGADE SPLENY: Württemberg Inf Regt (3); Lindenau Inf Regt (3); 2 6pdr batteries (16)

## Division Mayer

BRIGADE ABELE: Alois Lichtenstein Inf Regt (3); Koburg Inf Regt (3) BRIGADE BEST: Archduke Charles Inf Regt (2); Kerpen Inf Regt (2)

## Division Desfours

Emperor's Cuirassiers (6); O'Reilly Chevauxlegers (6); 2 6pdr batteries (16). Reserve Artillery: 1 6pdr, 2 12pdr batteries (18). IV Corps total: 24 battalions, 30 squadrons, 24,354 men, 56 guns.

## III CORPS Gyulai

## Division Crenneville

BRIGADE HAECHT: Warasidine Crusaders Border Regt (1); Warasidine St. George's Border Regt (1); Klenau Chevauxlegers (7); Rosenberg Chevleg (6); 1 6pdr battery (8)

## Division Murray

BRIGADE SALINS: Archduke Ludwig Inf Regt (3); Würzburg Inf Regt (2) Brigade Weigel: Mariassy Inf Regt (2); Ign. Gyulai Inf Regt (2); 2 6pdr batteries (16)

## Division Prince of

## Hessen-Homburg

BRIGADE CSOLICH: Kotulinsky Inf Regt (3); Emperor's Inf Regt (2) Brigade Grimmer: Kolowrat Inf Regt (2); Frelich Inf Regt (2); 1 6pdr battery (8).

**Reserve Artillery:** 1 12pdr, 2 6pdr batteries (18). III Corps total: 20 battalions, 13 squadrons 18,698 men, 50 guns.

## II CORPS Merveldt

## Division Lederer

BRIGADE SORBENBURG (Prince of Saxe-Coburg): Gradiskan Border Regt (1); Kienmayer Hussars (6); Archduke John's Dragoons (4)

BRIGADE LONGUEVILLE: Strauch Inf Regt (2); Bellegarde Inf Regt (2); 2 6pdr batteries (16)

## Division Alois, Prince of Liechtenstein

BRIGADE KLOPPSTEIN: Kaunitz Inf Regt (2); Wenzel Colloredo Inf Regt (2) BRIGADE MECZERY: Reuss-Greiz Inf Regt (2); Vögelsang Inf Regt (3); Militia (1); 2 6pdr batteries (16). Reserve Artillery: 1 12pdr, 2 6pdr batteries (18). II Corps total: 15 battalions, 10 squadrons 12,129 men, 50 guns.

## I CORPS Colloredo

## Division Hardegg

BRIGADE RAIGECOURT: German Banat Border Regt (2); Hessen-Homburg Hussars (6); Riesch Dragoons (6)

## Division Wimpffen

BRIGADE GIFFING: Froon Inf Regt (2 + 1 militia); De Vaux Inf Regt (2 + 1 militia) BRIGADE CZERWENKA: Argenteau Inf Regt (2 + 1 militia); Erbach Inf Regt (1 + 1 militia); 2 6pdr batteries (16)

## Division Greth

BRIGADE WURMB: De Ligne Inf Regt (3); Czartoryski Inf Regt (3); Brigade Quosdanovich: Albert Gyulai Inf Regt (2); Reuss-Plauen Inf Regt (2); 2 6pdr batteries (16).

## Reserve Artillery:

1 12pdr, 2 6pdr batteries (18). I Corps total: 23 battalions, 12 squadrons 20,735 men, 50 guns.

## ARMY RESERVE Hereditary

## Prince of Hessen-Homburg

## Division Weissenwolf

BRIGADE FURSTENWÄRTER: Grenadier Bns Czarnotzay; Obermayer; Berger OKLOPESTA BRIGADE vacant: Grenadier Bns Habinay; Portner; Fischer; Rueber; 2 6pdr batteries (16)

## Division Bianchi:

## BRIGADE BECK:

Colloredo-Mannsfeld Inf Regt (2); Hiller Inf Regt (2)

## BRIGADE HAUGWITZ:

Hessen-Homburg Inf Regt (2); Simbschen Inf Regt (2)

## BRIGADE QUALLENBERG:

Eszterházy Inf Regt (2); Davidovich Inf Regt (2); 3 6pdr batteries (24)

## Division Nostitz

(under Freiherr von Klebelsberg)

## BRIGADE ROTHKIRCH:

Archduke Francis Cuirassier Regt (4); Crown Prince Ferdinand Cuir Regt (4)

## BRIGADE AUERSPERG:

Hohenzollern Cuir Regt (6); Sommariva Cuir Regt (6)

## (under Count Civalart)

BRIGADE KUTTALEK: Duke Albert of Saxony Cuirassier Regt (4); Lothringen Cuir Regt (4)

ARMY RESERVE TOTAL: 20 battalions, 28 squadrons 19,771 men, 40 guns.

## Army Artillery Reserve

Reisner 2 3pdr, 2 6pdr, 8 12pdr, 2 18pdr batteries; 4 6pdr horse batteries, total 18 batteries, 112 guns.

TOTAL AUSTRIAN TROOPS WITH THE ARMY OF BOHEMIA: 113 battalions, 127 squadrons 110,569 men, 388 guns.

## RUSSIANS AND PRUSSIANS

Commander Count Barclay de Tolly

## COMBINED CAVALRY

## CORPS Pahlen III

Neumark Dragoon Regt (Prussians) (4) (attached)

## 1st Hussar Division

Pahlen III BRIGADE RUDIGER:

Sumy Hussar Regt (5);

Grodno Huss Regt (5)

BRIGADE SCHUWANOW:

Lubny Huss Regt (4);

Olwiopol Huss Regt (2)

## Combined Uhlán

## Division Möller

SAKOMELSKY BRIGADE



LISSANEWISCH: Tschugujew Uhlan Regt (6); Serpuchow Uhlan Regt (4) (detached for police duties) Brigade Knorrig: Eupatoric Tartar Horse Regt (1); Tartar Uhlan Regt (4)

#### **Division Illowaiski**

Rodionow II Don Cossack Regt (2); Jaroslawsck Coss Regt (2); Grekow VIII Coss Regt (3); Illowaiski Coss Regt (4)

**Corps Artillery** Niktin Horse Battery No. 6 (8); Horse Battery No. 7 (12) COMBINED CAVALRY CORPS TOTAL: 27 squadrons, 11 Cossack squadrons 4,136 men, 20 guns.

### **CORPS WITTGENSTEIN**

#### **I INFANTRY CORPS**

Gortschakow

#### **5th Infantry Division**

Mesenzow

BRIGADE LUKOW: Perm Inf Regt (2); Sewsk Inf Regt (1) Brigade Wlastow: Kaluga Inf Regt (2); Mogilew Inf Regt (2); Brigade ?: Bn of Grand Princess Catharina; Jäger Regt No. 23 (2); Jäger Regt No. 24 (2)

#### **14th Infantry Division**

Helfreich BRIGADE LJALLIN:

Tenginsk Inf Regt (2); Estonian Inf Regt (2) BRIGADE ROTH: Tulsk Inf Regt (2); Nowoginsk Inf Regt (2) Brigade WUSTOW: Jäger Regt No. 25 (2); Jäger Regt No. 26 (2); Battery No. 3 (12); Light Battery No. 6 (12); Light Battery No. 7 (12)

#### **II INFANTRY CORPS** Duke

Eugène of Württemberg

#### **3rd Infantry Division**

Prince Schahowskoj

BRIGADE SCHALFINSKY: Murom Inf Regt (2); Deval Inf Regt (2) BRIGADE ?: Tschernigow Inf Regt (2); Selenginsk Inf Regt (1) Brigade ?: Jäger Regt No. 20 (2); Jäger Regt No. 21 (1)

#### **4th Infantry Division**

Puschnitzky BRIGADE ?: Tolbolsk Inf Regt (1); Volhynia Inf Regt (2) Brigade ?: Krementschuk Inf Regt (2); Minsk Inf Regt (1) BRIGADE WALKOW: Jäger Regt No. 4 (2); Jäger Regt No. 34 (1); Battery No. 5 (12); Light Battery No. 27 (12)

#### **GUARD DUTIES STAFF AND TRAIN**

Dragoon Regt Ingermanland (2); 2nd Bug Cossack Regt (2?); Coss Regt Zolotaref (1); Militia Bns Olonetz and Wologda (2).

ARMY CORPS WITTGENSTEIN TOTAL: 45 battalions, 29 squadrons, 13 Cossack squadrons 20,067 men, 80 guns.

### **PRUSSO-RUSSIAN RESERVE CORPS**

Grand Prince Constantine

#### **Grenadier (III Infantry)**

#### **CORPS RAJEWSKI**

#### **1st Grenadier Division**

TSCHOGLOKOW BRIGADE KNIASAM (?): Araktschejew Grenadier Regt (2); Ekaterinoslaw Grenadier Regt (2) BRIGADE ACHT: Taurien Gren Regt (2); St. Petersburg Gren Regt (2) BRIGADE HMELIANOW: Keksholm Gren Regt (2); Pernaui Gren Regt (2)

#### **2nd Grenadier Division**

Sulima BRIGADE LEWIN: Kiev Grenadier Regt (2); Moscow Gren Regt (2) BRIGADE DE DAMAS: Astrachan Gren Regt (2); Fanagoria Gren Regt (2) BRIGADE HESSE: Siberian Gren Regt (2); Little Russian Gren Regt (2); Battery No. 33 (12); Battery No. 14 (12); Light Battery No. 13 (12)

**GUARD (5TH INFANTRY) CORPS** Jermolow  
**1st Guard Infantry**

#### **Division Rosen**

BRIGADE PRINCE POTESKIN: Preobraschensk Guard Grenadier Regt (3); Sejmnow Guard Gren Regt (3) BRIGADE BISTROM: Ismailow Guard Gren Regt (2); Life Guard Jäger Regt (2)

#### **2nd Guard Infantry**

#### **Division Udom**

BRIGADE SCHELTUCHIN: Lithuanian Guard Grenadier Regt (3); Life Gren Guard Regt (3) BRIGADE KRISCHANOFFSKY: Tsar Paul Guard Gren Regt (2); Guard Jäger Regt (3)

**RESERVE CAVALRY** Prince Gallitzin V

#### **1st Cuirassier Division**

Preradowitsch BRIGADE ARSENIUS: Chevalier Guard Regt (6); Horse Guard Regt (6) BRIGADE PRINCE KOBURG: Tsar's Life Cuirassier Regt (4); Tsarina's Life Cuir Regt (4)

#### **2nd Cuirassier Division**

Kretow BRIGADE KARATEJOW: Ekaterinoslaw Cuirassier Regt (4); Astrachan Cuir Regt (4) BRIGADE LEONTIEW: Glukow Cuir Regt (5); Pskow Cuir Regt (5)

#### **3rd Cuirassier Division**

Duka BRIGADE GUDOWITSCH: Military Order Cuirassier Regt (4); Little Russian Cuir Regt (4) BRIGADE LEWATSCHOW: Starodub Cuir Regt (4); Nowgorod Cuir Regt (4)

#### **Guard Light Cavalry**

**Division Schaeuwitsch** BRIGADE TSCHAKLIKOW: Life Guard Dragoon Regt (6); Life Guard Hussar Regt (6); Life Guard Uhlan Regt (6); Life Guard Cossack Regt (4); Guard Horse Battery No. 1 (8); Guard Horse Battery No. 2 (8)

#### **PRUSSIAN GUARDS**

BRIGADE ALVENSLEBEN (attached to Russian Guard

Infantry): 1st Foot Guard Regt (3); 2nd Foot Guard Regt (3); Guard Jäger Bn (½); Guard 6pdr Foot Battery (8) BRIGADE WERDER (attached to Reserve Cavalry Corps): Regt Guard du Corps (5); Combined Guard Light Cav Regt (6); Guard Horse Battery (8). Prusso-Russian Reserve CORPS TOTAL: 51½ BATTALIONS, 87 squadrons, 15 Cossack squadrons 35,718 men, 104 guns.

**COSSACK CORPS** Platow (under Prince Kudascheff) Don Cossack Regt Grekow V (3); Don Coss Regt Kostine (3); 1st Teptjaer Coss Regt (2?); Don Coss Regt Tschikilew I (3?); Don Coss Regt Tschernobusow V (4?) (under Colonel von Bergmann) Don Cossack Regt Schaltanowka (5?); Don Coss Regt Elmurusin (5?); 1st Black Sea Coss Regt (5) (under Prince Schtscherbatow) 3rd Orenburg Cossack Regt (2); 3rd Urals Coss Regt (3); 2nd Teptjaer Coss Regt (3); Don Horse Battery No. 1 (10); attached: Don Coss Regt Grekow XXI (3?); Don Coss Regt Wlassow X (4?); Don Coss Regt Platwo V (3). COSSACK CORPS TOTAL: 47 squadrons 4,541 men, 10 guns.

#### **RUSSIAN RESERVE**

**ARTILLERY** Hüne Guard Battery No. 1 (12); Battery No. 1 (12); Battery No. 14 (12); Battery No. 29 (12); Battery No. 36 (12); Horse Battery No. 3 (12); Horse Battery No. 23 (12); Horse Battery No. 1 (2); Horse Battery No. 10 (6); 3 coys engineers. Total: 339 engineers, 94 guns.

*Continued overleaf*

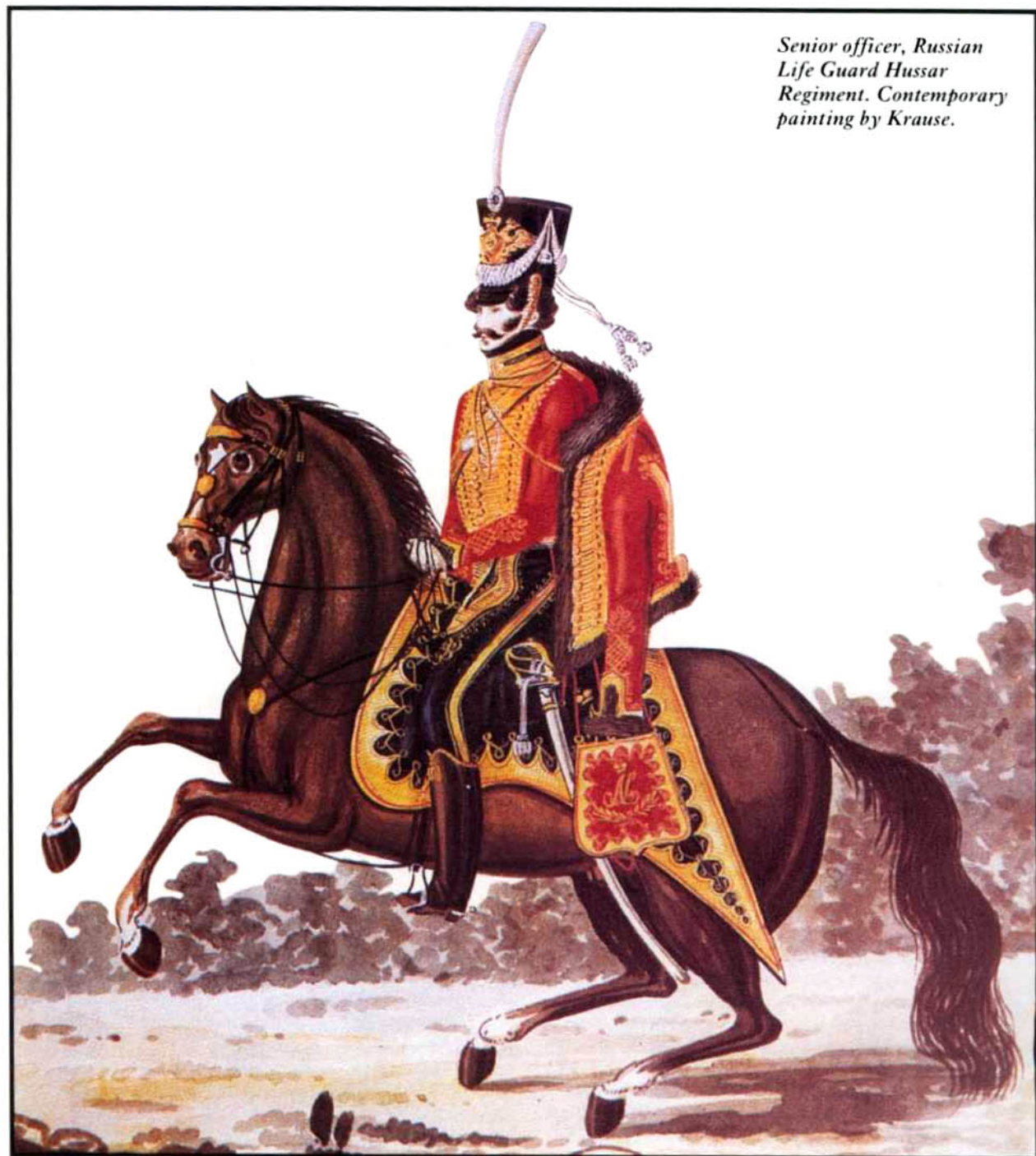
**ORDER OF BATTLE: ALLIED ARMY, OCTOBER 1813** *continued*

**II ARMY CORPS** Kleist  
(Prussians)  
9TH BRIGADE KLUX: Silesian  
Schützen Bn (½); 1st West  
Prussian Inf Regt (3); 6th

Reserve Inf Regt (3); 7th  
Silesian Militia (2); 1st  
Silesian Mil Cavalry (1);  
6pdr Foot Battery No. 7  
(8); Horse Battery No. 10

(8) 10TH BRIGADE Pirch I:  
2nd West Prussian Inf Regt  
(3); 7th Reserve Inf Regt  
(2); 9th Silesian Mil (2); 1st  
Silesian Mil Cavalry (1);

6pdr Foot Battery No. 14  
(8) 11TH BRIGADE ZIETHEN:  
Silesian Schützen Bn (½); 1st  
Silesian Inf Regt (3); 10th  
Res Inf Regt (2); 8th Silesian



*Senior officer, Russian  
Life Guard Hussar  
Regiment. Contemporary  
painting by Krause.*

Mil (2); 1st Silesian Hussar Regt (2½); 2nd Silesian Mil Cavalry (1); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 9 (8) 12TH BRIGADE Prince August Ferdinand of Prussia: 2nd Silesian Inf Regt (3); 11th Res Inf Regt (2); 10th Silesian Mil (2); Silesian Uhlan Regt (4¼); 1st Silesian Hussar Regt (2); 2nd Silesian Mil Cavalry (1); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 13 (8)

**Reserve Cavalry** RÖDER BRIGADE WRANGLE: East Prussian Cuirassier Regt (4¼); Brandenburg Cuir Regt (4½); Silesian Cuir Regt (4¼); BRIGADE MUTIUS: 1st Silesian Mil Cav Regt (2); 7th Silesian Mil Cav Regt (2); 8th Silesian Mil Cav Regt (2); Horse Battery No. 7 (8); Horse Battery No. 8 (8)

**Reserve Artillery** Braun 12pdr Battery No. 3 (8); 12pdr Battery No. 6 (8); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 9 (8); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 14 (8); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 21 (8); Horse Battery No. 9 (8); 7pdr Howitzer Battery No. 1 (8).

PRUSSO-RUSSIAN ARMY  
TOTAL: 129½ battalions,  
156 squadrons, 83 Cossack  
squadrons 75,122 men,  
402 guns.

#### ARMY OF THE NORTH

Crown Prince Charles John of Sweden.

#### CORPS WINTZINGERODE

(Russians)

**Vanguard** Woroncow Pawlograd Hussar Regt (6); Volynia Uhlan Regt (3); Djatschin Cossacks (?); Horse Battery No. 11 (12) COSSACK BRIGADE MELNIKOW IV: Cossacks Melnikow IV (?); Coss Melnikow V (?) COSS BRIGADE STAAL: COSS Andrejanow II (?); 1st Bashkir Regt (?) Cossack

Brigade Prendell: 1st Bug Regt (?); 3rd Urals Regt (?) INFANTRY BRIGADE KNIPER: 13th Jäger Regt (2); 14th Jäger Regt (2); 2nd Jäger Regt (1) CAVALRY BRIGADE MANTEUFFEL: St. Petersburg Dragoon Regt (4); Elisawetgrad Hussar Regt (6); Yachontow's Volunteers (2); Horse Battery No. 4 (8) CAVALRY BRIGADE MAGNUS VON DER PAHLEN: Riga Dragoon Regt (3); Finland Hussar Regt (2); Izium Huss Regt (4); Horse Batteries Nos. 1 & 5 (6) CAVALRY BRIGADE ZAGRZSKII: Nezin Chasseur Regt (2); Poland Uhlan Regt (6) COSSACK BRIGADE ILOWAISKII IV: Coss Ilowaiskii IV (?); Coss Gregow IX (?); Coss Barabanscikow II (?); Coss Loscilin I (?)

#### 21st Infantry Division

Laptew Nawa Inf Regt (1); Petrowsk Inf Regt (1); Lithuanian Inf Regt (1); Podolian Inf Regt (1); 44th Jäger Regt (2); Light Battery No. 42 (12); Heavy Battery No. 31 (12)

#### 24th Infantry Division

Sirwan Inf Regt (2); Butyrki Inf Regt (2); Ufa Inf Regt (2); Tomsk Inf Regt (1); 19th Jäger Regt (2); 40th Jäger Regt (1); Light Battery No. 46 (12)

#### Provisional Division

Harpe Tula Inf Regt (2); Nawaginsk Inf Regt (2); Combined Grenadiers (3); Combined Heavy Batteries Nos. 21 & 26 (12); Horse Battery No. 13 (12).

CORPS WINTZINGERODE  
TOTAL: 28 battalions, 38  
squadrons, 11 Cossack  
Regiments 24,739 men, 86  
guns

#### III CORPS Bülow

(Prussians)

**3rd Division** Prince of Hessen-Homburg  
2nd East Prussian Grenadier

Bn (1); 3rd East Prussian Inf Regt (3); 4th Reserve Inf Regt (3); 3rd East Prussian Militia Inf Regt (3); 1st Life Hussar Regt (4); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 5 (8); East Prussian Jäger Bn (½) (detached from 4th Division)

**5th Division** Borstell Pomeranian Grenadier Bn (1); 1st Pomeranian Inf Regt (3); 2nd Reserve Inf Regt (3); 2nd Kurmark Militia Inf Regt (4); Pomeranian Hussar Regt (4); West Prussian Uhlan Regt (4); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 10 (8)

#### 6th Division

Krafft Colberg Inf Regt (3); 9th Reserve Inf Regt (3); 1st Neumark Militia Inf Regt (3); Pomeranian National Cavalry Regt (3); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 16 (8)

#### Reserve Cavalry

Oppen BRIGADE TRESKOW: Queen's Dragoon Regt (4); Brandenburg Drag Regt (4); 2nd West Prussian Drag Regt (4) BRIGADE SYDOW: 2nd Kurmark Militia Cavalry Regt (4); 4th Kurmark Mil Cav Regt (4); 2nd Pomeranian Mil Cav Regt (1); Horse Battery No. 5 (8); Horse Battery No. 6 (8). Reserve Artillery: 12pdr Battery No. 4 (8); 12pdr Battery No. 5 (8); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 19 (8); Horse Battery No. 11 (8)

RUSSIANS ATTACHED TO BÜLOW'S CORPS: Heavy Batteries Nos. 7 & 21 (22); Don Cossack Regt Bychalow II (?); Don Coss Regt Ilowaiskii V (?); Engineer Coys Nos. 4 & 5. III CORPS (PRUSSIAN) TOTAL: 30\_ battalions, 36 squadrons, 2 Cossack Regiments 22,684 men, 74 guns.

#### SWEDISH CORPS

Stedingk  
**1st Division** Posse  
1ST BRIGADE SCHULTZENHEIM:

Svea Life Guard Regt (1); 2nd Life Guard Regt (1); Grenadiers of the Life Guards (1); Life Gren Regt (2); Queen's Regt (1) 2ND BRIGADE LEONHARD VON REUTERSKIOLD: Upland Regt (2); Södermanland Regt (2); Nord-Schonen Regt (1); Pomeranian Foot Legion. Cavalry: Mounted Life Guard Dragoon Regt (5); Pomeranian Mounted Legion (1). Artillery: Gotha Artillery Division Edenhjelm, 2 6pdr batteries (14)

**2nd Division** Sandels 3RD BRIGADE BRANDSTROM: Westgötha Regt (2); Westmanland Regt (2); Nerike Regt (2) 4TH BRIGADE CASIMIR VON REUTERSKIOLD: Skaraborg Regt (2) Elfsborg Regt (2); Field Jäger Regt Wermland (1) 6TH BRIGADE BOJJE: Kronoborg Regt (2); Calmar Regt (2)

**Artillery Division** Geist 2 6pdr batteries (14)

#### Cavalry Division

Skjöldebrand Cuirassiers from Brigade of Life Regiments (4); Smaland Dragoon Regt (6); Schonen Hussar Regt (6); Mörner Huss Regt (5); Horse Battery (6).

**Reserve Artillery:** 12pdr battery (8); 6pdr battery (6); rocket battery (British) (32); Don Cossack Regt Rebrew (2).

SWEDISH CORPS TOTAL: 25 battalions, 27 squadrons, 1 Cossack Regiment 17,014 men, 46 guns, 32 rockets.

ARMY OF THE NORTH TOTAL:  
48,941 infantry, 11,665  
cavalry, 5,087 Cossacks, 226  
guns.

ORDER OF BATTLE: ALLIED ARMY, OCTOBER 1813 *continued***ARMY OF SILESIA**

Blücher

**I CORPS** Yorck (Prussian)**Vanguard** Katzeler

Life Grenadier Bn (1); West Prussian Gren Bn (1); East Prussian Jäger Bn (1/2); 2nd East Prussian Fusilier Bn (1); Guard Jäger (1/4); Brandenburg Inf Regt (1); 12th Reserve Inf Regt (1); 13th Silesian Militia Inf Regt (1); 14th Silesian Mil Inf Regt (1); 15th Silesian Mil Inf Regt (1); 2nd Life Hussar Regt (2); Brandenburg Huss Regt (2); Brandenburg Uhlan Regt (4); East Prussian National Cav Regt (4); 5th Silesian Mil Cav Regt (4); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 12 (8); Horse Battery No. 2 (2)

**1ST BRIGADE** STEINMETZ 1st East Prussian Grenadier Bn (1); Silesian Gren Bn (1); 5th Silesian Mil Inf Regt (3); 13th Silesian Mil Inf Regt (3); 2nd Life Hussar Regt (3); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 2 (8)

**2ND BRIGADE** PRINCE

## CHARLES OF MECKLENBURG

1st East Prussian Inf Regt (3); 2nd East Prussian Inf Regt (1); 6th Silesian Militia Inf Regt (1); Mecklenburg Hussar Regt (4); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 1 (8)

**7TH BRIGADE** HORN

Life Inf Regt (3); Thuringian Inf Bn (1); 4th Silesian Militia Inf Regt (3); 15th Silesian Mil Inf Regt (2); 3rd Silesian Mil Cav Regt (2); 10th Silesian Mil Cav Regt (2); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 3 (8)

**8TH BRIGADE** HUNERBEIN

Brandenburg Inf Regt (2); 12th Reserve Inf Regt (2); 4th Silesian Mil Inf Regt (2); Brandenburg Hussar Regt (2); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 15 (8)

**Reserve Cavalry** Jürgass Lithuanian Dragoon Regt (4); 1st West Prussian Drag

Regt (4); 1st Neumark Mil Cav Regt (4); Horse Battery No. 1 (8); Horse Battery No. 2 (8)

**Reserve Artillery**

12pdr Battery No. 1 (8); 12pdr Battery No. 2 (8); 6pdr Foot Battery No. 24 (8); 3pdr Battery No. 1 (8); Horse Battery No. 12 (8). **I CORPS (PRUSSIAN) TOTAL:** 32 1/4 battalions, 42 squadrons 19,546 men, 104 guns.

**CORPS SACKEN** (Russians)**BRIGADE** USCHAKOW:

Smolensk Dragoon Regt (2); Courland Drag Regt (5) (detached from 3rd Drag Division)

**2nd Hussar Division**

Lanskoi Alexandria Hussar Regt (5); Mariupol Huss Regt (6); White Russian Huss Regt (4); Achtyrka Huss Regt (6) Cossacks: 4th Ukrainian Regt (3); St Petersburg Coss (4); Don Coss Regts Karpow II; Lukowkin II; Grekow; Kuteinikow IV; Semencikow IV; Ilowaiskii IX; 2nd Bashkir Regt; 2nd Kalmuk Regt

**10th Infantry Division**Lieven III **BRIGADE** ?:

Yaroslav Inf Regt (2)

**BRIGADE** SASS: Crimean Inf

Regt (1); Bialostok Inf Regt (2) **BRIGADE** ACHLESTYSCHEW: 8th Jäger Regt (2); 39th Jäger Regt (1); **BRIGADE** RACHMANOW: Ochootsk Inf Regt (1); Kamtschatka Inf Regt (1) (from 16th Infantry Division Repninskoi)

**27th Infantry Division**

Newjerowski **BRIGADE** STAWITZKI: Odessa Inf Regt (1); Vilna Inf Regt (1)

**BRIGADE** ALEKSEJEW:

Tarnopol Inf Regt (1); Simbirsk Inf Regt (1) **BRIGADE** KOLOGRIWOW: 49th Jäger Regt (2); 50th Jäger Regt (1) Artillery: Horse Battery No. 18 (12); Heavy Battery No. 10 (12); Heavy Battery No. 13 (12);

Light Battery No. 24 (12); Light Battery No. 35 (12); 1 coy engineers.

**CORPS SACKEN TOTAL:** 17 battalions, 28 squadrons, 10 Cossack Regiments 12,726 men, 60 guns.

**RUSSIAN CORPS** Langeron

**Vanguard** Rudzewitsch Kargopol Dragoon Regt (4); Kiev Drag Regt (4); Kinburn Drag Regt (2); Dorpat Chasseur Regt (2) Livonian Chass Regt (2); 1st Ukraine Coss Regt (3); 3rd Ukraine Coss Regt (3); Don Coss Regt Kuteinikow VIII; Don Coss Regt Seliwanow II

**9th Infantry Division**Udom II **BRIGADE**

POLTARATZKI: Nascheburg Inf Regt (1); Apscheronskoi Inf Regt (2) **BRIGADE**

JUSCHKOW II: Rjaschsk Inf Regt (2); Yatutsk Inf Regt (1) **BRIGADE** GRIMBLADT: 10th Jäger Regt (1); 38th Jäger Regt (1). Artillery: Heavy Battery No. 15 (12); Horse Battery No. 8 (12)

**Main Body Cavalry:**

Sjewerskoi Chasseur Regt (2); Arzamas Chass Regt (2)

**IX INFANTRY CORPS**

## Olsufjew

**15th Division** Kornilow

**BRIGADE** TERN: Vitebsk Inf Regt (1); Kozelsk Inf Regt (1) **BRIGADE** ANENSUR: Kura Inf Regt (2); Kolywan Inf Regt (2) **BRIGADE** TICHANOWSKI I: 12th Jäger Regt (2); 22nd Jäger Regt (1)

**X INFANTRY CORPS**

## Kapzewitsch

## 8th Division Urussow

**BRIGADE** SCHENSCHIN: Archangel Inf Regt (2); Old Ingermanland Inf Regt (2) **BRIGADE** REHREN: Schlüsselburg Inf Regt (1); 7th Jäger Regt (2); 37th Jäger Regt (1)

**22nd Division**

Turtschaninow

**I BRIGADE** SCHKAPSKI:

Wjatka Inf Regt (2); Starii-Oskol Inf Regt (2); Olonetz Inf Regt (1) **BRIGADE** DURNOW: 29th Jäger Regt (2); 45th Jäger Regt (2). Artillery: Heavy Battery No. 2 (7); Heavy Battery No. 18 (12); Heavy Battery No. 34 (12); Heavy Battery No. 39 (12); Light Battery No. 3 (12); Light Battery No. 19 (12); Light Battery No. 29 (12); Don Cossack Battery No. 2 (7); 2 pontoon coys; 2 engineer coys

**ARMY CORPS ST. PRIEST**

Cavalry Borozdin: New Russian Dragoon Regt (4); Mitau Drag Regt (4); Karkov Drag Regt (4)

**VIII INFANTRY CORPS**

## I 1th Division Prince

## Gurjalow

**BRIGADE** KARPENKO: Yeletz Inf Regt (1); Polotzk Inf Regt (1) **BRIGADE** TURGENJEW: Yekaterinburg Inf Regt (2); Rylsk Inf Regt (1) **BRIGADE** BISTRAM II: 1st Jäger Regt (1) 33rd Jäger Regt (2)

**17th Division** Pilar**BRIGADE** KERN: Rjasan Inf

Regt (2); Bjelorsk Inf Regt (2) **BRIGADE** TSCHERTOW I: Brest Inf Regt (2); Wilmanstrand Inf Regt (2) **BRIGADE** CHARITANOW: 30th Jäger Regt (2); 48th Jäger Regt (2). Artillery: Heavy Battery No. 32 (12); Light Battery No. 32 (12); Light Battery No. 33 (12).

**Cossacks:** Don Cossack Regt Grekow XXI; Don Coss Regt Eschow II; Stavropol Kalmucks. **RUSSIAN CORPS LANGERON TOTAL:** 53 battalions, 38 squadrons, 5 Cossack Regiments 29,164 men, 146 guns.

**ARMY OF SILESIA TOTAL:**

52,717 men, 310 guns.

# THE CAMPAIGN

## French Strategy

Napoleon's position in August 1813 was as follows: his troops held three fortresses in the Vistula theatre, namely Danzig (Gdansk), Modlin and Zamosc. Along the River Oder he held Stettin (Szczecin), Küstrin (Kostrzyn) and Glogau (Glogow). Along the River Elbe he held Torgau, Wittenberg and Magdeburg. The bulk of his forces were concentrated east of the Elbe in Saxony and Silesia with Dresden forming his base of operations, his main magazine and bridge-head. The right flank of his position was secured at a distance by the Bavarian corps on the Inn and Prince Eugène de Beauharnais' army on the Isonzo. Davout's corps in Hamburg secured his left flank.

His Intelligence of Allied dispositions was as follows: in Brandenburg there was a Russo-Prusso-Swedish force under his former marshal Bernadotte, now the Crown Prince of Sweden; in Silesia he was opposed by a Prusso-Russian army and in Bohemia by the Austrians.

Strategically on the defensive and outnumbered, Napoleon needed to go on the offensive tactically to gain the military victories needed to restore his fortunes. For this, he enjoyed the benefit of a central position and central command. Using these he would be able to screen off two of the enemy armies with light forces and concentrate his efforts on destroying the remaining one. With one army destroyed, the coalition facing him would have the choice of either continuing the war against a stronger enemy or suing for peace. A defeat would lead to the coalition squabbling among themselves

and breaking up. In any case, having defeated one army, Napoleon would be in a position to pick off the others at will. This strategy depended on Napoleon's subordinate commanders possessing sufficient skill and initiative to act independently of their master and for his staff system to be sufficiently developed to allow him to co-ordinate their actions. The fact is that neither of these prerequisites were fulfilled. For all its imperial trappings, the Bonaparte regime was basically a dictatorship established by a *coup d'état* after a bloody revolution and sustained by military conquest. Napoleon could brook no competition for domestic political power. His regime had come close to being toppled after the previous year's military fiasco. He had to ensure that the military success was his and his alone. He therefore chose subordi-

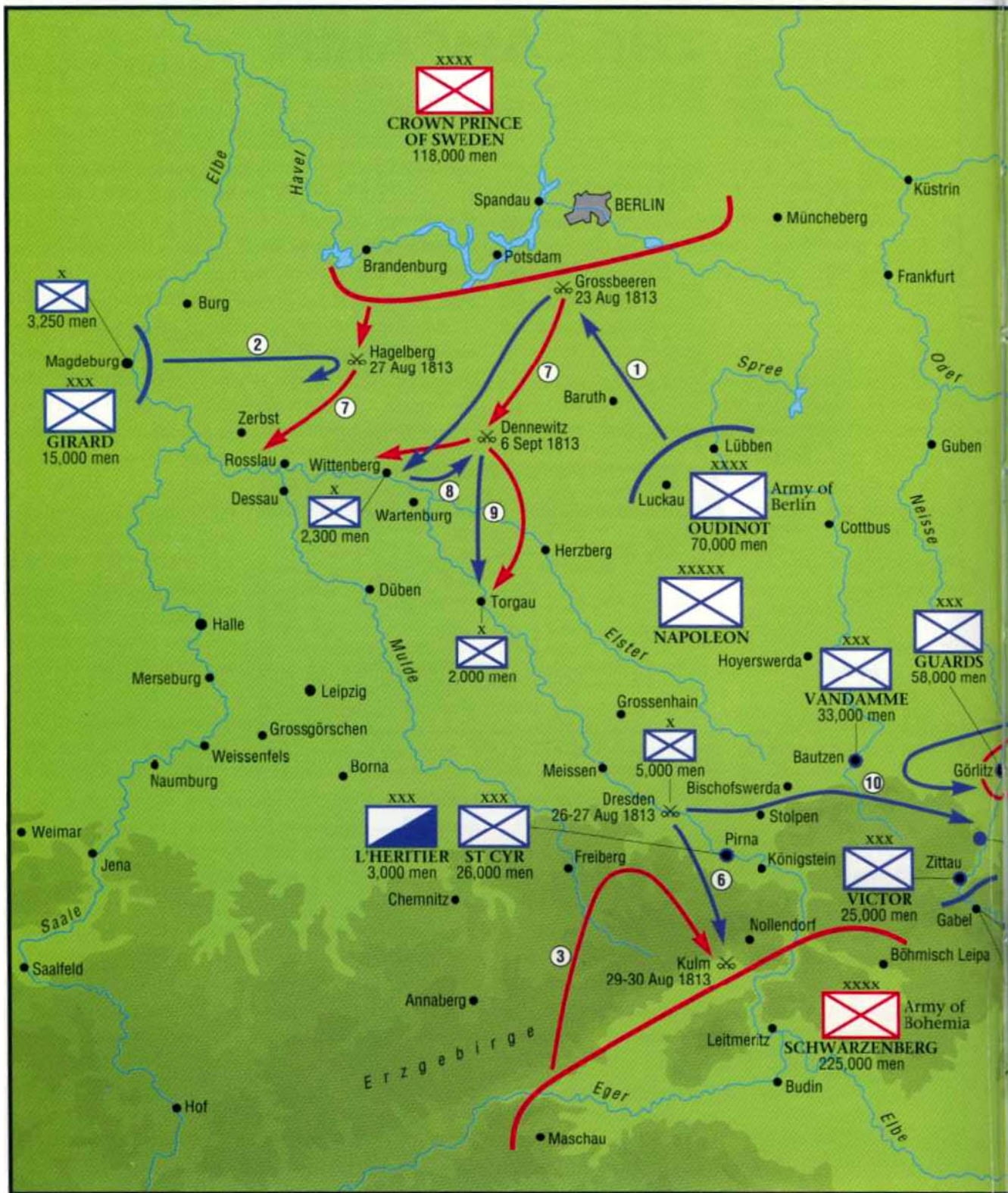
nates who were loyal but lacked the stature to achieve anything of significance without his close personal supervision. His best marshal, Davout, whose dramatic success at Auerstedt in 1806 showed where real military genius lay, was placed in a secondary theatre, in Hamburg on the lower Elbe. Napoleon had no real general staff, at least as we understand it today and as was being developed in Prussia at that very time, but rather a series of clerks who wrote down his orders and passed them on. Initiative by his subordinates was frowned upon by the man who feared for his political survival, but it was that very attribute that would be required to win this campaign.

The question that faced Napoleon was, which of the three Allied armies should he attack? Let us consider what he had to gain and lose by his choice.

**Table 8. Summary of the forces involved in the Leipzig Campaign**

Table 8. Summary of the forces involved in the Leipzig Campaign	
<b>French</b>	<i>Commander</i>
Army of Berlin	Marshal Oudinot, later replaced by Marshal Ney
Army of the Bober	Marshal Macdonald
<b>Allied</b>	<i>Commander</i>
Army of Bohemia	Schwarzenberg (Austrian)
Army of the North	Crown Prince of Sweden (Swedish)
Army of Silesia	Blücher (Prussian)

# Leipzig 1813: Starting Positions mid-August 1813 & Movements





back into the mountains of the Bohemian border and defeated in detail. The Austrians would then gracefully accept the situation and Napoleon would be restored to his coveted position as master of Europe. But what if the Prussians were to accept the necessity of abandoning Berlin in favour of linking up with the Army of Silesia in the East? With supplies and reinforcements coming from Russia, the combined Armies of the North and Silesia would be too strong for Napoleon to defeat.

Secondly, the Army of Silesia, under the Prussian Blücher. He was a wily old bird who was not going to be an easy catch. As he had shown in his retreat to Lübeck in 1806, he would not give up easily. Even the bloody nose he had got that spring at Lützen had not stopped him turning for another fight only days later. An offensive against this army was likely to be a protracted affair leading ever deeper into enemy territory, towards Russian reinforcements and putting Napoleon's forces into ever greater danger from flanking moves by the Armies of the North and Bohemia who, slow as their reactions were likely to be, would be in a position to cut Napoleon off from his communications and his base in Dresden. This course of action was unlikely to be fruitful.

Finally, the Army of Bohemia under the Austrian Schwarzenberg. This was the main Allied army and the infliction of a major defeat on this would be likely to cause the coalition to fall apart. Napoleon could either attempt to draw it out into Saxony and crush it there or himself move through the Bohemian passes and deal a blow there. He would need to deploy a substantial force to hold off Blücher from his base at Dresden while the Army of the North would merely have to be observed. Napoleon could then link up with his forces in southern Germany and realign his lines of communications through safer channels while still holding northern Germany through his fortress garrisons. Even if Blücher moved through the passes of Silesia to link up with Schwarzenberg, it was unlikely that he could arrive in time to influence the outcome. However, this would mean giving up the precious supplies in Saxony, his important base in Dresden and it would take too long to establish the new lines. Whatever he did, he needed to be sure that the Army of Bohemia did not slip away into southern

Germany and threaten his communications with France. He had to tie it down somehow.

Napoleon was on the horns of a dilemma. He was too tied to his precious magazine at Dresden and could not operate so deep in enemy territory without it. He was too weak to defeat the combined forces of the Allied armies, yet to be able to defeat them in detail he would need to abandon his base. A negotiated peace might well leave him with the crown of France but how long could he hold that against his domestic opposition who would be challenging the cost and end result of all those years of war? He needed a brilliant and rapid victory and had to rely on his star to bring it.

### Allied Strategy

After considerable discussion, the Allies decided on the 'Trachenberg-Reichenbach Plan', named after the towns in which the planning conferences were held. The planning process was drawn-out and altered on numerous occasions but this was the nature of the beast. This coalition was formed of different nations with differing interests and different war aims. The Swedes were there for whatever pickings they could get at minimal cost. The Russians, although wanting the overthrow of Napoleon, had already liberated their motherland and would have settled for a reasonable peace. The Prussians were fighting for their very existence and needed a rapid and decisive victory. The Austrians did not make up their minds whose side to fight on until the last minute and were as much worried by the Russian threat as the French. Without a single command and a single aim, the Allies were not likely to act decisively unless events left them with no choice. Their plan reflected this fact. They did not set their amalgamated forces the prime task of totally destroying the enemy, but set themselves a series of limited objectives and principles, the adherence to which included the following:

1. Any fortresses occupied by the enemy were not to be besieged but merely observed.
2. The main effort was to be directed against the enemy's flanks and lines of operation.
3. To cut the enemy's communications, forcing him to detach troops to clear them or move his main forces against them.



4. To accept battle only against part of the enemy's forces and only if that part were outnumbered, but to avoid battle against his combined forces especially if these were directed against the Allies' weak points.
5. In the event of the enemy moving in force against one of the Allied armies, this was to retire while the others would advance with vigour.
6. The point of union of the Allied armies was to be the enemy's headquarters.

### The Opening Moves

Napoleon's opening offensive was against the Army of Silesia. Over-estimating the size of the forces available to Blücher and knowing his aggressive nature, he perceived the greatest threat to be from this quarter.

He placed himself at the head of the Army of the Bober. To deal with the Army of the North, he formed the Army of Berlin from IV, VII, XII Corps and III Cavalry Corps, a total of 63,600 men and 216 cannon. He appointed Marshal Oudinot its commander. In support was Girard's Corps and Davout in Hamburg. Estimating that whatever course of action it chose, it would take the Army of Bohemia roughly five days to manoeuvre to a threatening position, he remained on the defensive on that front. He instructed II and VIII Corps, IV Cavalry

Corps and various other smaller formations to take up covering positions.

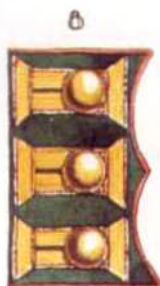
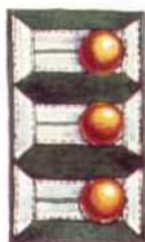
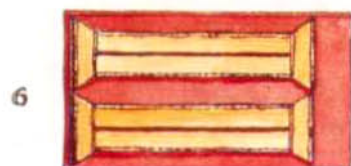
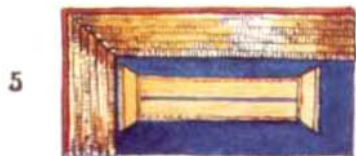
Blücher responded to the French offensive in the manner prescribed by the Allies' strategic plan; he withdrew, leaving Napoleon striking out against air. Meanwhile Oudinot advanced on Berlin and the Army of Bohemia moved to threaten the French magazine at Dresden. Napoleon rushed back to Dresden to conduct its defence personally and appointed Macdonald commander of the Army of the Bober. It looked very much as if the campaign were approaching its climax and that Napoleon had victory within his grasp. Indeed, he won a resounding victory over the Army of Bohemia in two days' fighting in and around Dresden, but his subordinates proved unable to conduct independent command and snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.

### The Battle of Grossbeeren, 23 August 1813

Although there had been several skirmishes to date, Grossbeeren was the first major action of the campaign. Oudinot, commander of the French Army of Berlin, was ordered to push the enemy back quickly, take Berlin, disarm its inhabitants and disperse the militia. If Berlin resisted it was to be destroyed. He was to advance with the support of Girard's Corps with Davout moving from Hamburg towards Berlin. Oudinot's army consisted of three corps, Oudinot,

► *Grossbeeren. Heavy rain made it difficult to fire muskets. The issue was often decided by the butt and bayonet; even so, this late 19th century painting by Röchling exaggerates a little and is typical of the romantic views held later in the 19th century. Nevertheless, Röchling's painting of the fight for the churchyard shows the uniforms and equipment of the time – virtually all the infantry wore covered shakos and greatcoats, leaving little to distinguish friend from foe, in this case, Saxons and Prussians.*





Bertrand and Reynier, together with Arrighi's Cavalry Corps; a total of about 70,000 men including 9,000 cavalry and 216 guns. Napoleon had underestimated not only the size of the Army of the North but also its quality. Oudinot's force was simply not strong enough to accomplish the task in hand. The quality and reliability of the Army of Berlin was questionable. The infantry consisted in bulk of Italians and Germans and the training of the cavalry was woefully inadequate. Girard's Corps was in better condition, with one division of reliable Poles, but the other of raw recruits. This force advanced towards Berlin and the Army of the North which was stronger not only in numbers (c.98,000 men) but also in morale, being composed in part of Brandenburgers – defending their very homes.

The 'Legend of Phillipsthal', invented by certain German historians, has it that the Crown Prince of Sweden wanted to pull back in the face of Oudinot's advance and leave Berlin to the mercy of the enemy but was forced to stand and fight by the Prussian Bülow. However, documented fact (a message from the Crown Prince to Blücher dated 2.30 a.m. 22 August) states: 'My outposts were attacked yesterday by the troops of the Duke of Reggio (Oudinot). His army is about 80,000 men strong ... I am marching to give battle.' The Crown Prince of Sweden has always suffered from a bad press and this false legend is but one instance.

Oudinot was handicapped by faulty Intelligence, his cavalry being insufficiently skilled to gather correct information as to the enemy's strength and dispositions. On 22 August, he sent a message to Napoleon stating that he expected to enter Berlin without serious resistance on the 24th. His army was not deployed for battle but advanced in three march columns in the direction of Berlin. At

Blankenfelde Bertrand's Corps on the right blundered into Dobschütz's Division of Prussian militia, at 9 o'clock on the morning of 23 August. Dobschütz had about 13,000 men and 32 guns. Bertrand had about 20,000 men and 66 guns but was unable to deploy all of these. The Prussians threw out their vanguard into the woods to the south of Blankenfelde and after several hours' combat in these woods, managed to throw back the French. At about 2 p.m. the French withdrew. Both sides lost about 200 men each.

At roughly the same time, Reynier's Corps reached Grossbeeren with Sahr's Division of Saxons to the fore. After a short artillery duel, the four Prussian guns limbered up and withdrew. The Saxons then stormed the burning village and ejected the three battalions defending it. Believing the battle to be over, Reynier started to pitch camp. Hardly had his rear divisions moved up when the real battle started with Bülow's artillery firing into the camp. Bülow's troops had been marching in the pouring rain since 7 a.m. and were exhausted. They wanted to pitch camp for the day at Heinersdorf when the report on Grossbeeren arrived. A reconnaissance of the area revealed that Reynier was still moving through the woods and that an attack on him would more than likely be successful. The Prussians went over to the offensive.

Screened from observation by the heavy rain, the Prussians advanced with the Divisions Hessen-Homburg and Krafft in the front line with Thümen and the cavalry and artillery reserves in the second. As speed was of the essence and the rain prevented a detailed reconnaissance, the Prussians plunged forward when a flanking move would have been less costly. This stage of the battle was opened by an artillery duel lasting 1½ hours. As the Prussians brought up guns from their reserves, they enjoyed the advantage of numbers. Bülow's infantry was formed up 300 paces to the rear of the artillery. Borstell's Division pressed forward and moved on Grossbeeren from the east. As the fire of the French artillery weakened, the Prussians went over to the offensive. The enemy was driven back and broke once the windmill was threatened by Krafft from the rear. The Saxon Regiment Low formed the rearguard and was involved in close combat with the advancing Prussians. The bayonet and butt were

◀ *Russian Guard Infantry: (1) NCO Life Guard Regiment Preobrashenski, summer sentry uniform; (2) Grenadier, Life Guard Regiment Semjonowski, winter sentry uniform; (3) Regimental Drum Major, Life Guard Regiment Ismailowski, winter walking out dress;*

*(4) Jäger of 1st Battalion, Life Guard Regiment Jägerski, winter service dress; (5) Collar of NCO, Semjonowski; (6) Collar, Preobrashenski; (7) Cuff patch, Pawlowksi; (8) Cuff patch, Finlandski; (9) Shako badge, Guard; (10) Cartridge box, Guard.*

used, the weather making firing difficult. Reynier brought up Divisions Durette and Lecoq to recover the situation. Durette's troops were panicked by the retreating Saxons and broke without coming into action. Lecoq fared little better.

Bülow had started to pitch camp in the darkening evening when it was his turn to be surprised. The third French column had marched towards the sound of the guns in Grossbeeren and arrived at Neubeeren at about 8 p.m. Here, the French vanguard met the Prussian Life Hussars and a confused cavalry battle took place in the dark. The French eventually withdrew, leaving about 100 prisoners behind. Because of the bad weather and their exhaustion, the Prussians were unable to launch a pursuit.

Next day the French continued their retreat. Total losses were about 3,000 men, thirteen guns and 60 ammunition wagons on the French side and about 1,000 Prussians. In terms of physical losses this was a relatively minor affair, but news of this defeat and the others that were to come in the following days had a demoralizing effect on the French. The Prussians were uplifted by the fact that unaided they had won their first victory since the dark days of 1806.

### The Battle of Dresden, 26-27 August 1813

The Battle of Dresden was to be Napoleon's one great victory of the entire campaign. On hearing the news that the Emperor was with the Army of the Bober, marching against Blücher into Silesia, the Army of Bohemia advanced through the Bohemian passes towards Dresden. On the right flank, Wittgenstein advanced along the Elbe leaving behind Duke Eugène of Württemberg to watch the fortress of Königstein; next to him, between Leubnitz and Maxen were Kleist's Prussians; the Austrians under Colloredo and Chastler were advancing in two columns between Räcknitz and Plauen; Kleinau was in Freiberg; the Russian Guards and the reserves were between Kulm and Dippoldiswalde. On 25 August the Allies had 80,000 men at the gates of Dresden. St.Cyr had 20,000 men with which to oppose them. A bold move by the Allies and Dresden would have been taken. Instead, a council of war was held. One

should not be too critical of the apparent sloth of the Army of Bohemia. Its command structure was decidedly cumbersome because the three Allied monarchs, Emperor Francis of Austria, Tsar Alexander of Russia and King Frederick William III of Prussia had burdened Headquarters with their presence. Added to that was the Austrian policy of wanting to come out of this campaign with a draw in their favour. Poor Schwarzenberg was compelled to fight the battle with at least one hand tied behind his back.

Decisions were made in committee. Schwarzenberg's orders for the coming battle reflected the lack of decision and leadership at Allied Headquarters. There is no mention of an attack on Dresden, but rather talk of a demonstration against the French positions. The five columns which were to mount this demonstration did so without co-ordination and without the necessary equipment to cross the ditches and climb the walls that formed the French defensive line.

On 22 August Napoleon had been warned by St.Cyr that the Allies were advancing towards his main base in Germany so he left the Army of the Bober with Macdonald and returned with his Guards to Dresden. Not having been given the opportunity of achieving a decisive battle with Blücher, the Emperor looked forward to making up for this in Saxony. He moved towards Dresden on the evening of the 25th after receiving reports that the fall of the town and its precious magazine were imminent. He entered it at 9 o'clock the next morning with a total of about 90,000 men. If the Allies had known of his proximity they would not have given battle.

The town of Dresden was fortified to a certain extent. The suburbs had been prepared for defence by loopholing walls and putting firing platforms behind them, palisading the holes and linking up the paths. Moreover, there were five lunettes which protected the exits from the town. This defensive line was eight kilometres long and St. Cyr simply did not have the men to defend it; at the critical points he had one man per ten paces of front; and this fact could not have escaped the Allies as Wittgenstein had been facing it for two days. Given good leadership and preparation, the Allies would have had every chance of success.

► *The Battle of Dresden opens. This contemporary print gives a good indication of skirmish tactics of the period. The Russian infantry to the fore are skirmishing in pairs, one loading while the other gives covering fire. This line is supported by Cossacks. The French skirmishers, also operating in pairs, are clearly supported by a line of formed troops to their rear.*



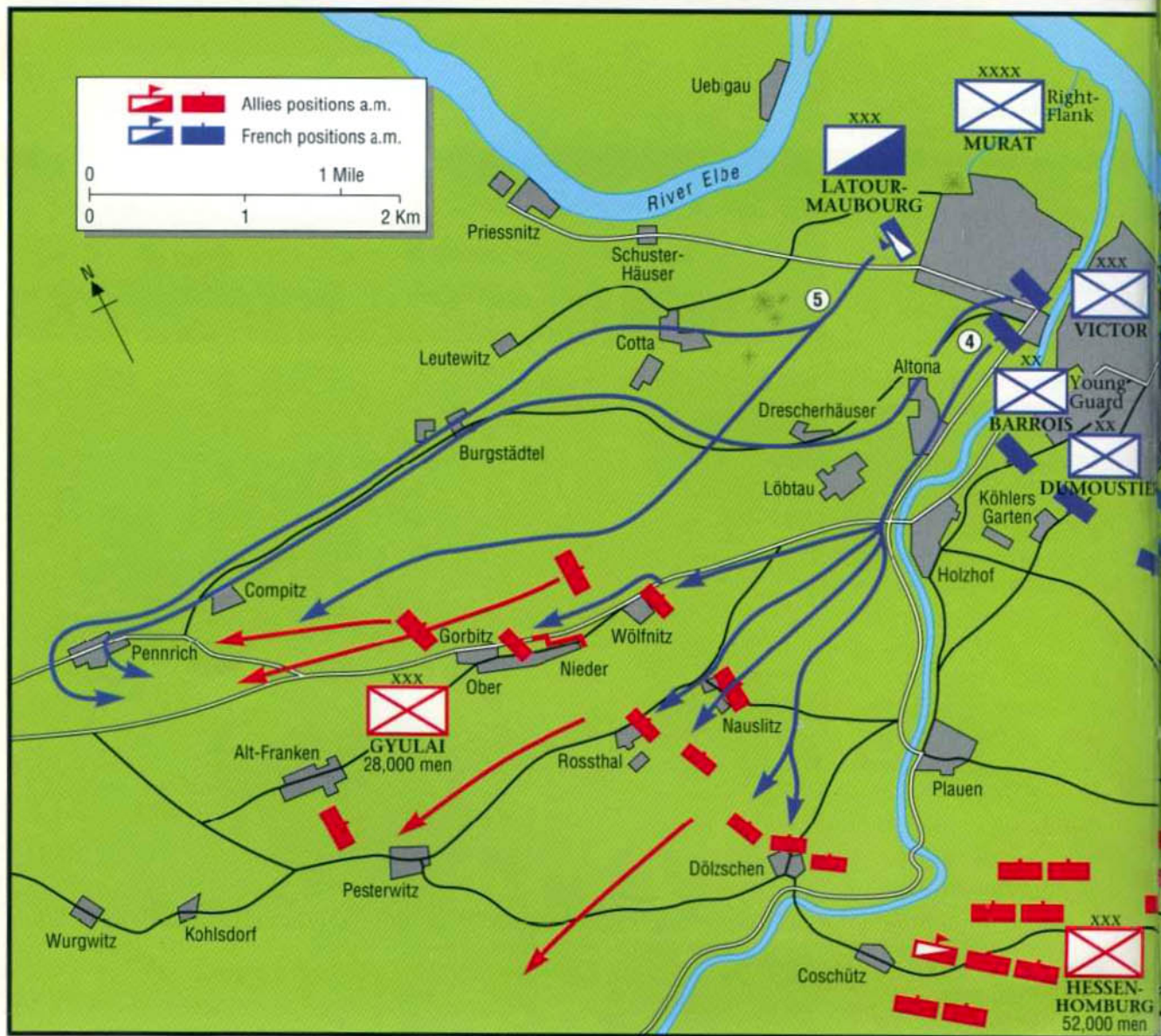
► *Austrian Jäger storming a fortification in the Moschinsky Gardens in Dresden on 26 August. The lack of scaling ladders which severely handicapped the Allied assault is very apparent in this coloured lithograph.*



► *The charge of the Saxon Cuirassier Regiment Jung-Zastrow on Austrian infantry at Dresden on 27 August.*

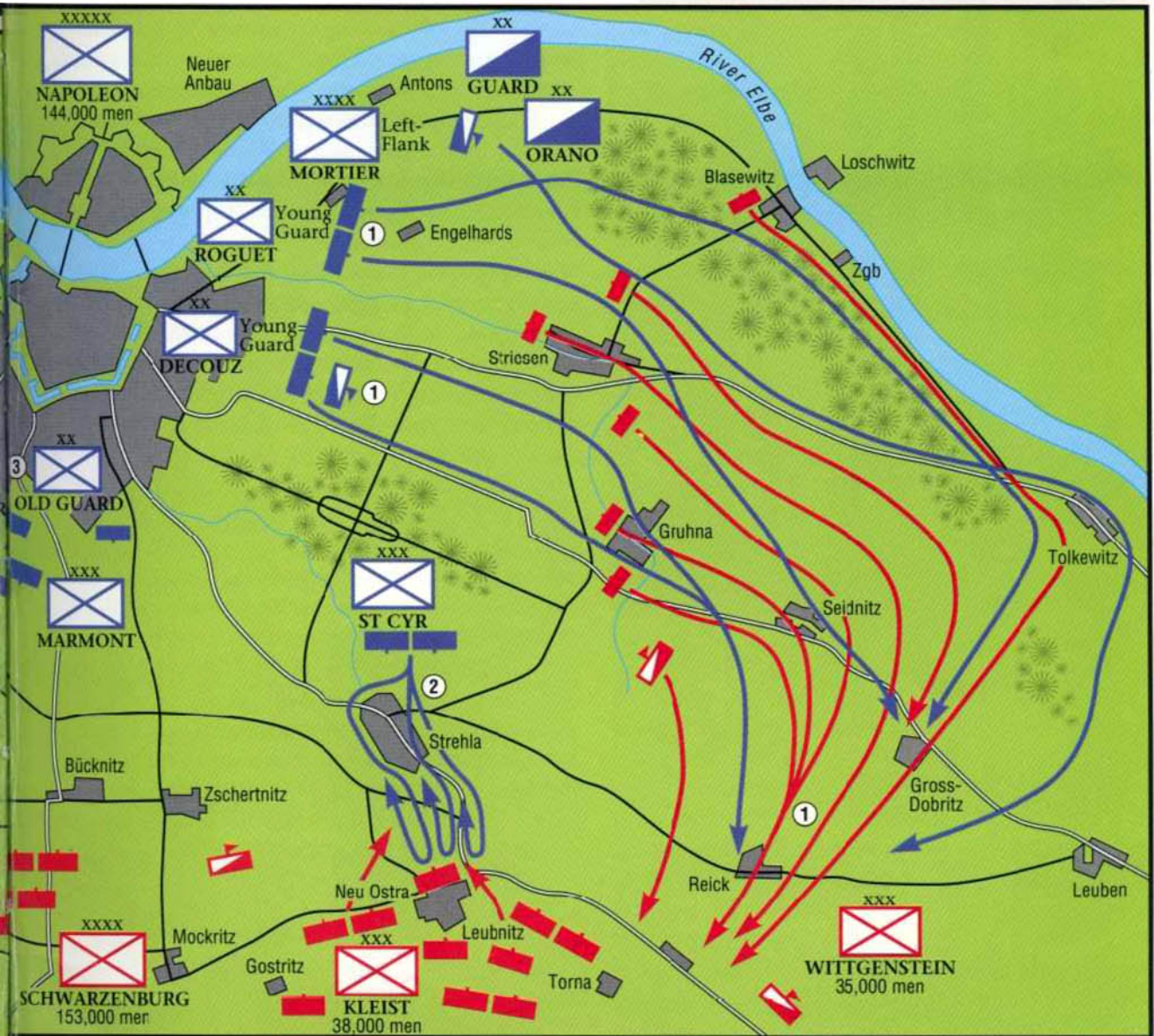


# Dresden, Day 2, 27 August 1813: The Emperor's only Victory



At 5 a.m. on 26 August Kleist's column of Prussians began the attack and pushed through most of the Royal Gardens despite heavy resistance. Wittgenstein, on his right, found the going tougher. Flanking fire from across the Elbe and from the lunettes to his fore made his gains untenable and forced him back to his starting positions. The Austrians also pushed forward, gaining ground on the left flank, but withering fire from lunettes III and IV prevented headway in the centre. By midday,

most of the Allied front line was within cannon shot of Dresden. It was apparent to them, however that, as the French resistance was so strong, St.Cyr was being reinforced. Cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* coming from enemy lines indicated that Napoleon himself was present and there was a general feeling at Allied Headquarters that a withdrawal was now due. Only Frederick William of Prussia spoke against this, asking why with 200,000 men the Allies should run away from the name 'Napoleon'? The attack contin-



ued at 4 p.m. Wittgenstein pushed forward and took the three farms of Antons, Lämmchens and Engelhard's. All attempts to take the farm of Hopfgartens were broken up by the murderous artillery fire from across the Elbe. Wittgenstein formed up his last reserve at 5 p.m.

By 2 p.m. the Prussians had taken the Royal Garden and by 5 p.m. had forced their way forward to the edge of town. They were likely to break in at any time. The Austrians too had pushed forward, a

1. Napoleon launches his counter-attack. Two divisions of Young Guard commence their assault on Russians shortly after 6 a.m., pushing them back to Reick by 11 a.m.  
2. St. Cyr assaults Strehla, taking it by 8 a.m. At noon, Prussians launch counter-attack

which is beaten off.  
3. French centre holds its position and engages Allies with its artillery.  
4. At 2 p.m., Victor launches his attack, driving back Aloys Liechtenstein's Austrians.  
5. Latour-Maubourg's cavalry pursue beaten Austrians.



grand battery of 72 pieces supporting their advance in the centre. Along the whole front, the Allies were on the verge of storming the town of Dresden itself. It was at this point that Napoleon ordered his 70,000 reinforcements on to the offensive.

Wittgenstein was driven back step by step. By 8 p.m. the French had reached Striesen and after four hours of bitter fighting, finally drove out the Russians. The French advance stopped here once Klüx's Prussians arrived.

The French Guard stormed the Royal Garden and after two hours ejected the Prussians. Led by Ney, Divisions Barrois and Dumoustier fell upon the Austrians in the centre, forcing them back. Here the fighting continued until midnight. On the left, the Austrians fared little better, being outnumbered

◀ *A rather romantic portrayal of French hussars at Dresden but nevertheless one of interest. Note the officer to the fore commanding his bugler to sound the charge. Painting by A. Lalauze.*

*tion of how Napoleon commanded on the field of battle. Selecting a good vantage point, his generals would visit him for instructions while his aides waited to receive messages for forwarding. To the right of this painting by Friedrich Schneider, his Old Guard rest in the presence of their Emperor.*

▼ *Napoleon on the Strehlen Heights during the Battle of Dresden, 27 August. A clear illustra-*





by Murat's troops. To the rear of the Allied position, Vandamme's Corps crossed the Elbe at Königstein. Württemberg fought a determined holding action, delaying the French advance despite their superior numbers. Early next day, 27 August, Headquarters of the Army of Bohemia reacted to his messages and sent him reinforcements.

During the night, the Allies had the opportunity to reflect upon their current position and consider their course of action. Their failure to capture Dresden was due in part to a lack of clear leadership. Over a front of eight kilometres it had proved impossible to co-ordinate their attacks. They had no equipment for crossing ditches and climbing walls. The French had the advantage of a prepared position, central command, fresh troops constantly arriving, and did not need to spend yet another night in the rain and mud. It was clear that the French would continue their offensive the next day. The Allied troops were demoralized and lacked confidence in their leadership. Also, Vandamme was threatening their rear. Even though it outnumbered the French forces, the Army of Bohemia had little chance of success and the prudent course of action would have been to fall back. The course of action chosen was to renew the attack on 27 August.

Napoleon's plan of action for the next day was to attack the enemy's flanks thereby denying him the best lines of retreat, forcing him instead to fall back over difficult country lanes. Reinforced during the course of the night by Victor and Marmont, his troops had spent this wet night under cover. In the presence of their Emperor, morale was high. Napoleon's troops were deployed as follows.

**Right flank:** 39,000 men under Murat with Victor's Corps and Teste's Division in front of the Löbtauer Schlag (exit), Latour-Maubourg's Cavalry Corps and Pajol's Cavalry Division in front of the Priessnitzer Schlag.

**Centre:** 80,000 men. St.Cyr's Corps south of the Royal Garden, Marmont in front of the See-Vorstadt, Divisions Dumoustier and Barrois of the Young Guard in front of the Falken and Freiburger exits, Old Guard between lunettes III and IV, Guard Cavalry Division between the Streisen ditch and the Royal Garden.

**Left flank:** 25,000 men under Mortier. Divisions Decouz and Rouget of the Young Guard

between the Elbe and the Pirna road, Cavalry Divisions Lefebvre and Ornano between the Landgraben and the Elbe.

From midnight it rained heavily. The ground turned to mud, making movement away from the roads difficult. Shortly after 6 a.m. two divisions of the Young Guard launched an attack in the area between the Elbe and the Royal Garden. Roguet's Division, having no opposition, pressed forward, outflanked the Russians and had pushed them back to Reick by 11 a.m. By 8 a.m. St.Cyr had forced the Prussians to evacuate Strehla. From 10 o'clock his artillery bombarded Zschernitz and Leubnitz. In the centre Marmont's Corps and two divisions of the Young Guard made little progress and this sector of the front went over to an artillery duel. On the right flank Victor's Corps gained ground. At midday the Prussians staged a counter-attack on St.Cyr, but this was beaten off. The situation at 1 o'clock was decidedly in favour of the French. Their right flank under Murat was close to achieving victory, the centre was holding well and the left flank, having made gains earlier, was getting bogged down.

The Allies decided on a counter-attack against the French left flank, but events prevented this plan being carried out. The Russian General Barclay de Tolly hesitated to carry out his orders as he was unsure of getting his artillery out of the mud in the event of an unsuccessful attack. Just when he was about to express his concern, General Moreau (at one time a rival to Bonaparte in the struggle for power in Revolutionary France, and currently in the company of the Tsar) was fatally wounded at the side of his patron which distracted the attention of those present at Allied Headquarters. Then came the news that Vandamme had taken Pirna, endangering the rear of the Allies. The opportunity for a counter blow was thus lost.

At 2 o'clock Victor moved forward again, driving back the Austrians from Aloys Liechtenstein's Division and ejecting them from Ober-Gorbitz. Latour-Maubourg's cavalry charged these retreating Austrians, cutting down some of them and taking the remainder prisoner. This charge split the Allied position on this flank into two. The Austrians were caught in the open, stuck in the mud, unable to fire their muskets because of the rain and surrounded by French cavalry; 9,000 of them surrendered. By 3

# Leipzig 1813: Movements to 11 October





p.m. the Allied left flank was totally beaten, but the situation in the centre was stable and the French were making no progress in their attempts to take Leubnitz. Mortier, on the French left, was finding it even more difficult to make progress and some of his battalions had taken a mauling at the hands of Prussian cavalry.

The French had achieved a local victory on their left. To achieve a total victory Vandamme's Corps would have to come into play in the Allied rear, but the corps was held up. At Allied Headquarters it was now clear that the wisest course of action would be to withdraw and at 4 o'clock they did so, intending not merely to move away from Dresden but of retreating back into the safety of Bohemia.

The victor of Dresden reviewed the situation. He had taken 12,000 prisoners including the Austrian Field Marshal Lieutenant Meszko, two generals, 64 senior officers, several hundred junior officers, fifteen Colours, 26 guns and 30 ammunition wagons. Only the poor weather had prevented a greater catastrophe from befalling the Allies. Moreover, Vandamme, having crossed the Elbe at Pirna, was in a position to pursue and turn Napoleon's victory into a rout. Here we return to the Army of the Bober under Macdonald, facing Blücher's Army of Silesia.

### The Battle on the Katzbach, 26 August 1813

When Napoleon left Macdonald with the Army of the Bober and rushed to Dresden, he left him with three infantry corps (III -Souham; V - Lauriston; XI - Gérard) and one cavalry corps (II - Sebastiani) and orders to cover the Emperor's rear by throwing the enemy back across the River Bober (Bobra) and then to take up a defensive posture. Macdonald's

◀

1. At end of September, Blücher moves to join forces with the Army of the North, crossing Elbe on 3 October at Wartenburg.
2. Army of North crosses Elbe on 4 October. Two Allied armies are now in a position to unite and force Napoleon to fight a

3. Napoleon abandons Dresden and moves to challenge Blücher and the Crown Prince of Sweden.
4. Blücher side-steps Napoleon and avoids battle.
5. Army of Bohemia advances again in face of weak opposition.
6. Murat falls back.



▲ *General von Yorck. Commander of I (Prussian) Corps. Described as being an awkward subordinate but a tough opponent who could be counted on to get stuck in when the going was tough. His corps was known as Blücher's 'Fighting Corps'*

*and played a significant role in battles such as the Katzbach and Wartenburg before being virtually destroyed at Möckern. The remnant marched to the Rhine, crossing in mid-winter at Kaub before continuing on to Paris.*

army was a pretty mixed lot, his infantry consisting of French, Italian and German conscripts and his cavalry of young, inexperienced troopers who were no match for the cavalry of the Army of Silesia.

Blücher's forces consisted of the Russian Corps of St. Priest, Langeron and Sacken and Yorck's Prussian Corps. He had about 95,000 men at his disposal.

Macdonald proceeded to carry out his orders with Lauriston moving into Goldberg (Zlotoryja) on 23 August, Gérard fighting at Niederau then striking camp between Niederau and Neudorf, Souham reaching Liegnitz (Legnica) and Rothkirch, and Sebastiani Rothbrüning and Liegnitz. Ney was recalled by Napoleon and because of an imprecise order took his corps with

him. By the time the mistake was noticed and countermanded, Macdonald's movements had suffered a delay of two days. On 26 August the French continued their advance towards Jauer (Jawor) which led to the Battle on the Katzbach (Kaczawa).

Early on the morning of 26 August Yorck broke camp to take up position in alignment with Sacken and Langeron. Because of the very heavy rain, this manoeuvre was performed with some difficulty and it was not until 10 o'clock that Yorck was in position between Brechtelshof and Bellwitzhof. Blücher had ridden to Brechtelshof that morning where he had received Intelligence reports indicating the enemy's positions. As the French had moved since 24 August, Blücher assumed that they had gone over to the defensive. He thus chose to launch an attack; Sacken was to move on Liegnitz; Yorck was to cross the Katzbach at Dohnau and Kroitsch (Krotoszyce) and thence to Steudnitz (Studnica), cutting off the French corps in Haynau (Chojnow) from Liegnitz; Langeron was to cross the Katzbach at Riemberg, occupy the heights at Hohberg and Kosendau, and cover the flank of the advance on Liegnitz.

Before these manoeuvres could be executed, however, news of the French advance was received. Both sides advanced into contact with each other and started an encounter battle. Lauriston and Gérard moved on Seichau (Sichow). Langeron just had time to deploy between Hermannsdorf and Schlaupe (Slup), completing this by about 12.30 p.m. Yorck's vanguard was also in action by this time, but his riflemen were unable to fire because of the heavy rain and they were driven back by Sebastiani's horse artillery.

At about 2 p.m. Macdonald advanced towards the sound of the guns. On the way he met General Souham who reported that because all the bridges over the Neisse between Liegnitz and Dohnau had been destroyed, he was moving towards Kroitsch. Macdonald ordered Division Brayer to occupy the heights above Nieder-Crayn which it did by 2.30 p.m. A reconnaissance by Gneisenau and Müffling established that the French were indeed advancing towards the heights above Nieder-Weinberg. Blücher resolved to push them back into the rivers at their back which were flooding because of the heavy rain. Sacken's Corps had already commenced its attack before receiving this order. Yorck deployed

with Horn and Hünenbein to the fore, the Prince of Mecklenburg in support and Steinmetz in reserve.

Hünenbein's Brigade advanced first, its left flank resting on the Neisse, fired on by half a battery of French artillery on the Kreuzberg and opposed by three battalions of infantry. Two of these withdrew quickly behind the cover of the hill, the third held its position. The II. Battalion/Brandenburg Infantry Regiment (Prussians) wiped it out, using the bayonet and butt. The artillery and a supporting cavalry regiment were beaten back by two other battalions.

In the meantime Exelmann's cavalry division (French) moved up and Division Brayer climbed the heights in front of it. The bridge at Kroitsch was blocked by cavalry, so Brayer had to leave his artillery behind. For the same reason, Cuirassier Division St. Germain remained in Kroitsch and did not come into action on 26 August.

Yorck continued his advance. On hearing that the French seemed to be about to break, Jürgass' reserve cavalry was committed. With seven squadrons in his first line, three echeloned to the left, Jürgass advanced, the three squadrons on the left wheeling to capture a battery of artillery before being forced to withdraw by Brayer's advancing infantry. His front line advanced through several squadrons and batteries before stumbling into the mass of the French cavalry who pushed him back to his starting position and captured part of his horse battery. The crisis of the battle had arrived. Exelmann's troopers flanked Yorck's artillery and charged the front of his infantry. With drums beating, four battalions from Yorck's second line threw Exelmann back while six Prussian and four Russian squadrons took his left flank and front, driving him back to the valley.

Sacken's Corps advanced through Eichholtz, his artillery deployed on the Taubenberg. Blücher ordered the general advance and committed his reserve cavalry. Brayer was driven back, as was the French cavalry. The infantry managed an orderly withdrawal to Kroitsch via Nieder-Crayn, leaving behind however its wagons and cannon. The exhausted Allies staged only a token pursuit.

Souham's Corps arrived later that afternoon. Division Delmas crossed the Katzbach below Kroitsch towards Dohnau, dragging his cannon up the hill but to no avail as the Allied artillery soon

forced a withdrawal. Unsupported, Delmas fell back on Kroitsch. Divisions Albert and Ricard crossed the Katzbach at Schmogwitz and were confronted by part of Sacken's Corps. These divisions withdrew once news of the French defeat was received.

Langeron's Corps had a less easy time. Faced by Gérard's and Lauriston's Corps, he was driven back with Hennesdorf falling at about 4 p.m. The French corps was unable to co-ordinate its actions and advanced no farther. Blücher saw that Langeron was having difficulties and ordered Steinmetz to cross the Neisse to attack the French in the flank and rear. The French were forced to give ground. At nightfall part of Hennesdorf was again in Allied hands and fighting went on there until midnight.

Casualties on both sides are a little hard to determine but it is known that the French lost 36 cannon, 110 ammunition wagons, two ambulances, four field smithies and as many as 1,400 prisoners.

This was an encounter battle which neither side was really anticipating. Blücher quickly seized the initiative but his victory was not as great as some writers of the time claim. Legends of thousands of French being driven into the raging waters of the Neisse bear little resemblance to fact. Losses of *matériel* was of more concern to the French.

Poor weather, bad conditions and general exhaustion prevented a rapid pursuit by the Allied forces, but Langeron took 2,200 prisoners and six guns from Lauriston while he was falling back to Goldberg. The Army of the Bober retired in two columns towards Bunzlau and Löwenberg and started to disintegrate on the way. Blücher urged his men on, but to little avail; they were tired, hungry and soaked through. His Prussian militia battalions suffered particularly and his horses were hungry.

On 29 August Langeron clashed with Puthod's Division which was withdrawing across the Bober at Löwenberg; cut off and surrounded, it surrendered. The Russians took 4,000 prisoners, sixteen guns and three Eagles. The pursuit continued.

However, on 31 August Blücher received news of the Battle of Dresden. Assuming that Napoleon would leave the pursuit to his subordinates and return to Silesia to regain control of events there, Blücher ordered caution. The French having fallen back to the Lausitzer Neisse, the Allies took up positions on the Queis (Kwisa).

In all, the Army of the Bober had lost more than 30,000 men including 18,000 prisoners, 103 cannon, 300 wagons, three generals and three Eagles. It was on the point of total collapse. The Army of Silesia had fared little better, losing more than 22,000 men, but its morale, despite lack of supplies, remained unbroken.

### The Battle of Kulm, 29 and 30 August 1813

We left the Army of Bohemia on the retreat after its defeat at Dresden. Vandamme was instructed to conduct the pursuit. The remainder of the army followed up, moving south towards Bohemia. There was every chance for the French totally to destroy the main Allied army and thereby decide the campaign. Napoleon, believing the matter to be very much in his favour, sent his Old Guard back to Dresden and had the Young Guard halt at Pirna. Then he heard the news of Macdonald's defeat on the Katzbach. He had already been informed of Oudinot's fate at Grossbeeren. A successful pursuit of the Army of Bohemia would more than reverse these set-backs.

Vandamme, moving along the road from Pirna through Peterswalde (Petrovice) and Tellnitz (Telnice) was getting into a position where he could cut off the Allied retreat. They had to do something to stop this. An improvised but successful defence

#### ► Forces Involved.

##### FRENCH:

- A. Division Morand.
- B. Division Franquemont.
- C. Brigade Beaumont.
- D. Division Fontanelli.

##### PRUSSIANS:

- E. Brigade Steinmetz.
- F. Brigade Mecklenburg.
- G. Brigade Horn.
- H. Brigade Hühnerbein.

1. Once Mecklenburg crosses the Elbe, Steinmetz moves up and ties down Morand frontally.

2. Mecklenburg forces Franquemont (B1) back and then out of Bleddin (B2).

3. Mecklenburg then continues his manoeuvre on the rear of the French position.

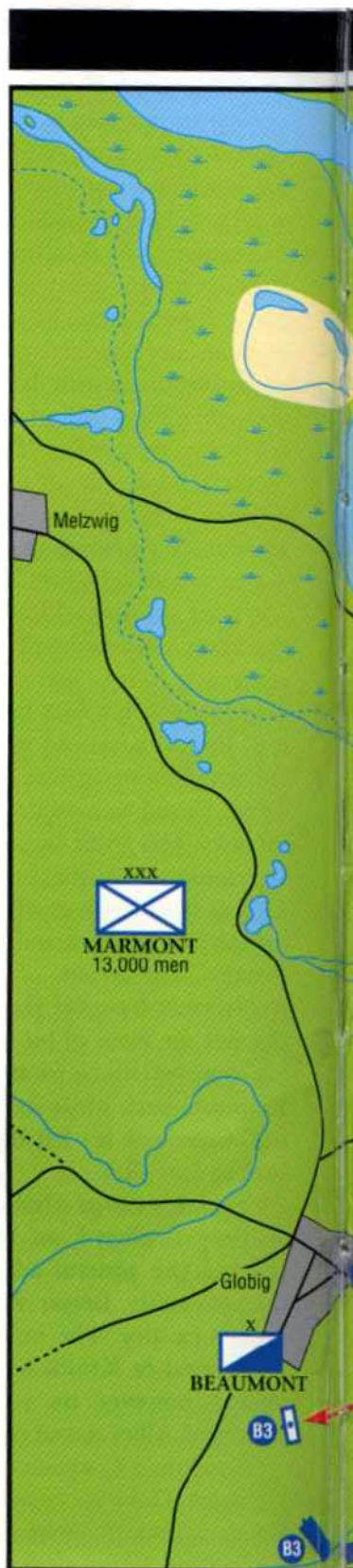
4. Beaumont tries to stop him but is thrown back.

5. Meanwhile, Horn storms the dykes, the lynchpin of the French position, which are held by Fontanelli (D2).

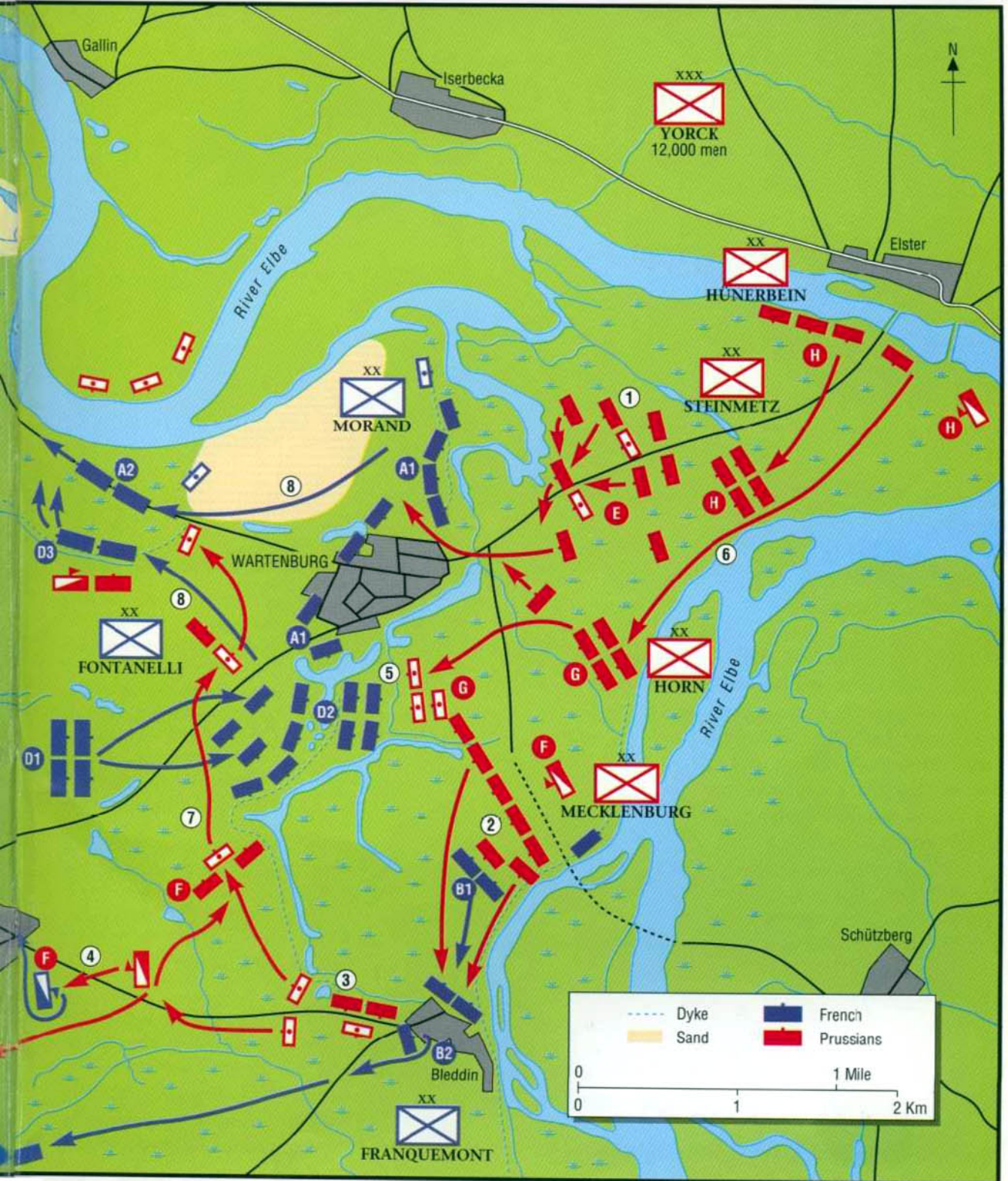
6. Hühnerbein moves up in support.

7. Mecklenburg turns the French rear, forcing them to withdraw.

8. French withdraw.



# Battle of Wartenburg, 3 October 1813: The Breakthrough





was made at Priesten (Prestanov), Vandamme's pursuit was checked and the remaining passes into Bohemia were kept free. If this could be done for another day, the Army of Bohemia would be able to escape the pursuit. In the meantime Kleist's Corps of Prussians had gone missing. He had found all the roads through the woods and hills of this part of Saxony blocked except the one which he knew Vandamme had used. Taking a great risk, he moved on Vandamme's rear.

On 30 August, the battle between the Austrians and Russians on the one hand and Vandamme's Corps on the other started up again. The Russians held Priesten, the French Kulm (Chulmec). The Prussians marched from Nollendorf (Naklerov) on Kulm and the rear of the French. A cannonade from Prussian guns made it clear to Vandamme what his situation was. He chose to abandon his wagons and artillery and cut his way through Kleist. Only part of his men managed to do that. His corps ceased to exist but went down with honour. It lost about 10,000 men, two Eagles, five Colours and 82 guns in a confused but dramatic fight. All the gains made at

▲ *The Russian Guards at Priesten on 29 August, 1813. This was a delaying action fought the day before Kulm. The terrain is worth noting. The French were advancing down a narrow pass where a small force could hold them up. The valley side shown was very steep and that on the other side of the river in the centre*

*of the picture was almost as steep. There would be no chance of escape to the sides, one could only move forwards or backwards. Now when Kleist's Prussians appeared at Vandamme's rear, the stage was set. The fighting on this day was to be a victory for the French. Contemporary lithograph.*

the Battle of Dresden were wiped out in one fell swoop.

The first phase of this campaign was now over. Let us now look at the results to date.

Napoleon's strategy was, fighting from a central position, to engage one enemy army with the bulk of his forces, holding off the other two, and thereby achieve a decisive victory. This strategy came close to success at the Battle of Dresden but eventually failed. The Allied strategy was for each of the armies to retire when faced by Napoleon in person,



to engage and defeat his subordinates when confronted by them only and eventually to unite their three armies for the decisive battle. On the whole, this strategy had succeeded. In fact, the only defeat suffered was when the Army of Bohemia challenged the Emperor in person.

French losses of men and *matériel* were large. The Armies of Berlin and the Bober had been mauled. Vandamme's Corps had been wiped out. Although the Army of Bohemia had suffered a major defeat at Dresden, the subsequent destruction of Vandamme's Corps had more than made up for this.

► *Kulm, 30 August, 1813. With the battle raging in the centre background of this lithograph by F. Hofbauer, King Frederick William III of Prussia orders an Austrian dragoon regiment into the fray.*



► *The capture of General Vandamme at Kulm by Cossacks and Russian Jäger. His aide General Haxo (background) was also taken prisoner. The generals were in the middle of a column of retiring French infantry when a small group of Cossacks boldly rode up and plucked the two unfortunate commanders out. The infantry were so surprised by the Cossacks that they did not fire.*



ishing. The decisive battle he sought was eluding him. With a growing number of victories to their credit, the Allies were growing more confident. With the threat of reinforcements arriving from Russia, Napoleon urgently needed to regain the initiative. He decided to head for Berlin again, crush the Army of the North and relieve his garrisons at Küstrin and Stettin. He was on the point of setting off when news of Vandamme's defeat at Kulm came in. He could not leave Dresden unguarded. How could he now obtain the success he needed?

### The Battle of Dennewitz, 6 September 1813

The Emperor decided to send Ney off in the direction of Berlin, leave Macdonald on the Bober, remain in Dresden with his reserves and await an opportunity to strike at Blücher or the Crown Prince of Sweden as and when possible. He then chose Blücher for his *coup de grâce* and moved towards Silesia. Blücher withdrew. Napoleon now realized that this was a stratagem and decided not to follow.

Meanwhile, the Army of Bohemia advanced towards Dresden. Napoleon rushed back there. Ney continued his advance on Berlin and was confronted by Tauentzien's Prussians at Dennewitz. Tauentzien's force consisted largely of militia formations. Although driven back by Fontanelli's Division in a short fight that morning, Tauentzien had held out long enough for Bülow to move up. He used his cavalry to cover the withdrawal and rallying of his defeated infantry and prevented a pursuit by the enemy.

The battle began that afternoon with some of the most bitter fighting of the campaign. Thümen was driven back by Morand's artillery and left two guns behind. Hessen-Homburg then moved up, throwing Morand back, thereby gaining the higher ground above Nieder Görzdorf where he deployed his artillery. Morand took up a new position, his artillery deployed on higher ground to his fore, his infantry with its flanks against a wood and the town of Dennewitz. Hessen-Homburg decided that it was pointless to assault this position.

In the meantime Reynier moved up. His Saxons were deployed from Göhlsdorf to Dennewitz. Durette took up positions at Dennewitz. Krafft and



▲ *The capture of General Vandamme by Cossacks at Kulm, 30 August 1813. (By K.H. Rahl.*

parts of Hessen-Homburg stood in opposition to them. A battalion of Prussians was driven out of Göhlsdorf. The Saxon artillery was deployed but the Prussians opposite them got the upper hand.

Bülow, assured support from the Swedes and Russians in the Army of the North, decided on the offensive before more French arrived. He committed everything he could cobble together, knowing that Borstell was close to hand and more of the Army of the North were on their way. Supported by Swedish artillery, he captured Göhlsdorf. Borstell



arrived but the Allies could make no further headway against Reynier. At about 3.30 p.m. Oudinot arrived in support. The French counter-attacked, recapturing Göhlsdorf and driving back Borstell. The situation was now critical for Bülow; his infantry was exhausted, his artillery unable to get the upper hand and his reinforcements still some way off. Ney saved him. An order arrived telling Oudinot to move his troops to Rohrbeck in support of Ney's right flank which was being pushed back. Oudinot carried out his orders despite Reynier's objections and pleas for support. Bülow attacked again, driving the Saxons back and recapturing Göhlsdorf. On the other flank Thümen and Hessen-Homburg were having some success against Bertrand, forcing him back to Rohrbeck. The

Prussian advance came to a halt for lack of ammunition, but fresh Russian artillery broke Bertrand with salvos of canister fire. Shortly after 5 o'clock the Allies had won a victory on the French right.

The situation remained stable on the French left until fresh Russian and Swedish troops arrived, forcing Reynier to retreat on Oehna. The entire retreating Army of Berlin met here and order broke down completely, the retreat becoming a rout. Only the Russo-Swedish artillery and some cavalry were fresh enough to pursue and the latter brought in a wealth of trophies. The Russo-Swedish infantry were too exhausted to pursue after their forced march to the battlefield.

At Dennewitz the Württembergers, among Bertrand's best troops, were mauled. Reynier's

► *Action at Dennewitz. The Prussian 1st Life Hussars break through Polish lancers here. Painting by Richard Knötel.*



◀ *Captain Egloff of the 1st Life Hussars takes Colonel Le Clouet, Ney's adjutant, prisoner. Painting by Werner Schuch.*

► *The Bavarian Division Raglowitsch in action at Dennewitz against Prussian militia. A number of contemporary observers commented with some bitterness that the liberation of Germany from French domination was in part characterized by Germans fighting with determination against Germans. Franquemont's Württembergers also fought with distinction in the battle. Reynier's Saxons also suffered heavily. Painting by E. Zimmermann.*



Saxons, so long a faithful ally of the Emperor's, were shattered. Ney, not having expected or desired a battle that day, nevertheless got carried away, and sabre in hand on his charger, led attacks personally instead of commanding his army. Oudinot, still smarting from his defeat at Grossbeeren, was ultra-careful in executing his orders, arrived late and failed to use his initiative. Raglowich's Bavarians, part of his corps, were thus only on the periphery of the battle. They did not share the same fate as Napoleon's other German allies.

Ney's army was totally defeated. His attempts to rally his routed forces were to no avail. The Prussians lost more than 10,000 men. The French lost about 22,000 with 53 guns, 412 wagons and four Colours.

Dennewitz was the last major battle in this campaign for a month. The following weeks were characterized by indecision on both sides. Napoleon's situation was deteriorating daily. Except for certain bridgeheads, he abandoned most of his positions on the right bank of the Elbe. In doing so, he indicated that he no longer hoped to free the besieged garrisons on the River Oder and beyond. Saxony was slowly running out of food and supplies for his army. He was no longer in a position to achieve a decisive victory. The correct military decision would have been to cut his losses, fall back to the Rhine, gathering the garrisons to his rear, obtain fresh supplies of men and *matériel* and resume the offensive again in 1814. However, Napoleon the politician took precedence over Napoleon the general. To abandon Germany might well endanger the survival of his regime. Having given up Germany, would he ever get it back? He sat in Saxony awaiting events while the Allies considered what, if anything, to do next. It was Blücher's actions, as always, that shook everyone out of their lethargy.

### The Battle of Wartenburg, 3 October 1813

To achieve a decisive victory over Napoleon, the Allies needed to concentrate their forces. Currently, only one army, the Army of Bohemia, was on the left bank of the Elbe, the other Allied armies being on the opposite bank. A crossing of the Elbe needed to be secured, a manoeuvre both dangerous and difficult when attempted in the face of the enemy. The



▲ Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Commander of a brigade in Yorck's Corps, Duke Charles played a significant role at the Battle of Wartenburg. A man of

great personal courage, he was severely wounded in the fighting at Möckern on 16 October. Drawing by Franz Krüger.

points at which such a manoeuvre could be attempted were limited by the fact that the French had garrisons at Dresden, Torgau, Wittenberg and Magdeburg. All bridges were guarded so the Allies needed to build pontoon bridges at points where the French would be unable to intervene. Blücher took this highly risky venture upon himself, crossing the Elbe with his Army of Silesia in close proximity to Bertrand at Wartenburg. Despite ferocious resistance the manoeuvre was successful and precipitated the Battle of Leipzig later that month. It was, in effect, the decisive strategic move of the campaign and, as with so many such manoeuvres in military history, it was favoured by a disproportionate amount of good fortune; had Allied Intelligence and French deployment been better, it might not have been achieved.

Once across the Elbe Blücher's troops would have to cross marsh, ditches, dikes and woodland before reaching Wartenburg and the relatively open

country beyond. Bertrand was waiting, his troops deployed to hinder any attempt at staging a breakout. Yorck's Corps of Prussians crossed the Elbe and was used to secure the bridgehead. Langeron's Russians followed. The subsequent contest was characterized by determined and bitter fighting.

Mecklenburg was the first to cross the pontoon bridges. Pushing back the French skirmish line in the Hohe Holz, he made slow progress through broken country. Once the morning fog had cleared it became apparent that it would not be possible to storm the town of Wartenburg frontally, so he decided to take it from the rear, deploying part of his brigade to the front of the French position to cover this manoeuvre. The strongpoint on the French right was the town of Bleddin. This was occupied by Franquemont's Württembergers who would offer a determined defence. Mecklenburg's flank guard in front of Wartenburg was taking heavy casualties so reinforcements were moved up to assist him. Steinmetz's Brigade took up the position in front of Wartenburg, relieving Mecklenburg who could now unite his brigade for the assault on Bleddin. Horn's Brigade moved up in support, Hünnerbein's Brigade crossed the bridges and remained in reserve.

At Bleddin, the Prussians forced the Württembergers back and pushed them away from the main French position around Wartenburg, thus

exposing their rear. Horn's Brigade stormed the French position to the south of Wartenburg, engaging Fontanelli's Italians. They were thrown back at bayonet point. Wartenburg was now no longer tenable and Bertrand withdrew. Horn's assault was the decisive blow. His brigade had to move through a densely planted orchard, cross a stream and a well-defended dike while under flanking fire from artillery before crossing a second dike. Fontanelli was defending a natural fortress and it is no surprise that Horn was almost defeated. The first assault came to a halt and was on the point of being broken when Horn himself rode to the fore and personally led the attack of the II Battalion/Prussian Life Regiment against five enemy battalions. This charge carried the position. The Prussians lost 67 officers and 1,548 men from a total of about 12,000. The French sustained fewer casualties but lost about 1,000 prisoners, eleven guns and 70 wagons.

Next day the Army of the North crossed the Elbe and joined forces with Blücher's Army of Silesia. All three Allied armies were now on the same bank of the Elbe and Napoleon's position in Saxony was no longer tenable.

### The Road to Leipzig

After the successful crossing of the Elbe by the Armies of Silesia and the North on 3 and 4 October



◀ *General Yorck doffs his cap to the II Battalion of the Prussian Life Regiment in recognition of their heroic role in the Battle of Wartenburg. Led by their brigade commander General von Horn, this battalion stormed the main French position, a natural fortress, with the bayonet and thereby decided the battle.*

Napoleon was faced with only two opponents. He would have to strike at one with as much of his army as he could afford to take with him while leaving sufficient troops to hold the other in check. At Dresden he had 116,000 men and 389 guns available (Macdonald, Lobau, St.Cyr, Sebastiani and the Guard). Souham, deployed along the Elbe between Strehla and Meissen, gave him another 16,000 men and 61 guns. Between Eilenburg and Bitterfeld were the remains of the Army of Berlin together with Marmont and Latour-Maubourg, some 72,000 men and 203 guns. Along his southern front, from Altenburg to Freiberg, were Victor, Lauriston, Poniatowski and Kellermann, 44,000 men and 156 guns. Leipzig was defended by 7,000 men and 22 guns.

Lefebvre-Desnouettes' Cavalry Corps, covering the western approaches to Leipzig, consisted of 5,000 sabres and six guns. On the march to Leipzig were the troopers of Milhaud's Cavalry Division (in part veterans from Spain) and Augereau's Corps, a total of 13,000 men and fourteen guns.

Napoleon had two choices. Within three days he would have been able to concentrate 180,000 men against the Army of Bohemia (itself of similar strength) while holding Blücher and the Crown Prince of Sweden in check with Ney, Marmont and Souham, a total of 87,000 men. Within four days he would have been able to concentrate 200,000 men against the Armies of the North and Silesia while having Murat (67,000 men) hold up the Army of Bohemia. In either event Dresden would have to be abandoned, but at this stage of the campaign it was of less significance as the magazines had been run down and the the surrounding countryside was exhausted.

There could be little doubt as to which was the best choice. To advance south against Schwarzenberg, who was only just moving through the passes from Bohemia, would have resulted in his backtracking and avoiding battle. Blücher and the Crown Prince of Sweden were only two to three days' march from Leipzig and the loss of this important town would have cut Napoleon off from France. For them to withdraw across the Elbe in the face of the enemy would be a difficult manoeuvre; they had committed themselves at last. He gathered his forces and moved north.

In the face of this advance, however, Blücher fell back in a westerly direction towards the Army of the North. After conferring with the Crown Prince it was decided to move jointly towards Leipzig. News that Napoleon was advancing towards them with the bulk of his forces started to arrive at their Headquarters from 8 October. On the 9th Blücher's forces, let down by faulty reconnaissance, only just managed to escape being surprised by the French. Blücher and the Crown Prince were clearly in great danger of being forced to fight Napoleon alone with their backs to the Elbe. The Crown Prince, turning down Blücher's request to take up a joint position over the Saale, preferred to stay nearer the Elbe for safety's sake. Blücher, true to character, was itching to advance on Leipzig, risking all so as to give the Army of Bohemia every chance of fully deploying in Saxony. The Crown Prince erred on the side of caution; he was not going to engage Napoleon alone. Blücher fell back towards the Crown Prince. Napoleon again struck out against air. He was never to get the decisive battle he wanted. His chances of winning this campaign continued to diminish.

In the meantime the Army of Bohemia, facing less opposition, was slowly making its way north. News that the Bavarians had changed sides on 8 October and were indeed about to join the Allied side with 50,000 men changed the political and military situation. This army was astride Napoleon's lines of communication and could cut off his retreat. News also came in that Blücher had occupied Halle and that the French had abandoned Dresden. All the indications were that Napoleon was going to fall back to the Rhine and evacuate Germany. A determined advance now would be to Austria's advantage. Opposition from the French was likely to be minimal and Austria's prestige and position at the peace negotiations would gain from such an advance.

Again Napoleon had two choices. One was to fall back to the Rhine. The other was to strike at the Allied armies individually and immediately. News of the advance of the Army of Bohemia clarified his thoughts. He gathered his forces and moved south with the Guard, Bertrand and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry to join Murat. Ney and Macdonald were also to join him, while Reynier, after destroying the bridge at Aken, was also to move on Leipzig. The scene was set for the decisive battle of the campaign.

# THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG, 14-19 OCTOBER 1813

The autumn of 1813 had been rather wet and river levels were higher than normal. The countryside was muddy, hindering movement. South and east of Leipzig ran a line of hills which, although not impassable, provided good defensive positions for all arms. The outlying villages, with their solid buildings, firm roads and walls, could become fortresses. The area to the north of Leipzig was flatter, the major obstacles being the rivers and marshes. To the west the land was so marshy that it was virtually impassable. The road west, to France, ran along a causeway to Lindenau. Possession of this was vital to Napoleon's communications. Leipzig itself was a rectangle with four main points of access – the Grimma Gate, Peter's Gate, Neustädter Gate and the Halle Gate. Parts of the old fortifications were still there but no works of significance were left. Leipzig had not been prepared for defence.

## The Cavalry Battle of Liebertwolkwitz, 14 October 1813

This great conflict opened with what became the largest cavalry battle in history, at Liebertwolkwitz, south of Leipzig. Murat was in overall command of the French forces which consisted of the Corps of Poniatowski, Victor, Lauriston and the Cavalry Corps of Kellermann and Pajol (who had replaced Milhaud on 12 October). He was opposed by the Russian General Wittgenstein commanding the vanguard of the Army of Bohemia.

The terrain surrounding Murat's position consisted largely of gentle slopes coming up to flat-topped hills. Thanks to recent heavy rain the ground, particularly in the hollows, was wet and muddy which hindered movement. The plateau stretching from Liebertwolkwitz to Guldengossa and Wachau was about 1,400 paces wide. The highest point, the Galgenberg (Gallows Hill) was an excellent artillery position and the hill itself had the

additional advantage of hiding everything behind it. Murat had a strong position with villages and hills along his front. The Allies would have to advance uphill in open ground against artillery.

Napoleon was advancing towards Leipzig. He needed to buy time to allow his troops to concentrate while keeping the Army of Bohemia as far away as possible from Blücher and the Crown Prince. His instructions to Murat were to hold up the Allies for as long as possible but not to get involved in heavy fighting.

Wittgenstein was under the impression that all he had in front of him was a rearguard protecting the French withdrawal. He moved his forces forward quickly in an attempt to delay the French. Little did he know that they were there in some force with every intention of offering a fight. Thus Liebertwolkwitz was an encounter battle into which the Allies blundered. Wittgenstein's vanguard under Count Pahlen III (Russian), was ordered to move on Liebertwolkwitz via Cröbern and Guldengossa. Prince Eugène of Württemberg (commander Russian II Corps) was ordered to deploy his force into two lines and advance from Magdeborn through Guldengossa towards Liebertwolkwitz. Prince Grotshakow II was ordered to march through Störmthal and then deploy. Kleist's Reserve Cavalry under Röder was ordered to Cröbern in support of Pahlen. His main body was to remain in Espenhain in reserve. Later on, 3rd Russian Cuirassier Division would follow Röder. Rajewski's Grenadier Corps was also in reserve.

Murat deployed Victor between Markkleeberg and Wachau. Lauriston covered the Galgenberg and Liebertwolkwitz. A grand battery was deployed on the Galgenberg with the cavalry hidden behind it. A division of the Young Guard was in Holzhausen and Augereau's Corps was on the Thornberg.

Pahlen sent his Cossacks to reconnoitre the enemy's dispositions. They reported that the area



► *Top right: Wachau drawn shortly after the battle. This village formed an important point on the French defensive perimeter and was hotly contested during the battle.*

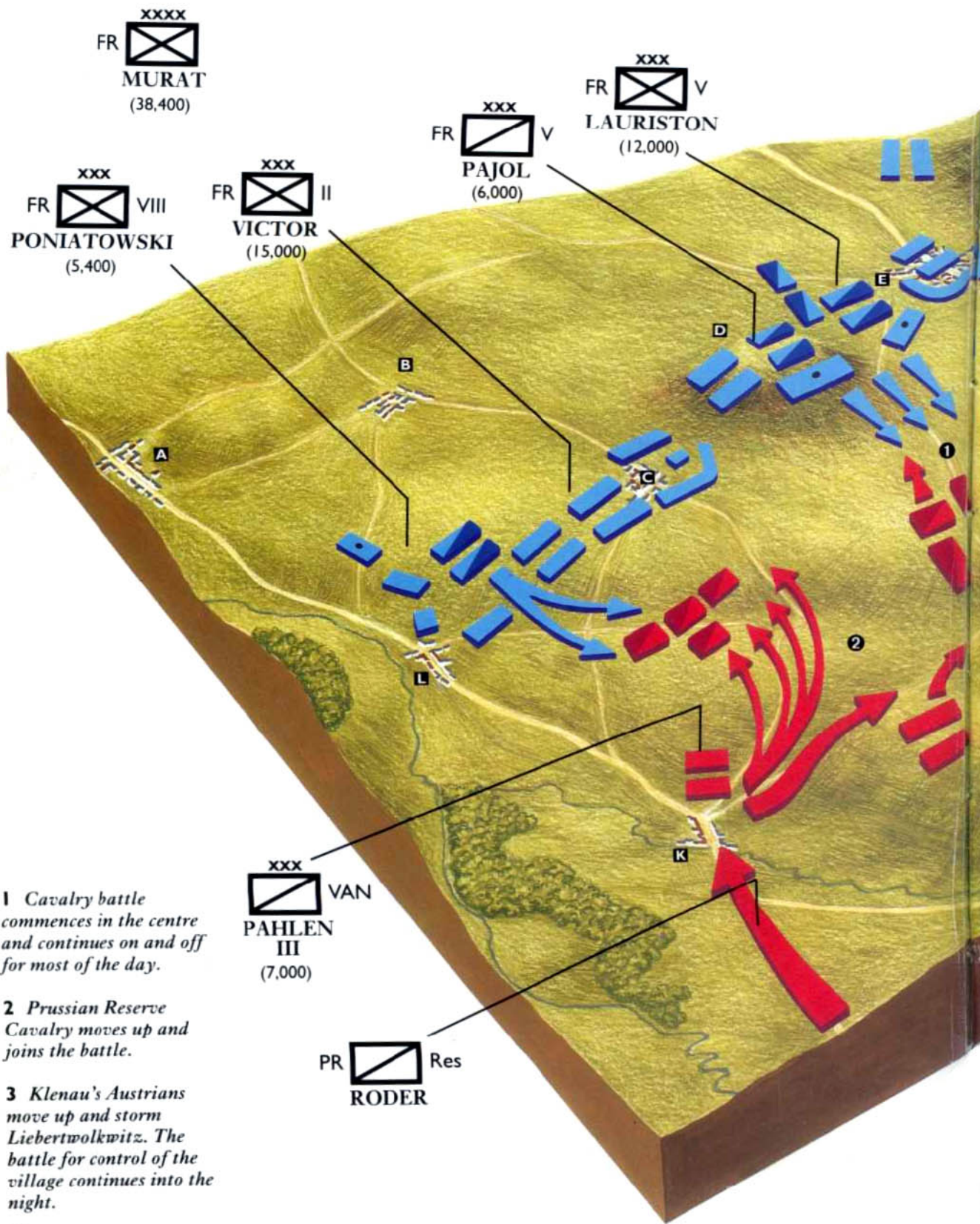


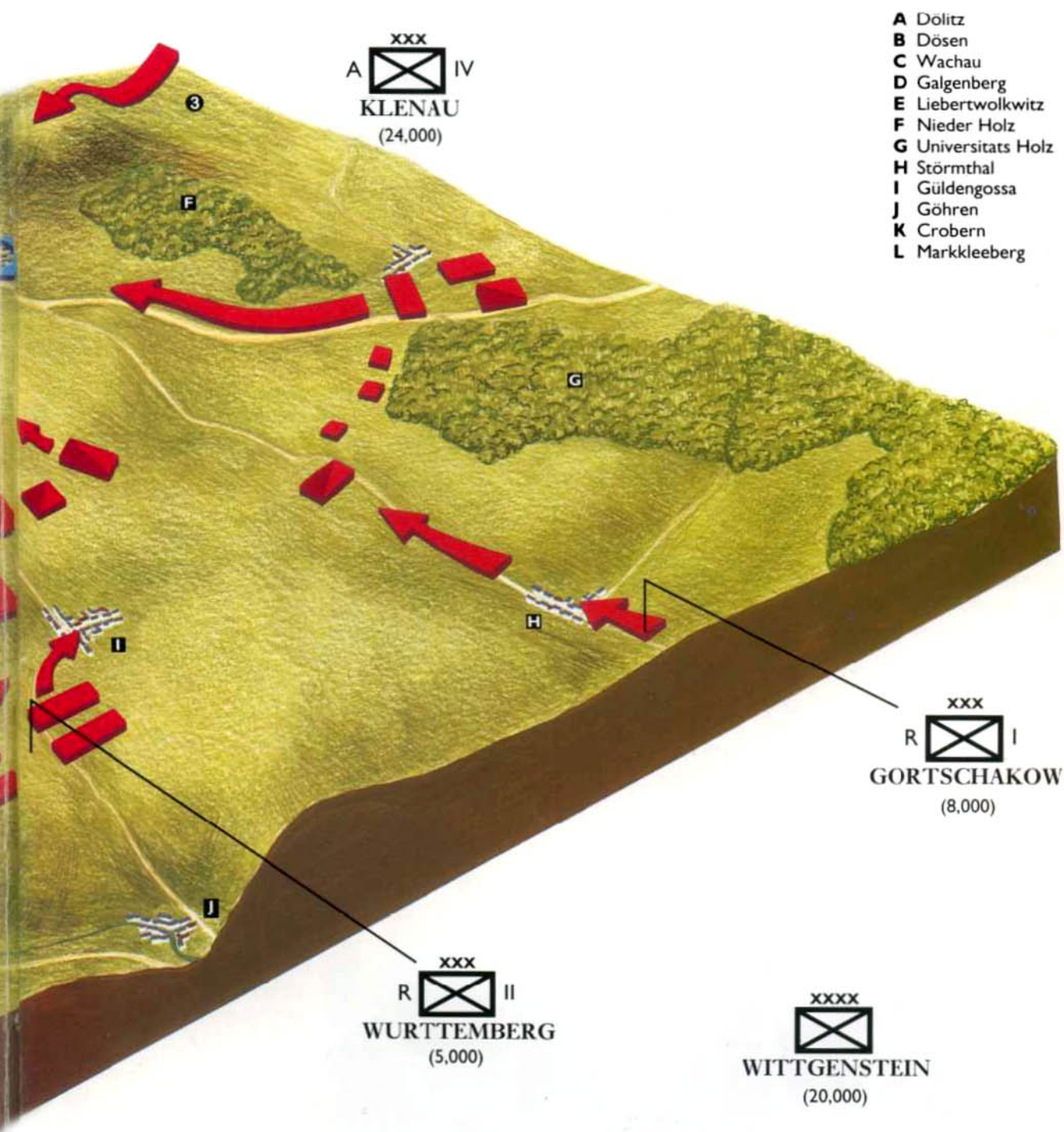
► *Centre right: Murat at Liebertwolkwitz. This flamboyant French marshal came close to being taken prisoner twice during this cavalry battle. Lieutenant von der Lippe of the Prussian Neumark Dragoons had the honour of being the first to die trying! The charge Murat led at Eylau in 1807 did much to enhance his reputation. However, Liebertwolkwitz was not a repeat performance. He led good, experienced cavalry formations, but his tactical dispositions were poor and his inflexibility cost him the battle. The irony is that the lessons the French marshalate had taught their opponents by 1813 were the very lessons that Napoleon's generals had forgotten – namely tactical flexibility. Painting by W. Camphausen.*



► *Bottom right: The Neumark Dragoons in action during the cavalry battles fought around Wachau on 14 October. This regiment played an important part in the flowing action of that day. Painting by C. Becker.*







## THE BATTLE OF LIEBERTWOLKWITZ

14 October 1813, the greatest cavalry battle in history, as seen from the south-west



► *Liebertwolkwitz drawn shortly after the battle. The church in the background is where defending Austrians were massacred. This church still stands today and a memorial to these unfortunate Austrians can be seen there.*



◀ *Leipzig on 14 October. The wounded are brought in from the fighting at Liebertwolkwitz. Note how the two soldiers in the right foreground are using a musket as a makeshift stretcher. In the left foreground are what appears to be a group of refugees, no doubt from one of the villages in the front-line. Geissler.*

◀ *The three Allied monarchs at Leipzig, illustrating the cumbersome command structure of the Army of Bohemia. They are making comments and observations while their generals in the foreground do the same. Decisions were then fudged in committee. This slothful machine muddled its way to victory at Leipzig. Schwarzenberg, commander of the Army of Bohemia he appears, sensibly, to have found a more suitable task elsewhere.*

between Markkleeberg and Wachau was occupied in strength. The Grodny Hussars were sent up in support. The advance continued until it became clear that the French were going to resist. By now the Allies had committed themselves to battle. The French grand battery forced the Sumy Hussars to fall back and the first French cavalry attack started with Division l'Héritier moving forward in column supported by Division Subervie. The Sumy Hussars charged the leading French regiment and forced it back. The second regiment then threw back the Russian hussars but its advance was halted by the Prussian Neumark Dragoons who in turn were thrown back by the next French regiment. In the meantime the Sumy Hussars had rallied, the Silesian Uhlans had moved up and the East Prussian Cuirassiers were preparing to charge the French column. While the French were rallying they were hit by the East Prussians frontally and the Silesians in the flank. They were thrown back to the starting-point with the Prussians in hot pursuit. At the Galgenberg the French reserves saw off the Prussians and in turn launched a pursuit which drove the Prussians back to their starting-point. This pursuit was halted and thrown back by the Neumark Dragoons who had just rallied from their first action; an officer of this regiment almost taking Murat prisoner. There was now a pause in the action.

The detailed studies of this action give a clear indication of how cavalry fought at this time – a charge followed by a counter-charge and pursuit by reserves which was broken off once the enemy brought his reserves into play. Meanwhile the first wave would be rallying for use later. It is worth noting here that the Allies were able to take on and hold their own against a larger French force because the latter favoured attacks in columns while the Allies tended to tie the French down frontally and decide the issue by gaining the flank of the unwieldy French column before it had a chance to deploy.

After a short clash on the Allied left, the affair degenerated into half-hearted skirmishing. On the Allied right the Austrians were moving up with the intention of assaulting the town of Liebertwolkwitz. The French defences were such that this attack ground to a halt. It was now about midday. Wittgenstein ordered Klenau to take

Liebertwolkwitz, the key to the French position. Once this town was in Allied hands the French would have to withdraw their grand battery from the Galgenberg, leaving the entire position to the Allies. Klenau deployed his men skilfully – border troops to the fore in skirmish order, cavalry on the flanks protecting his infantry drawn up in assault columns. The Austrians stormed Liebertwolkwitz and, after bitter street fighting lasting two hours, it fell to them. The French artillery drew up outside the town and prevented the Austrians advancing further.

The way was now clear for the Allies to resume their advance on the centre of the French position. The French launched another attack which was driven back. Flanking attacks by the Prussian cavalry broke open the French formations and again Murat was almost taken prisoner. The pursuit continued to the Galgenberg where French gunners were cut down by Prussians attempting to drag off their guns. This proved their undoing because the French brought up reserves of cavalry and infantry, surrounding the Silesian Cuirassiers who had to hack their way out, suffering heavy losses. They fell back to their starting-point under pursuit. The French counter-attack was in turn beaten back. The action degenerated into skirmishing.

Murat's orders had been to hold off the enemy and not to get heavily involved in battle. Once his initial attempt to throw back the Allies on their approach march had failed, he should have conducted a fighting withdrawal. Instead, he became deeply involved in the fighting and committed more and more troops. At 2.30 p.m. he launched his final charge, deploying his cavalry into a long column which charged right into the heart of the Allied position before being thrown back by flanking charges supported by Klenau's Austrians. The French were broken and were pursued well over the Galgenberg. They were unable to launch any more attacks that day.

Meanwhile the battle for Liebertwolkwitz continued. Wittgenstein failed to provide Klenau with any support and left him out on a limb in the town while Murat brought up fresh infantry. At 4 p.m. he attacked Liebertwolkwitz. This assault was successful and some Austrians were trapped and slaughtered in the church. The Austrians withdrew from

## The Situation on 16 October 1813



▲ *Prince of Schwarzenberg, commander of the Army of Bohemia. A good soldier who was in the unenviable position of having three monarchs present at his headquarters. What made his task even more difficult was the foreign policy of his*

*government. Austria was not looking for a decisive victory in this campaign. Poor Schwarzenberg had not only to play the diplomat and politician but to do it all on a soldier's pay! Engraving by M. Steinla.*

the southern outskirts of the town after nightfall.

Total Allied losses were 80-85 officers, 2,000-2,100 men and 600-650 horses. Details of French losses are unreliable but were probably greater. It is known that they lost two generals and 96 officers as well as 800 prisoners to the Austrians.

The battle itself ended rather inconclusively. With greater determination and commitment, Wittgenstein could have inflicted a defeat on Murat and possibly have brought the Battle of Leipzig to a conclusion more quickly. Murat was wrong to get so involved in the fighting and could have held the Allies off for just as long without losing so many men, particularly his precious mounted veterans. Significantly, the Army of Bohemia was now committed to fighting the decisive battle of the campaign.

The Allied forces were drawn up as follows:

1. Along the line Fuchshain—Grosspösna—Guldengossa—Cröbern under Wittgenstein's command, Corps Kleist, Wittgenstein, Klenau and Pahlen. In reserve, Grenadier Corps Rajewski and Russian Cuirassier Brigade Gudowitsch, the Russo-Prussian Guards and Reserve at Rötha.
2. At Gautzsch, between the Rivers Plesse and Elster, Corps Merveldt and the Austrian reserves under the Prince of Hessen-Homburg.
3. Deployed against Lindenau, Corps Gyulai, Division Liechtenstein and the raiding parties of Thielmann and Mensdorff.
4. At Schkeuditz, the Army of Silesia. The total forces available to the Allies for the first day of the battle consisted of 202¼ battalions, 348½ squadrons and 918 guns. Including Cossacks, about 205,000 men.

Napoleon gathered his forces. Believing Blücher was not in a position to threaten him that day and that the Crown Prince of Sweden was still some way off, he decided to launch an offensive against the Army of Bohemia. For this, he had the following at his disposal: 1. South of Leipzig, either already in position or on its way, Division Lefol, Corps Poniatowski, Cavalry Corps Kellermann in echelon along the line Connowitz—Lössnig—Dölitz—Markleeberg. Corps Victor and Lauriston deployed between Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz. Behind Lauriston the Young Guard and Division Curial of the Old Guard. Corps Augereau behind Zuckelhausen. At Probstheida, Division Friant of the Old Guard, the Cavalry of the Guard and Cavalry Corps Latour-Maubourg. Marching to Holzhausen, Corps Macdonald and Cavalry Corps Sebastiani. To oppose the Army of Bohemia, Napoleon had: 488 guns and about 138,000 men. 2. At Lindenau. Part of the garrison of Leipzig under Margaron and Brigade Quinette of III Cavalry Corps, a total of 3,200 men. 3. On the northern front. Corps Marmont and the rest of III Cavalry Corps at Breitenfeld and Lindenthal. Division Dambrowski marching to Klein-Wiederitzsch. Corps Bertrand at Eutritzsch. Divisions Brayer and Ricard marching to Mockau. Division Delmas of Corps Souham marching up from Düben. On the

northern front, Napoleon had 186 guns and about 49,400 men.

In all, on 16 October Napoleon had 690 guns and about 190,000 men, excluding men guarding his baggage parks but without deduction for losses incurred on 14 October because no precise figures are available.

Taking into account Napoleon's position, strength and dispositions, the chances of victory on 16 October were in his favour. The line of hills to the south and east of Leipzig made ideal artillery positions from which he could launch an offensive. They also hid his troop movements. The villages on the main roads were strong positions against which Schwarzenberg could not deploy easily and the muddy land between these would hold up any attack. In the decisive area to the right of the Pleisse, Napoleon had 138,000 men against 100,000 Allies who could expect the arrival of a further 24,000 men that afternoon. Napoleon now had his final chance to decide the campaign in his favour.

### The Battle of Wachau and Connewitz, 16 October 1813

The weather was cold, wet and foggy. Wittgenstein had divided his forces into four columns. Column 1 under Klenau consisted of IV Austrian Corps and Prussian Brigade Ziethen which was to deploy between Fuchshain and the Universitätsholz (University Woods) and assault Liebertwolkwitz. Column 2 under Prince Gortschakow – Russian Division Mesenzow and Prussian Brigade Pirch – would advance between Störmthal and the Universitätsholz to support Klenau to the south and west. Column 3 under Duke Eugène of Württemberg – II Russian Infantry Corps and Prussian Brigade Klüx – was ordered to attack Wachau from the east, from Güldengossa. Column 4 under Kleist – Russian Division Helffreich, Prussian Brigade Prince August, Russian Cuirassier Brigade Lewaschow and Lubny Hussar Regiment – was to advance from Cröbern to between Markkleeberg and Wachau, take the heights between the villages and the villages themselves. Cavalry Corps Pahlen together with the Prussian Reserve Cavalry was to support Columns 2 and 3. In reserve were Grenadier Corps Rajewski and

Cuirassier Brigade Gudowitsch. They formed up on the main road south of Gruhna.

At 8 a.m. the attack began with Duke Eugène advancing on Wachau which was quickly abandoned by the small occupying force. Attempts to break out of the village were halted by strong French artillery fire. Victor moved in for a counter-attack and threw out the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Wachau was in French hands again by 9.30 a.m. An artillery and musketry duel lasted until 11 a.m. when the Allies staged another assault on the village, driving the French out as far as their gun line to its rear. Allied losses were too high to pursue any further. The French counter-attacked and cleared Wachau but were unable to advance any further because of the Prussians and Russians engaged to their front. The fighting here was of such ferocity that of the 31 Allied cannon that opened fire at 8 a.m., only nine were still in action by 11 a.m.

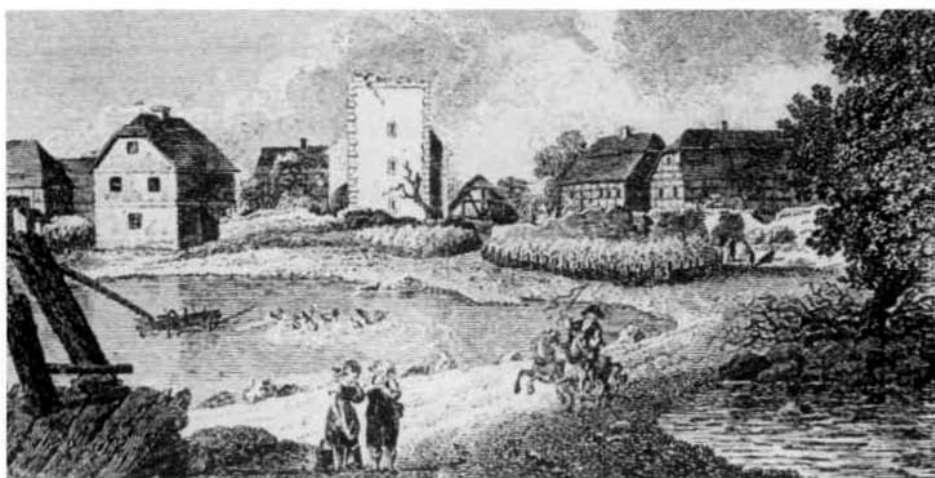
Kleist meanwhile was slowly forcing Poniatowski's Poles out of Markkleeberg in bitter street fighting. He had been forced to commit most of his reserves to get this far and by 11 o'clock his situation was critical. Because Klenau had yet to engage his column, Gortschakow contented himself by opening up with his artillery against Lauriston. His infantry, which was drawn up behind his guns, suffered terribly from the French counter-battery fire.

Klenau started his advance at 10 o'clock. The Kolmberg, an ideal vantage point, was unoccupied by the French so Klenau placed a detachment there. Liebertwolkwitz itself was occupied by only a small force of French who were quickly driven out except from the church and the northern end of the village. They soon counter-attacked and made the Austrians retrace their every step.

By 11 o'clock the situation on this sector of the front was becoming critical. The initial gains had been repulsed and it was clear that strong French reserves were approaching. Wittgenstein could not expect much help that day. Tsar Alexander reacted to this situation by committing Grenadier Corps Rajewski as well as the Russo-Prussian Guards. Moreover Schwarzenberg was ordered to move his reserves from the left to the right bank of the Pleisse. Merveldt was having no luck. Moving through the broken terrain on the left bank of the



◀ *Connewitz drawn shortly after the battle of Leipzig. The village played an important role in the fighting on 16 October, being the site of a bridge over the Pleisse.*



◀ *Probstheida. This strategically important village was defended by Victor on 16 October. Situated on the lower slopes of a mound at a major road junction, possession of this village determined who was master of the southern entrance to Leipzig itself.*



◀ *The storming of the sheep farm at Auenhain on 16 October. This farm changed hands several times during the course of that day. Drawing by C.W. Strassberger.*



Pleisse was proving difficult. The bridge at Connewitz was barricaded and well defended. No other crossing was available. His only success was to take the Manor House at Dölitz.

Napoleon visited Murat's headquarters on the Galgenberg at 9 o'clock to be briefed on the situation. The Allies had stolen a march on him and he had to deploy those reserves immediately to hand before he could bring up the remainder of his forces and take the offensive. Victor and Lauriston were reinforced by the artillery of the Young Guard, and at 9.30 a.m. Augereau was sent to support Poniatowski. The infantry of the Young Guard and Division Curial of the Old Guard were sent to support Liebertwolkwitz. Division Friant of the Old Guard moved up to the sheep farm at Meusdorf. As the fight for Wachau intensified, he had two divisions of the Young Guard under Oudinot and the mass of his cavalry move up to its rear. French losses were very heavy and Napoleon waited impatiently for the arrival of fresh troops. As the morning fog was lifting his advantage in numbers was evident and he itched to take the offensive. Macdonald cleared the Kolmberg and approached Seifertshain to take the Allied right flank. Once he had done this, Napoleon was going to advance along the whole of the centre of this front with the intention of breaking the enemy front entirely. Macdonald's attack went well. He achieved his objectives and was prevented from advancing further only by the timely intervention of several squadrons of Prussian cavalry. Klenau's Austrians were in full retreat. Sebastiani's cavalry threw back the Austrian cavalry to their front and again it was the Prussians, Röder's Reserve Cavalry, that prevented further pursuit. Platow's Cossacks appeared on Sebastiani's left, indicating the approach of Bennigsen's army. The French desisted from any further advance so Klenau had time to rally his men between Grosspösna and Fuchshain.

Liebertwolkwitz had fallen to the French. The Austrians fell back to the Niederholz where the Baden artillery and men of Lauriston's Corps engaged them and pushed them back yet farther. Gortschakow and Pahlen fell back to realign with Klenau's new position. Augereau was thrown in against Kleist who was still holding his forward positions at Markkleeberg. Seeing the approach of

Rajewski's grenadiers, Kleist committed his last reserve in a vain assault on Wachau. He was driven back but managed to hold most of Markkleeberg. By 2 p.m. the Allies, except for Kleist, had been driven back to their starting positions.

Napoleon now formed his army up for the decisive attack. He deployed all his artillery reserves to the fore for the bombardment. Victor, the Young Guard, Lauriston and the Old Guard supported to the rear by the mass of the French cavalry formed up for the assault. Marmont had yet to arrive. In fact he was currently fighting Blücher at Möckern. Ney was unlikely to appear and Bertrand had been sent off to defend Lindenau. At 2 o'clock the Emperor could wait no longer. He ordered the general advance without Marmont.

Nostitz's Austrian troopers charged and saved Kleist's Prussians from destruction. A counter-charge by Saxon cuirassiers stabilized the position again for the French. At 2.30 p.m. Bordesoulle's cavalry charged the Allied grand battery in the centre, broke through Württemberg's infantry and, with eighteen squadrons, a total of 2,500 sabres, took 26 guns. The charge continued into Schewitsch's Russian Guard Cavalry Division which was also thrown back. The French attempted to continue their advance to the Allied Headquarters but a timely flanking charge by a Russian cuirassier regiment together with a counter-charge by the Russian Life Guard Cossacks saved the Allied monarchs from capture. Ten squadrons of Prussian cavalry joined the mêlée and the situation in the centre turned in favour of the Allies, the French cavalry being driven back all the way to their own grand battery. The French infantry continued their advance but met determined resistance along the entire front. Klenau's Austrians barricaded themselves in Seifertshain and held the village until nightfall. A flanking attack by Bianchi's Division threw back the Young Guard and Lauriston. Markkleeberg was recaptured. Division Weissenwolf pushed on, with the situation on the French right becoming so critical that Napoleon had to commit part of the Old Guard as well as Corps Souham.

By 5 p.m. the situation had clearly turned in favour of the Allies. Napoleon's cavalry had been thrown back, his main assault on the Allied centre



▲ *Emperor Francis I of Austria. The geographical position of the Habsburg Empire in the centre of Europe always meant that it had to fear several enemies – the Russians to the east, Turks to the south, Prussians to the north and French to the west. Never strong enough to 'go it alone', it was essential for every ruler of*

*this Empire to have the right allies at the right time to ensure the balance of power in Europe. Despite several military defeats in the Napoleonic Wars, the Austrian Empire came out on the winning side and made sure that no one else gained too much power. In this respect, Francis I was highly successful.*

defeated and the bulk of his reserves committed to shore up his front. It was evident that the Allies still had uncommitted reserves and Napoleon saw little point in trying a further assault with the last of his.

### The Battle of Lindenau and Möckern, 16 October 1813

Gyulai's situation was self-evident. With the forces available to him and in the terrain in which they would have to fight, it would be impossible to win a decisive victory and occupy Leipzig. Instead, his strategy was to threaten the French line of retreat and draw as many of their forces upon himself as possible, in which he was successful. Bertrand's

Corps, so desperately needed by the Emperor on the southern front, had to be detached to secure Leipzig itself. Napoleon had come so close to victory over the Army of Bohemia that just one more Corps at his disposal would probably have settled the matter. Gyulai was ready for action at 7 a.m., but waited until the sound of cannonfire from the direction of Wachau began at 8 o'clock, before commencing his attack. He succeeded in driving the French out of several villages around Lindenau before the appearance of Bertrand's Corps at 11 o'clock put an end to his offensive. A counter-offensive by Bertrand at 5 p.m. was driven off. Gyulai had played his part in ensuring Allied victory at Leipzig.

Napoleon had not expected the Army of Silesia to become involved in any serious fighting on 16 October. He had ordered Marmont to join him at Liebertwolkwitz and might well have won the battle that day had he been able to leave the northern front. But reports of Blücher's approach from Halle forced Marmont to turn back. He drew his forces up between Möckern and Lindenthal. The village of Möckern was the key to his position. He had 19,500 men at his disposal.

At 6 a.m. Blücher's cavalry marched off to reconnoitre the French dispositions. Shortly after 8 o'clock a report from the Crown Prince of Sweden arrived which made it clear that he was not going to participate in any fighting that day. Cannonfire could be heard coming from Lindenau and Wachau so Blücher decided to take the offensive alone with the intention of drawing enemy forces on himself so that they could not be used elsewhere in the battle. Again, this was a crucial decision which prevented Marmont joining his master on the southern front thereby facilitating a French victory.

Shortly after 10 o'clock Blücher's troops moved forward for the attack. Marmont withdrew his outposts. Langeron moved on Gross and Klein Wiederitzsch while Yorck advanced towards Lindenthal and Möckern. Yorck was quick to recognize the strategic significance of the village of Möckern and from 2 p.m. he assaulted it. Time and again the village changed hands and losses to both sides were fearsome. Reserves were brought up. An equally bitter struggle for possession of Gross and Klein Wiederitzsch was taking place between

*Yorck leads the Prussian Lithuanian Dragoons in a desperate charge during the Battle of Mückern, 16 October 1813. The marines pictured here were one of the elite formations of the French Army and fought ferociously. By Richard Knötel.*





◀ *Lindenau in 1813. This village was at the end of the causeway across marshy ground to the west of Leipzig. Its possession was essential to cover the French line of communications and, if need be, retreat. The Austrian Gyulai successfully teased the French here and forced them to commit precious reserves when their use on the southern front might have brought victory.*



◀ *General Yorck sends in his cavalry reserve in one last desperate attempt to take Möckern. The struggle for this village was probably the most desperate, bitter and bloody of the entire campaign. Yorck's Corps was mauled here and remained 'hors de combat' for the remainder of the battle. His sacrifice relieved pressure on the southern front. Painting by Werner Schuh.*



◀ *The Brandenburg Hussars at Möckern. A rather dramatized impression of events that certainly were dramatic. Yorck's cavalry took 35 cannon, two Colours and 400 prisoners in their final charge at Möckern on 16 October. Painting by O. Gerlach.*

Russians and Poles. At nightfall, the French fell back to Eutritzsch.

Yorck brought up 88 guns to support a further assault on Möckern. Brigade Mecklenburg successfully stormed the village. Division Compans counter-attacked and drove the Prussians out of the village again. Yorck was down to his last infantry reserve, Brigade Steinmetz, which he committed at 5 o'clock. It broke against the determined defence of Marmont's troops. Yorck now had only his cavalry left. In desperation he threw in his horsemen against the village. Such was the force of their charge that they swept aside all resistance, capturing 35 cannon, two Colours, five ammunition wagons and 400 prisoners. Marmont was able to fall back to Gohlis unmolested. Losses in this battle were fearful. Yorck's Corps, which had borne the brunt of the fighting, had started the day with 20,800 men. At the end of the day 5,600 had become casualties. Next day his four brigades were amalgamated to form two divisions. He had, however, taken 2,000 prisoners, one Eagle, two Colours, 40 cannon and numerous ammunition wagons. Langeron had lost about 1,500 men and had taken one Colour, thirteen cannon, numerous baggage wagons and several hun-

dred prisoners. Marmont gives his losses at between 6,000 and 7,000 men.

### Results of the Combats of 16 October 1813

The battle on the southern front had been a close-run affair. But for the timely intervention of the Tsar and the correct use of the reserves, the Army of Bohemia might well have suffered a decisive defeat. Had the Allies been able to force the crossing at Connowitz, they would have gained the French flank and rear and might well have used this to force a decision in their favour.

Napoleon might have had victory in his grasp but for the fact that the Allies had staged a surprise attack early that morning, forcing him to commit his reserves immediately. Moreover the fighting at Lindenau and Möckern had deprived him of the numbers he needed for a clear decision. Napoleon had no new forces to bring into play. The Allies

▼ *An impression of Leipzig by Johann Adam Klein. This painting features a mixture of French, Prussian, Austrian and*

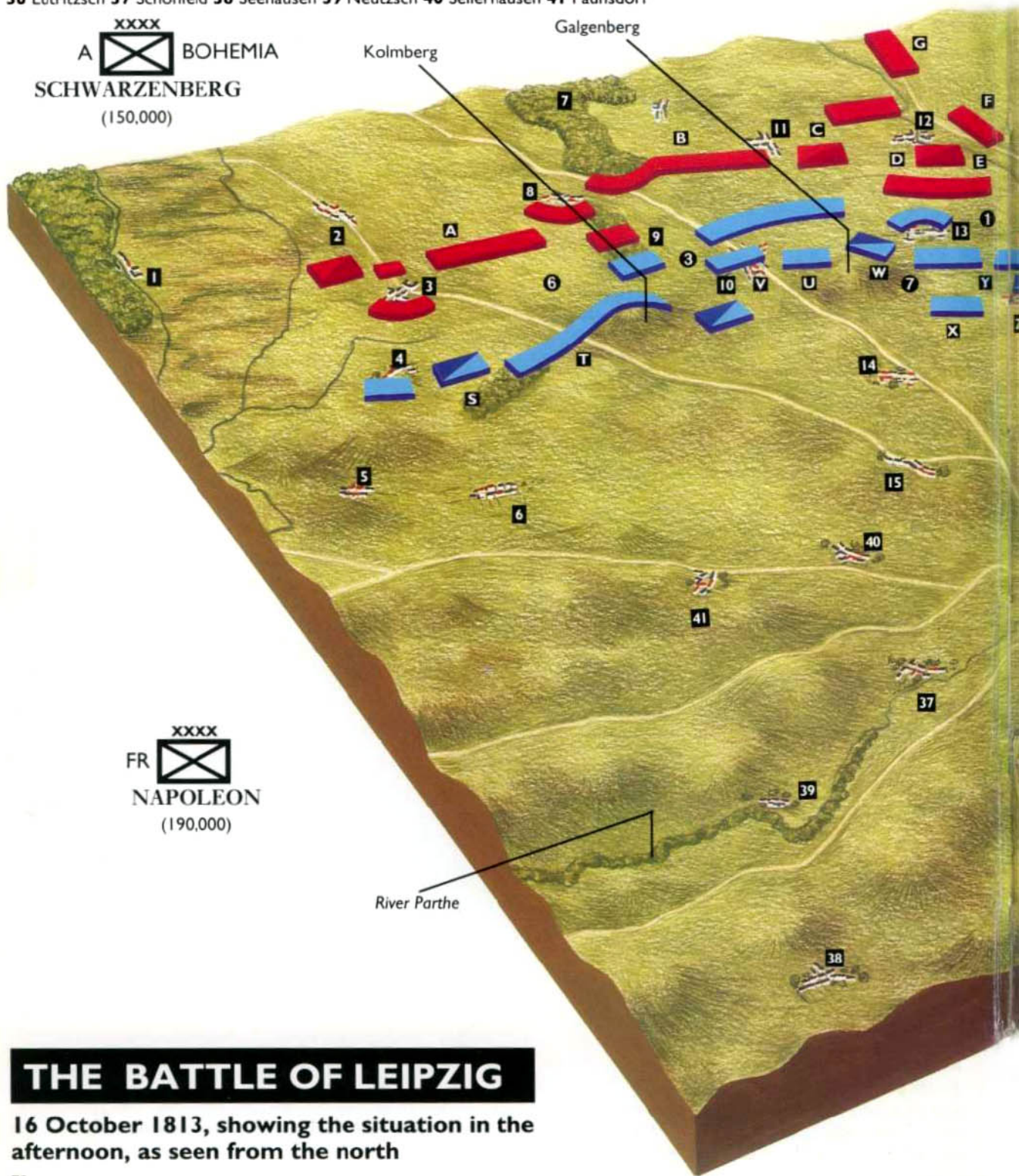
*Russian troops, and would appear to represent fighting on the southern front. Albertina, Vienna.*



1 Albrechtshain 2 Fuchshain 3 Seifertshain 4 Kleinpösna 5 Althen 6 Engelsdorf 7 Universitäts Holz 8 Grosspösna 9 Neider Holz 10 Liebertwolkwitz 11 Güldengossa 12 Göhren 13 Wachau 14 Probstheida 15 Stötteritz 16 Böhlen 17 Stohna 18 Gröbern 19 Gaschwitz 20 Markkleeberg 21 Dösen 22 Dölitz 23 Zöbiger 24 Prödel 25 Knauthhain 26 Kleeberg 27 Connewitz 28 Windorf 29 Lausen 30 Schönau 31 Leutzsch 32 Lindenau 33 Möckern 34 Gohlis 35 Grosswiederitzsch 36 Eutritzsch 37 Schönfeld 38 Seehausen 39 Neutzsch 40 Sellerhausen 41 Paunsdorf

XXXX  
A  BOHEMIA  
SCHWARZENBERG  
(150,000)

XXXX  
FR  NAPOLEON  
(190,000)



## THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG

16 October 1813, showing the situation in the afternoon, as seen from the north

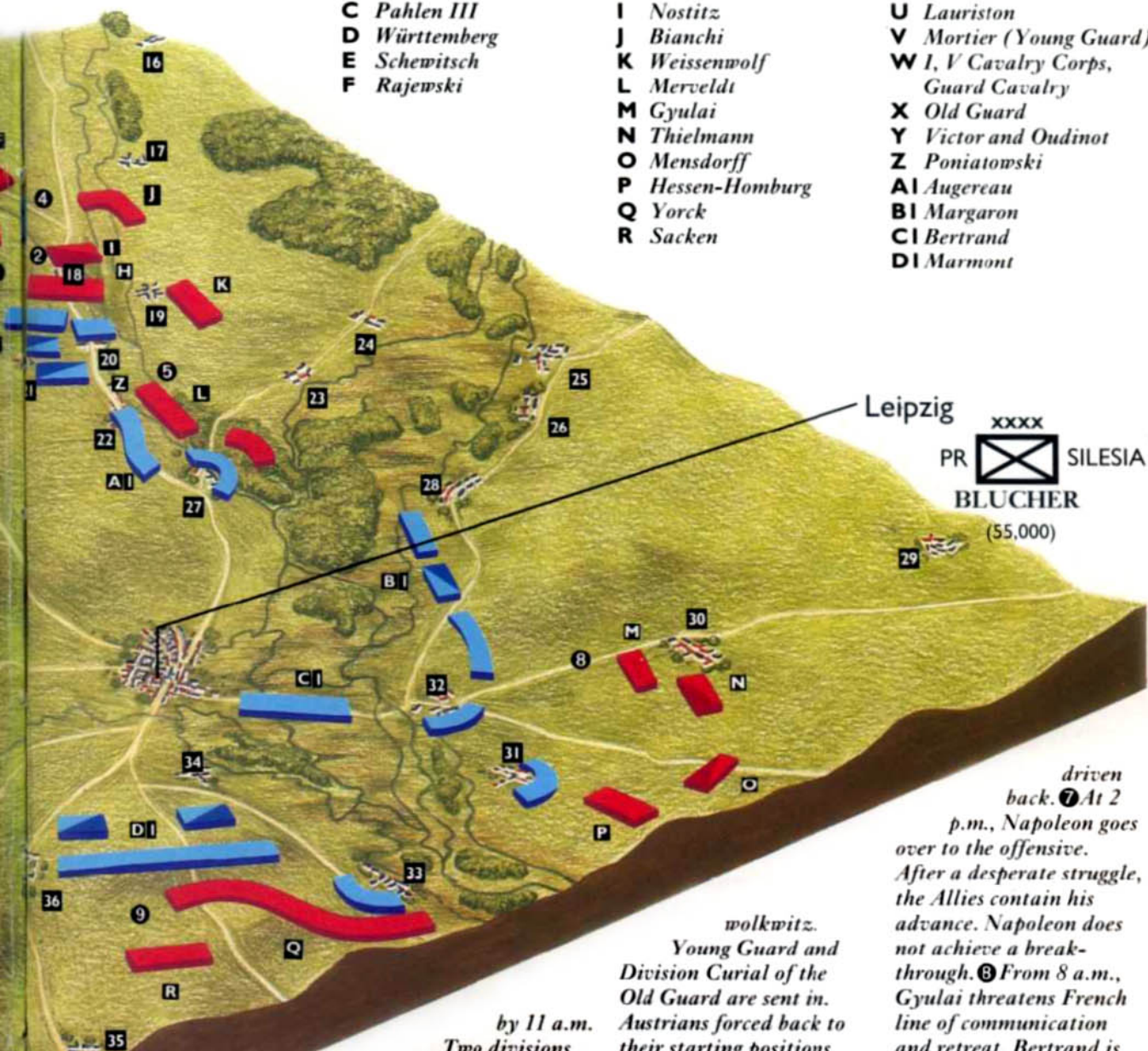
## ALLIED FORCES:

**A** Klenau  
**B** Gortschakow  
**C** Pahlen III  
**D** Württemberg  
**E** Schewitsch  
**F** Rajewski

**G** Prusso-Russian  
 Guards and Reserve  
**H** Kleist  
**I** Nostitz  
**J** Bianchi  
**K** Weissenwolf  
**L** Merveldt  
**M** Gyulai  
**N** Thielmann  
**O** Mensdorff  
**P** Hessen-Homburg  
**Q** Yorck  
**R** Sacken

## FRENCH FORCES:

**S** Sebastiani  
**T** Macdonald  
**U** Lauriston  
**V** Mortier (Young Guard)  
**W** I, V Cavalry Corps,  
 Guard Cavalry  
**X** Old Guard  
**Y** Victor and Oudinot  
**Z** Poniatowski  
**AI** Augereau  
**BI** Margaron  
**CI** Bertrand  
**DI** Marmont

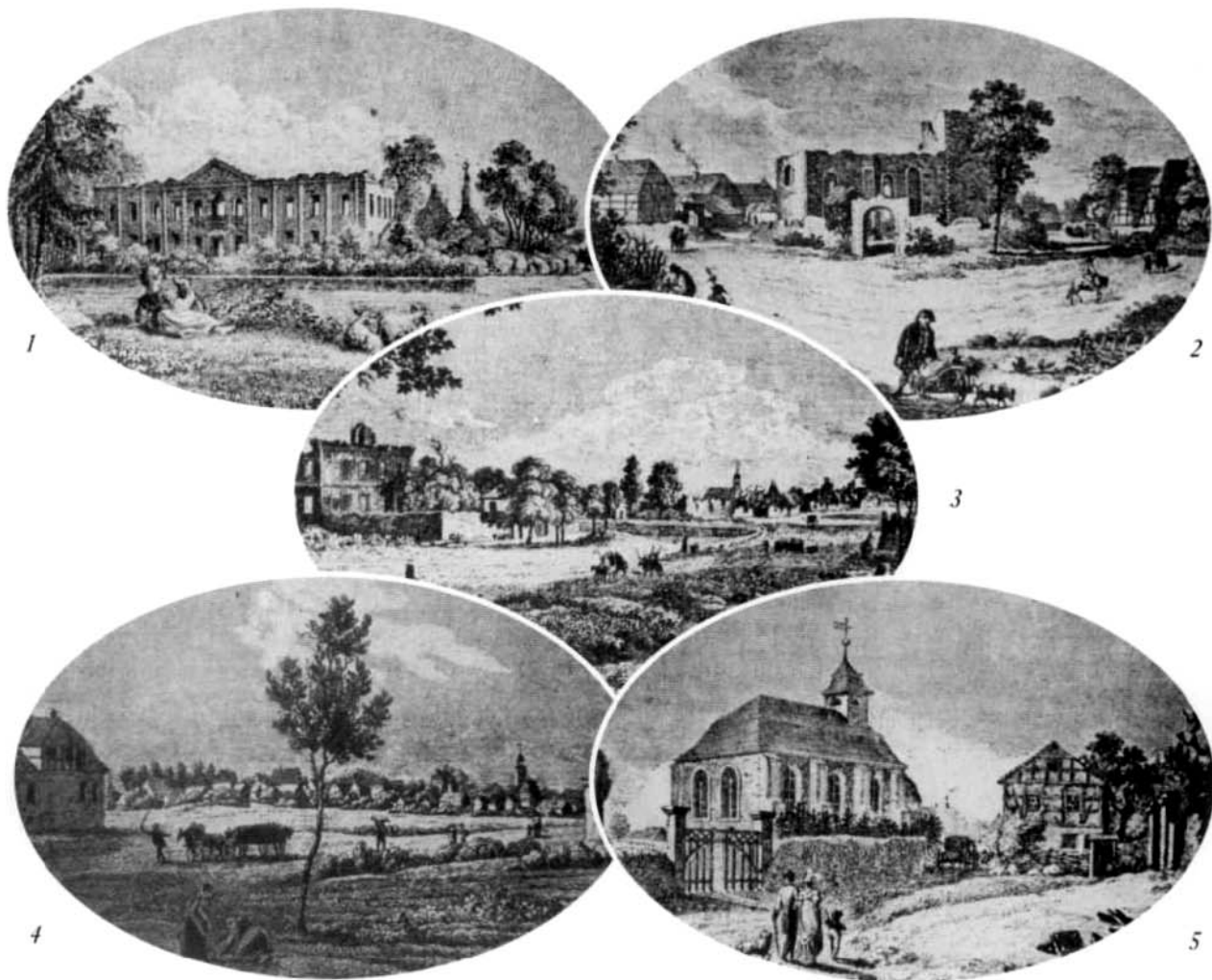


wolkwitz.  
 Young Guard and  
 Division Curial of the  
 Old Guard are sent in.  
 Austrians forced back to  
 their starting positions.  
**4**The Tsar sends in his  
 reserves – Rajewski,  
 Prussian and Russian  
 Guards at 11 a.m. to stabilize the situation.  
**5**Merveldt makes no  
 progress against stubborn  
 resistance. **6**At about  
 midday, Napoleon commits  
 Macdonald and Sebastiani  
 to attack. Klenau is

driven  
 back. **7**At 2  
 p.m., Napoleon goes  
 over to the offensive.  
 After a desperate struggle,  
 the Allies contain his  
 advance. Napoleon does  
 not achieve a breakthrough.  
**8**From 8 a.m.,  
 Gyulai threatens French  
 line of communication  
 and retreat. Bertrand is  
 committed to secure it so  
 is thus not available for  
 use by Napoleon for a  
 breakthrough attempt.  
**9**Army of Silesia moves  
 on Leipzig at 10 a.m.  
 Marmont is forced back  
 after fearful losses on  
 both sides and, tied down,  
 is also unavailable for use  
 on the southern front.

**1** Battle  
 commences at 8  
 a.m. with Württemberg's  
 attack on Wachau.  
 Victor counter-attacks  
 and recaptures it by 9.30  
 a.m. Allies stage a further  
 assault, regaining Wachau

by 11 a.m.  
 Two divisions  
 of Young Guard are  
 committed. **2**Kleist  
 pushes through to Mark-  
 kleeberg. Augereau is  
 committed from the reserves  
 at 9.30 a.m. French situation  
 here becomes critical by  
 11 a.m. **3**At 10  
 a.m., Klenau commences  
 his advance, taking the  
 Kolmberg and Liebert-



could rely on the appearance of Bennigsen, Colloredo and the Crown Prince of Sweden. Napoleon had no hope whatsoever of a victory now. Retreat was the only sensible option. If he were to move his baggage train immediately, withdraw his troops through Leipzig and along the causeway through Lindenau, a rearguard deployed in Leipzig could hold up the Allies long enough for the manoeuvre to be accomplished. The rearguard itself could then withdraw and prevent any pursuit by blowing the bridge at Lindenau.

But Napoleon could not leave without a victory. A retreat would no doubt result in his remaining allies deserting him. His army might well fall apart on the retreat. He would be abandoning the 140,000 men in his fortress garrisons. Perhaps he could now negotiate an armistice? He sent an ambassador to the Allies and formed his troops up in pouring rain,

▲ 1. Lösnig. A village to the south of Leipzig. Held by Augereau on the morning of 18 October, it was eventually captured by Hessen-Homburg whose men suffered severely in the process.

▲ 2. Holzhausen. Held by Macdonald on the morning of 18 October, it fell to the Russians under Bennigsen.

▲ 3. Paunsdorf. It was at this village that the

Saxon Army finally gave up fighting for the French Emperor.

▲ 4. Stötteritz. Once Paunsdorf had fallen to Bülow's Prussians, Stötteritz became the centre of the French defence on the southern front.

▲ 5. Zweinaundorf. Defended by Lauriston on 18 October, it was stormed and captured by Bennigsen's Russians.

ready for battle on 17 October. He waited in vain. No attack came that day. Instead, the Allies brought up their reinforcements, rested their men, distributed fresh supplies of ammunition. Time was on their



side. French losses the previous day had been horrific. Poniatowski had lost about a third of his men, Augereau a half; Marmont, Dombrowski, Bertrand and Macdonald had had great holes torn in their ranks. Ammunition was running low. The men were exhausted.

During the night of 17 October Napoleon shortened his front by withdrawing his troops to positions nearer Leipzig, deployed as follows: Right wing under Murat – Corps Poniatowski, Augereau and Victor deployed from Connewitz to Probstheida, supported by the Guard and the bulk of the cavalry. Centre under Macdonald – XI Corps deployed from Zuckelhausen through Holzhausen to Steinberg supported by Lauriston and Sebastiani. Left wing under Ney – in and around Paunsdorf Saxon Division, Division Durutte and Corps Marmont supported by Souham and 1½ divisions of Arrighi's Cavalry Corps. In Leipzig – Division Dombrowski, the garrison of Leipzig, Cavalry Division Lorge. In Lindenau – two divisions of the Young Guard under Mortier. Taking into account losses on 16 October, Napoleon had about 160,000 men and 630 guns at his disposal.

### The Day of Decision, 18 October 1813

Schwarzenberg formed his men up for the final assault. Column 1 under Hessen-Homburg consisted of Corps Colloredo and Merveldt, Divisions Bianchi and Weissenwolf and Cavalry Division Nostitz. Its orders were to secure Connewitz and move through Markkleeberg on Leipzig. Column 2 under General Barclay consisted of Corps Kleist and Wittgenstein, the Russo-Prussian Guards and Reserves. This column was to advance through Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz on Probstheida. Column 3 under General Bennigsen consisted of the Polish Reserve Army, Division Bubna, Corps Klenau, the Prussian Brigade Ziethen and Platow's Cossacks. Its orders were to move round the enemy flank and move on Zuckelhausen and Holzhausen from the direction of Fuchshain and Siefertshain. Column 4 under the Crown Prince of Sweden consisted of the Army of the North together with Langeron and St. Priest. This column was to cross the Parthe at Taucha and link up with the Army of Bohemia. Column 5, the remainder of the Army of



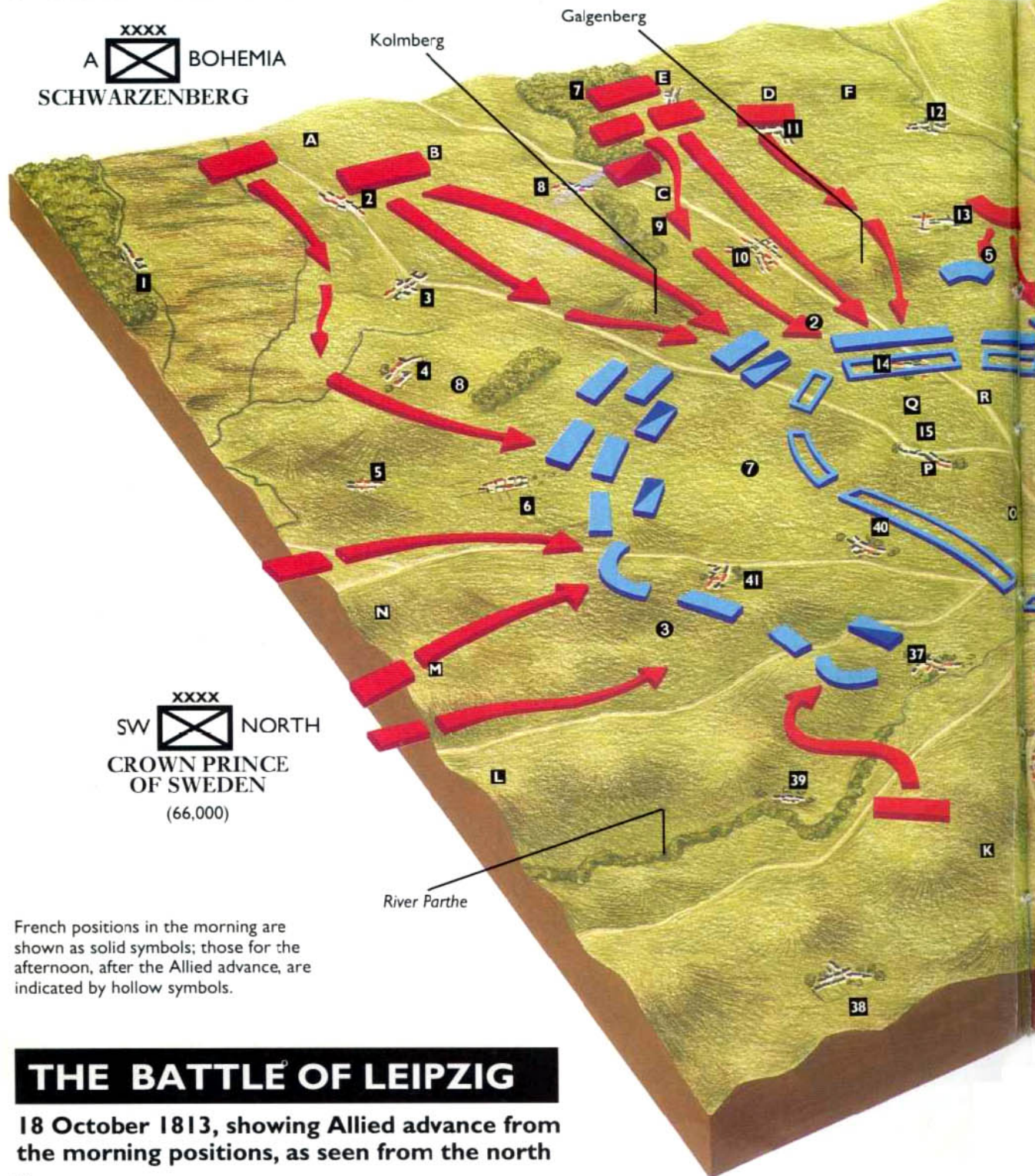
▲ *Bennigsen. The commander of a corps of Russians. This corps was an entirely fresh reserve formation which was committed on 18 October. Being the one and only*

*significant reserve held by the Allies, the commitment of Bennigsen tipped the scales decisively in the favour of the Allies. Contemporary etching.*

Silesia, was to advance on the north-west of Leipzig. Column 6 under Gyulai, consisting of Corps Gyulai, Division Moritz Liechtenstein and Detachments Mensdorff and Thielmann, was to advance on Lindenau from Klein Zschocher. Estimated strength of the Allied forces was about 295,000 men with 1,360 guns.

For once, the sun started shining. At 9 o'clock the columns were formed up, ready to march. Napoleon's request for an armistice was ignored. Even in the face of such odds, the French put up a determined and bitter resistance. Hessen-Homburg pressed forward, taking Dösen and Dölitz. A French counter-attack threw him out of Dölitz. The Young Guard, Poniatowski and Augereau pushed him back and Hessen-Homburg was severely wounded. Colloredo assumed command. Schwarzenberg took such a serious view of the situation that he threw in Rajewski's grenadiers and 3rd Cuirassier Division. He even recalled Gyulai. Dölitz was recaptured but the advance ground to a halt.

1 Albrechtshain 2 Fuchshain 3 Seifertshain 4 Kleinpösna 5 Althen 6 Engelsdorf 7 Universitäts Holz 8 Grosspösna 9 Neider Holz 10 Liebertwolkwitz 11 Güldengossa 12 Göhren 13 Wachau 14 Probstheida 15 Stötteritz 16 Böhlen 17 Stohna 18 Gröbern 19 Gaschwitz 20 Markkleeberg 21 Dösen 22 Dölitz 23 Zöbiger 24 Prödel 25 Knauthhain 26 Kleeberg 27 Connewitz 28 Windorf 29 Lausen 30 Schönau 31 Leutzsch 32 Lindenau 33 Möckern 34 Gohlis 35 Grosswiederitzsch 36 Eutritzsch 37 Schönfeld 38 Seehausen 39 Neutzsch 40 Sellaerhausen 41 Paunsdorf



French positions in the morning are shown as solid symbols; those for the afternoon, after the Allied advance, are indicated by hollow symbols.

## THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG

18 October 1813, showing Allied advance from the morning positions, as seen from the north

**1** Battle commences at 9 a.m. Hessen-Homburg takes Dösen and Dölitz. Young Guard, Poniatowski and Augereau counter-attack. Situation becomes critical.

**2** Russians and Austrians advance against little resistance. They then stop and await Bennigsen.

**3** Langeron engages Marmont.

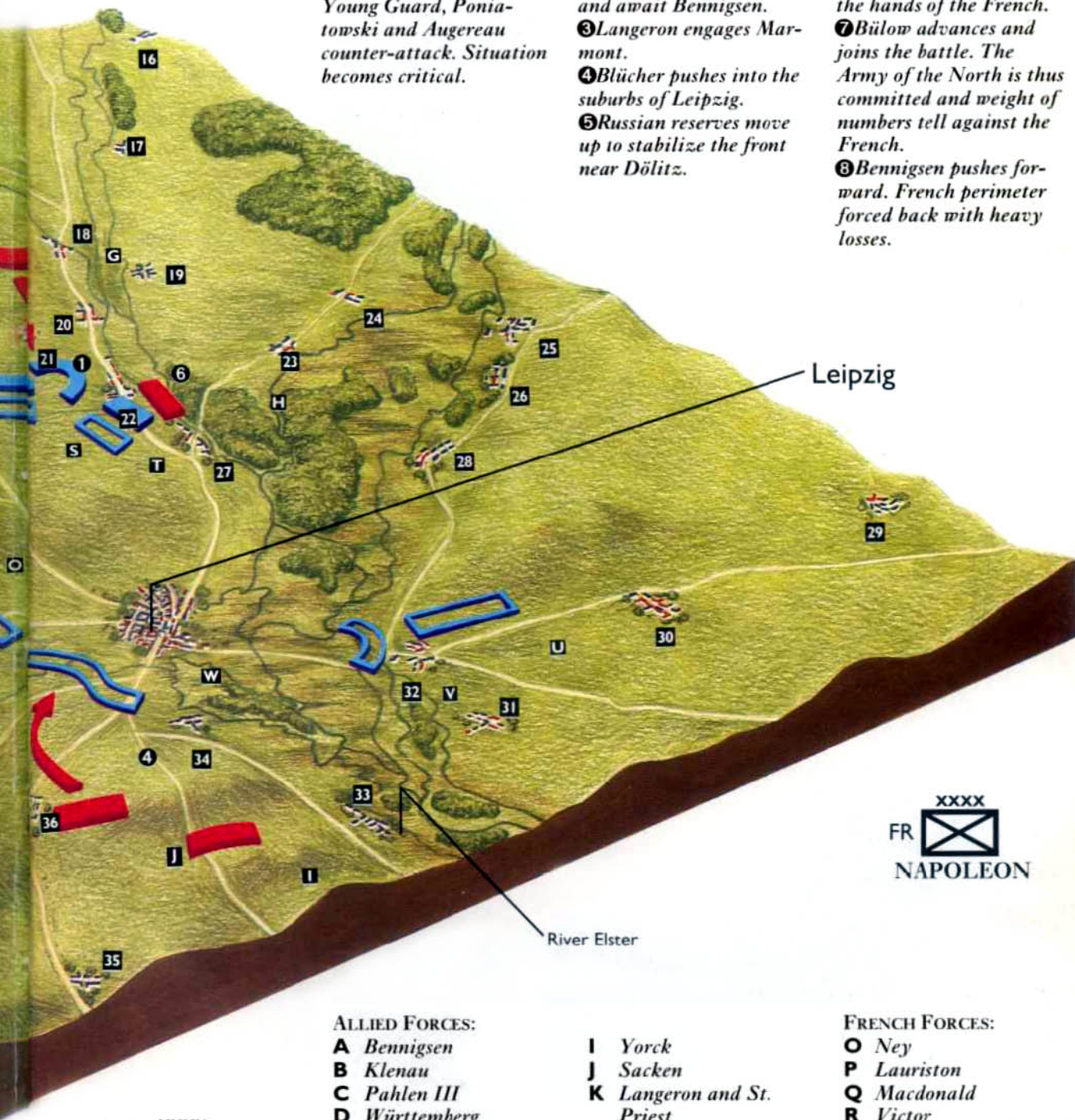
**4** Blücher pushes into the suburbs of Leipzig.

**5** Russian reserves move up to stabilize the front near Dölitz.

**6** Colloredo fails to take Connewitz. The road to Leipzig thus remains in the hands of the French.

**7** Bülow advances and joins the battle. The Army of the North is thus committed and weight of numbers tell against the French.

**8** Bennigsen pushes forward. French perimeter forced back with heavy losses.



PR  SILESIA  
BLUCHER

**ALLIED FORCES:**

**A** Bennigsen  
**B** Klenau  
**C** Pahlen III  
**D** Württemberg  
**E** Prusso-Russian Guards and Reserve  
**F** Kleist  
**G** Hessen-Homburg  
**H** Lederer

**I** Yorck  
**J** Sacken  
**K** Langeron and St. Priest  
**L** Wintzingerode  
**M** Bülow  
**N** Bubna

FR   
NAPOLION

**FRENCH FORCES:**

**O** Ney  
**P** Lauriston  
**Q** Macdonald  
**R** Victor  
**S** Augereau  
**T** Poniatowski  
**U** Bertrand  
**V** Mortier  
**W** Dombrowski



◀ *French soldiers gathering supplies at Paunsdorf during a lull in fighting at Leipzig. The great burden that this campaign placed on the economy and civilian population of Saxony should not be forgotten. Although Napoleon had his admirers in this part of Germany, the bulk of the population were simply very war weary and were waiting in hope for peace. Geissler.*

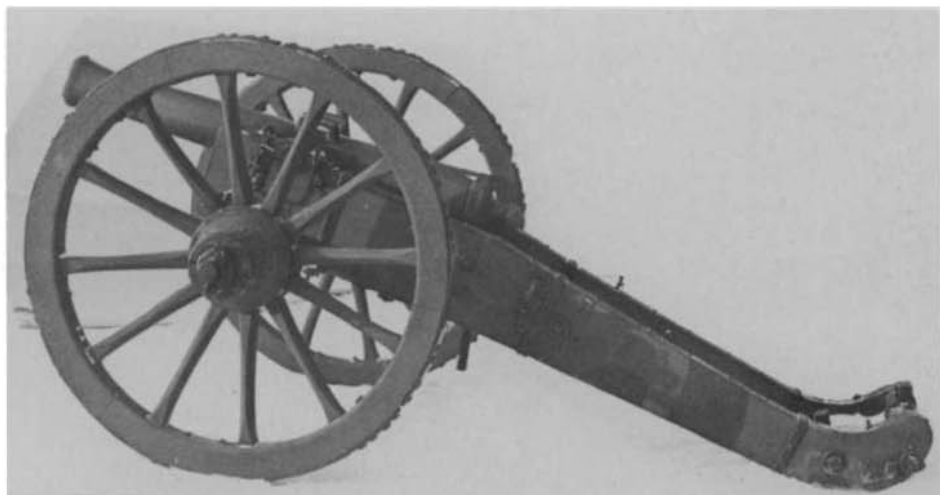


◀ *Sellerhausen. Ney's second line of defence once Paunsdorf had fallen. It was captured by Bülow's Prussians.*



◀ *Friccius leads his East Prussian militia battalion into Leipzig itself. This act broke the final French line of defence of the town on 19 October. The church in the background is St. Nicolas's, focal point for the demonstrations of October 1989. Painting by Fritz Neumann.*

► *French 6 pdr artillery piece. This particular gun was captured by Swedish forces during the Leipzig campaign and can be seen at the Armémuseum in Stockholm. (Photograph Armémuseum Stockholm).*



Barclay marched off at 8 o'clock and achieved his objectives without any great difficulties. Within cannon range of Probstheida, he halted and awaited the arrival of Bennigsen who had the farthest distance to cover. To his delight the French were withdrawing and offered little resistance. By 10 o'clock he was in position. Holzhausen and Zuckelhausen fell to determined assaults. Gérard was pushed off the Steinberg. Division Bubna moved on Paunsdorf which was strongly defended. At 2 p.m. the French still held Zweinaundorf, Mlkau and Paunsdorf. Bennigsen awaited the arrival of the Army of the North before committing himself to storming these villages.

On the northern front Langeron engaged Marmont while Blücher started to push into the suburbs of Leipzig itself. Napoleon sent off a division of the Young Guard to help Dombrowski's hard-pressed Poles. The situation stabilized. Bertrand cleared the road to Weissenfels.

The situation at 2 p.m. was still undecided. The French forces were still intact. They held various strongpoints around the perimeter of their position, had held off Allied advances from the north and had cleared their line of retreat. Against such odds, the French could not win a victory, but they still had the initiative and could withdraw at will.

Colloredo failed all afternoon in his attempts to take Connewitz, the possession of which would decide the fate of Leipzig. At nightfall it was still in French hands. Barclay got no further than Probstheida which had been turned into a little fortress by its defenders. The village changed hands

several times during the course of that afternoon but remained in French hands at nightfall.

Bennigsen had more success, particularly when Bülow's Prussians closed in on Paunsdorf. Some 3,000 Saxons with nineteen guns took this opportunity to go over to the Allies as had Normann's Brigade of Württemberg cavalry earlier that day. French cavalry attacks tried to stabilize the situation on this front but Ney's remaining infantry fell back. Stötteritz became the centre of the French defences here. It would be a great exaggeration to say that the desertion of this handful of Saxons at this late stage of the conflict had any significant effect on the outcome of the battle. That had already been decided on 16 October. The subsequent events merely delayed the inevitable. The Army of the North continued its advance. Reports came in of a French retreat on Weissenfels. Napoleon had run out of choices. He now had to secure his retreat.

### The Battle for Leipzig, 19 October 1813

Schwarzenberg formed his forces into five columns for the assault on Leipzig. Napoleon's retreat was to be threatened if not cut off by Yorck and Gyulai. The attempt to cut the French off was insufficient to be considered serious and was an error that would allow this war to continue into 1814. But one must remember that the Allies were generally exhausted. Fresh reserves for a pursuit were not to hand and a third day of bitter fighting was not regarded as a pleasant prospect. Under cover of darkness and the morning fog, the French had with-



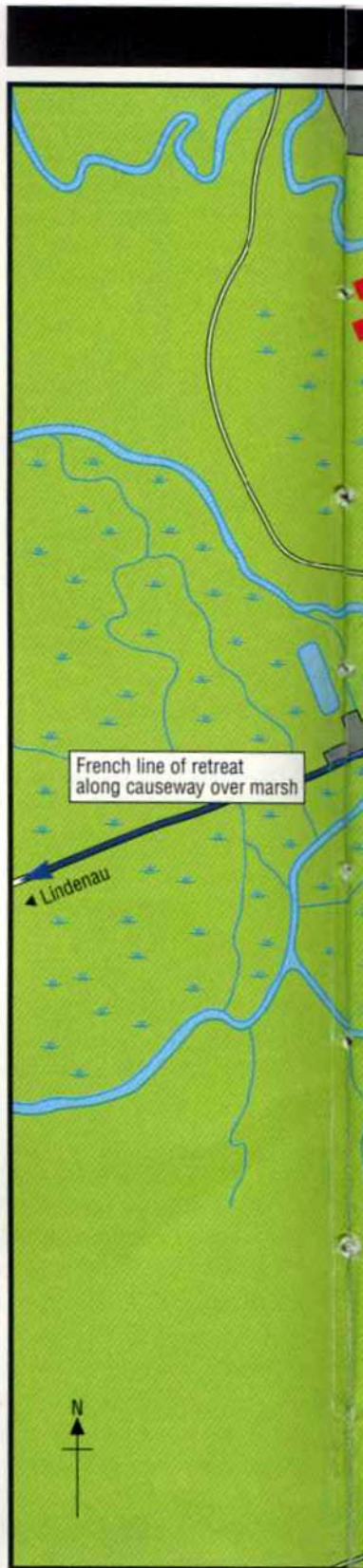
▲ Napoleon's flight from Leipzig.

▼ The final battle at the southern end of the Fleischerplatz. French prisoners-of-war are held around the baggage train of the Imperial Guard while the rearguard action continues not far away.



► Napoleon was now staging a rearguard action to cover his withdrawal to France. Leipzig itself had a good potential for defence, but its great disadvantage to Napoleon was the fact that there was only one exit to the west, over the Fleischerplatz through the Ranstädter Gate and over two bridges, the first over the Pleisse, the second over the Elster and thence westwards along a

causeway over the marshes to Lindenau. While the Allies had the option of assaulting one or more of several entrances to the town, the French had but one exit and were gradually being forced down a funnel into a bottleneck. It was inevitable that the level of confusion would rise as the French were forced back. A state of complete chaos was likely and this indeed occurred.



# Leipzig, 19 October 1813: The Final Battle





◀ *The bridge over the Elster. This bridge on the French line of retreat was blown up prematurely, cutting off part of the French rearguard. Some historians see this as a major blow to Napoleon. Had this bridge not been blown, he might have been able to save more of his army. However, in any event, he was going to have to fall back across the Rhine so this final act in the battle was of little significance in that respect. The fact that there was only one road westwards out of Leipzig caused more difficulties and delays to the retreat than the loss of this bridge.*



◀ *Schwarzenberg brings news of victory to the Allied monarchs. This would indeed seem a good time for him to come back to his headquarters.*

drawn into Leipzig itself and had begun their retreat. The French could enter from four gates to the east but leave by only one in the west so a degree of military organization was necessary.

The Allied assault began at 10.30 a.m. on 19 October. Progress was slow. Every wall, gateway, building and street was defended. A battalion of East Prussian militia under Friccius made its name by breaking into the town. A French counter-attack almost succeeded but was thrown back by a battalion of Swedish Jäger with two cannon. The Allies now had the Grimma Gate in their possession. There were many such tales of heroism as the battle see-sawed through Leipzig. A major traffic jam developed as the French baggage trains tried to

escape the Allied assault. Leipzig became a scene of chaos. Many retreating French soldiers tried to swim the Pleisse. Those who did not succeed laid down their arms to the advancing Allies. Tsar Alexander and King Frederick William III rode to the Market Place where they met the Crown Prince of Sweden, Bennigsen, Blücher and Gneisenau. Any attempt at pursuit was forgotten in the jubilation of victory. The battle was over but it would be another year before the war was won.

Napoleon marched with his army back to France. An attempt by the Bavarians to halt his pursuit was brushed aside. His regime did not collapse immediately. It might after all have survived a peace negotiated in the early days of 1813.



► *Poniatowski attempting to swim the Elster. Perhaps Napoleon's greatest loss caused by the premature detonation of the Elster bridge. A number of generals managed to swim to safety. This unfortunate Pole did not and met a tragic death for such a noble figure.*

▼ *The wreckage of an army the day after battle. This scene at the Halle Gate, drawn by the eyewitness Geissler, clearly*

*illustrates the aftermath of war - the stripped corpses, some of which appear still to be showing signs of life, the plundered wagons.*

▼ *Bottom: a scene from the Battle of Hanau. Here, the Bavarians, having recently changed sides, made a futile attempt at stopping the French retreat. Napoleon brushed his erstwhile allies aside before continuing the march home.*



# THE BATTLEFIELD TODAY

The field of Leipzig has a number of memorials, the most famous one being the tower built for the centennial to the south of the centre of the town, near the exhibition centre. The climb to the top of this tower is very worthwhile because the entire battlefield can be viewed from this point. A map of the battlefield is available at the tower. There is also a museum pavilion close by which is currently being renovated. The recent political changes have resulted in most museums in the former German Democratic Republic being closed for 'renovation'. At various points of significance around the battlefield many of the famous 'Appel' stones have been preserved and there are memorials in Wachau, Liebertwolkwitz, on the Kolmberg, on the 'Monarchenhügel' near Probstheida, Dölitz, Möckern and Schönefeld. Not to be forgotten is

the Russian church close to the road running from the centre of Leipzig to the Memorial. It was built as a memorial to the Russian dead at the battle and contains some interesting exhibits. A town plan, a good map of the surrounding area and a general tourist guide book would be helpful companions.

There are memorials on most of the other battlefields of this campaign, including Dennewitz and Grossbeeren, although some of these have fallen rather into disrepair. Plans for their restoration are afoot. Most of the battlefield of Dresden has subsequently been built on and there is little to see here other than the Grosser Garten.

A thorough tour of these battlefields requires a car and at least one week. It is advisable to book accommodation in advance because the tourist industry here is relatively undeveloped.



◀ *The memorial to the Battle of Leipzig built for the centennial. This is the point at which all tours of the Leipzig battlefield should start. This massive tower has no lifts so only the very fit will be able to make it to the top where there is a panoramic view of the entire battlefield. Concerts are held frequently in the hall inside the monument and the acoustics are excellent.*

# CHRONOLOGY

**30 December 1812:** Yorck, commander of the Prussian Auxiliary Corps in Russia, signs the Convention of Tauroggen ending *de facto* the Prussian alliance with the French. The Wars of Liberation are considered to have begun at this point.

**1813**

**28 February:** Prussia and Russia sign the Treaty of Kalisch. Alliance against France formed.

**18 March:** Hamburg occupied by Russians under Tettenborn.

**27 March:** Prussians and Russians occupy Dresden in Saxony.

**2 April:** Prussians and Russians defeat French at Lüneburg, taking Morand and 2,000 men prisoner.

**2 May:** Battle of Lützen or Gross-Görschen. French victory.

**18 May:** Swedes under Bernadotte land in Pomerania.

**20-21 May:** Battle of Bautzen. French victory.

**30 May:** Hamburg reoccupied by French under Davout.

**4-26 June:** Armistice of Poischwitz. Later extended to 16 August.

**15 June:** Prussia and Russia sign subsidy treaty with Britain.

**21 June:** Wellington's victory at Vittoria.

**27 June:** Treaty of Reichenbach signed by Austria, Russia and Prussia.

**21 July:** Swedes join coalition.

**12 August:** Austria declares war on France.

**16 August:** Hostilities commence.

**23 August:** Battle of Grossbeeren. French defeated.

**26-27 August:** Battle of Dresden. Napoleon beats Schwarzenberg.

**26 August:** Battle on the Katzbach. Blücher beats Macdonald.

**27 August:** Battle of Hagelberg. French defeated.

**29-30 August:** Battles of Kulm and Nollendorf. French defeated.

**6 September:** Battle of Dennewitz. French under Ney defeated.

**3 October:** Battle of Wartenburg. Yorck's Prussians defeat French under Marmont.

**8 October:** Bavaria leaves Confederation of Rhine and joins Allies.

**14 October:** Cavalry battle at Liebertwolkwitz.

**16-19 October:** BATTLE OF LEIPZIG. Napoleon defeated. French withdraw from Germany.

**30-31 October:** Battle of Hanau. Attempt by Bavarians to halt French retreat unsuccessful.

## A GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

This campaign has attracted scant attention from historians in the English-speaking world and thus there are but few works to recommend for further reading. Those available include:

BRETT-JAMES, A. *Europe against Napoleon*, London, 1970. A most interesting anthology of eye-witness accounts.

MAUDE, Colonel F.N., *The Leipzig Campaign 1813*, London, 1908. Probably the most authoritative English-language account of the campaign.

PETRE, F.L., *Napoleon's Last Campaign in Germany – 1813*, London 1912. Reprinted a number of times in recent years, this work is but a pale shadow of its sources – the multi-volume works produced by the general staffs of the participating armies.

SHERWIG, J.M., 'Guineas & Gunpowder – British Foreign Aid in the Wars with France, 1793-1815', Cambridge MA, 1969. A fascinating account of Britain's role as paymaster and arms supplier to continental Europe during this period.

# WARGAMING LEIPZIG

The campaign of 1813 presented the Allies, and will present wargamers seeking to recreate it, with three problems. First, to devise a strategic plan for manoeuvring the armies of different nations against the 'Corsican Ogre' that can be accepted by their sovereigns. Secondly, to put this plan into effect and bring Napoleon to bay by co-ordinating the Allied armies in the field. Finally, having cornered the greatest general of the era, to defeat him in battle.

Suggestions are therefore given here for wargaming all three aspects of the campaign. Wargamers can choose to stage a council of war, recreate the strategic manoeuvres or fight a climactic 'Battle of The Nations' according to preference; some may wish to play all three games so as to reenact the Campaign of Leipzig in its entirety!

**'Expect a defeat whenever the Emperor attacks in person. Attack and fight his lieutenants whenever you can'. (Trachenberg Plan Committee Game)**

A Committee Game is one in which the players discuss an issue, formulate a plan or devise a strategy by face to face argument and persuasion. Such games require only general briefings on the political/military situation insofar as it would be known to all participants, maps of the theatre of operations and personal objectives for the individual players, each of whom plays a different character and must endeavour to act the part convincingly.

Before embarking on a Campaign or Battle Game, it might be interesting to discover whether the players will devise a similar strategy for defeating Napoleon to that agreed by the Allied monarchs and their advisers in August 1813: that an army attacked by Napoleon should retire *en masse*, while the others close in on the French lines of communication by the most direct roads. If the game is to be successful the organizer must overcome the prob-

lem of hindsight, for most wargamers with an interest in the Napoleonic Wars will have some awareness of the original Trachenberg Plan! Short of recruiting a team of players with no knowledge of the Leipzig Campaign because they specialize in other historical periods, the game organizer must resort to a 'Disguised Scenario', in which a parallel historical or fictitious situation provides the strategic background to the discussion. It may be necessary to set the game in an earlier or later era to prevent players penetrating the disguise. The differing political objectives and rivalries between the sovereigns and their nations must be brought out in the individual player briefings, which will detail his opinions, knowledge and personal objective – usually to win over the whole council of war, or the most important participants, to his viewpoint. Discussion can have a definite time limit, at the end of which the game organizer will determine to what extent each player has fulfilled his personal objectives, or until an agreed plan of campaign has emerged. If the players have been told that it is a disguised scenario, additional interest may be generated by running a simultaneous competition to identify the historical scenario and the real characters behind the game roles, by writing their guesses down secretly, to be read out at the end of the discussion before the truth is revealed.

**'The Chess Board is Highly Confused'.  
(Campaign Games)**

Game organizers should remember this remark made by the Emperor to Marshal Marmont on 12 September 1813, when designing wargames to recreate the Leipzig Campaign: the ideal game will have but a small number of rules, which can be memorized easily like those of chess, yet present the players with an ever-changing, confusing picture of events as they struggle to discover not only the

manoeuvres and intentions of the enemy, but also the whereabouts and state of their own detached forces. A brief description of alternative structures for wargaming campaigns was given in the Wargames section to *Austerlitz* in this series, and any of those suggestions would be equally appropriate for the 1813 Campaign. Two radically different games, however, will be described in detail here, both of which seem eminently suitable to handle the large forces involved and fulfil the criteria given above.

The first is the Generalship Game, which can be found in *Napoleonic Wargaming for Fun* by Paddy Griffith (Ward Lock, 1980). In this highly stylized game, players take the roles of Army Commanders and must plan each day's activities, allowing time to write orders and dispatches, attend councils of war, visit troops, take exercise and eat and sleep, by completing a track representing twenty-four hours divided into 30-minute periods. The game organizer can introduce the atmosphere of the opposing Headquarters by ruling that Prince Schwarzenberg must spend several hours each day in consultation with the Allied Sovereigns (at a banquet some years after Leipzig, Blücher proposed a toast to 'the Commander-in-Chief who had three monarchs at his Headquarters and still managed to beat the enemy!'), while allowing Napoleon to issue orders in less time, so as to reflect his experienced staff led by Marshal Berthier.

The smallest body of troops in the Generalship Game is a corps, portrayed by a cardboard counter or group of 1/300 scale figures. Corps manoeuvre across a schematic map of the theatre of operations – rather like the London Tube diagram – on which each 'stop' is a town, city or fortress a day's march from the next, with minimal details of terrain. Such a map can be created quite easily from those in this book, enlarged on to A3 paper and mounted on stout cardboard to provide the game board. If the map is covered with self-adhesive transparent plastic the umpire can record information such as the supply states of towns and mark lines of communication using non-permanent marker pens.

Reconnaissance is represented by furnishing every formation with Intelligence of any hostile or friendly troops within a day's march at the end of each daily turn. The Emperor's lack of cavalry can

be reflected by allowing the Allies Intelligence of any French forces within two days' march, giving them a distinct superiority in reconnaissance.

Battles and sieges are resolved simply by comparing the points values of the corps engaged and throwing dice, in the manner of many military boardgames. Victory will invariably go to the commander who can concentrate overwhelming force against his opponent – it is effecting that concentration at the right moment that is difficult! Low-level tactics are ignored, but the game organizer can reflect the strength, morale and efficiency of each corps by the points value he allocates to it at the start of the campaign.

This game may be played by two players, for whom it was originally designed, taking the roles of Napoleon and Schwarzenberg; alternatively, additional players may portray Blücher, Bernadotte and Bennigsen. Instead of facing one another across the map, the participants in such a multi-player game would be distributed around a house or community centre, out of sight and earshot of one another (unless they had arrived at the same town or city) and forced to communicate by means of written messages passed through the umpire. The individual character and physical condition of each commander would be reflected in the hours of rest he is required to take every day to avoid collapse from exhaustion, and the time devoted to off-duty activities. The time required to compose orders would represent the efficiency of his staff: thus Blücher, for example, might be able to spend extra hours drinking and resting because his orders can be written quickly by Gneisenau, his Chief of Staff.

The second game structure is the Matrix Game concept, the invention of Chris Engle, who publishes the *Experimental Games Group (EGG) Newsletter* in the USA, and has contributed several articles describing the system to *Nugget*, the journal of Wargame Developments, in the United Kingdom. A Matrix Game employs a deck of cards bearing keywords or phrases, such as 'March', 'Open Battle', 'Victory', 'Weather Effect' or 'Morale Decreases', from which each player draws five cards at the start of a turn. Players then construct Arguments to support Actions leading to a Result, by using the words or phrases on their cards, which can be applied to their own, or an opponent's troops, or an individual

commander. Thus, a player holding cards labelled 'Forced March', 'Open Battle', 'Love/Patriotism', 'Terrain Effect' and 'Weather Effect' might say, 'My Army *Forced Marches* from Leipzig to Dresden, aided by the fine *Weather* and open *Terrain*, inspired by their *Love* for the Emperor, to *Open Battle* against the Army of Bohemia.' Words on the Matrix cards can be interpreted as nouns, verbs, adverbs or adjectives, and phrases such as 'Weather Effect' can be interpreted as good or bad weather according to the needs of the moment – the only limitations are those imposed by the combination of cards in a player's hand, his linguistic ingenuity and some common-sense historical realism.

The Matrix Cards can be displayed face-up and players be allowed to select their cards for the coming turn: the player who goes first has the advantage of a wider choice, but the other players can see which cards he picks, try to deduce his intentions, and select appropriate cards to thwart them. It is probably simpler, and quicker, for the umpire to deal the Matrix Cards to the players face-down in the manner of conventional card games. Provided that the pack is thoroughly shuffled between turns, players should receive reasonable combinations of words and phrases.

Another idea worth considering is allowing the players to retain some of their cards from one turn to another, either by dealing, say, seven cards at the start of the game and thereafter only five at each subsequent turn, so that players could keep back two useful cards for future turns, or by allowing players to put down fewer than five cards during a turn to support their proposed Actions, risking the defeat of their Arguments by counter-proposals supported by more cards. When every player has presented his Arguments, the umpire must resolve any conflicts or contradictions by considering the strength of the opposing Arguments, the reception accorded them by the other players, his own opinion and – if all else fails! – by throwing dice to determine which succeed and which fail. Troop counters are then moved on the map to show what Actions have been made, and any battles are fought out. It will be apparent that this game structure dispenses with complex and time-consuming rules for strategic movement, while preventing players from knowing in advance whether even the most straightfor-

ward manoeuvre will be completed successfully!

The order in which players present their Matrix Card Arguments can be very important. It may be decided randomly by throwing dice, or determined by the umpire's appreciation of the strategic situation, or the possession of a Matrix Card bearing the phrase 'Seizes the Initiative' may indicate which player goes first, other players playing their cards in a sequence according to the following principles:

The player whose forces or person are most obviously affected by the cards just played – for example, because his army has been attacked, he has been ambushed, or his opponent has applied his Matrix Cards to that player's forces – should present his cards next. Then any player who wishes to apply his cards to support either of the immediate protagonists should be allowed to play, followed by anyone who wants to become involved in the events, such as by marching his forces to support one of the parties. Once that situation has been resolved, those indirectly affected should play, followed by any remaining players who have been unaffected or choose not to get involved. Maps for Matrix Games do not have to be very detailed: enlargements of the maps of the theatre of operations from this book will suffice to show cities, fortresses, major rivers and mountain ranges, and national boundaries. Zones of varying sizes should be overlaid upon this map to show the relative difficulty of the terrain in terms of the number of marches required to cross it. A mountain range, for example, would be divided into numerous small zones, while open plains would contain only a few large-movement zones. Each fortress should be surrounded by a zone through which opposing troops cannot pass without blockading or besieging it. The map should also be covered with self-adhesive transparent plastic so that the results of successful Matrix Card Arguments, such as the destruction of a vital bridge, or construction of fortifications, can be recorded using non-permanent marker-pens to remind both umpire and players what has been resolved in previous turns. If an Argument has been accepted that Wittenberg, for example, is a strong fortress with a determined French garrison, that fact should be recorded on the map and only Arguments which accept that, but produce good reasons to regard its condition as having changed – such as, 'The garr-

son has been decimated by an outbreak of plague caused by the hot weather and has allowed the fortress to fall into decay' – would be regarded as valid. Players should not be allowed simply to contradict in one turn what was decided in a previous turn. Bodies of troops can be represented by cardboard counters, wooden blocks or small bases covered with 1/300 scale models. Important equipment such as bridging trains and siege trains could be represented by appropriate models on separate bases. For the purposes of a Leipzig Campaign Matrix Game, one base of infantry and/or cavalry can represent a corps – it will also be necessary to have bases portraying Imperial Headquarters and the entourages of the Allied Sovereigns.

Battles are resolved by lining up opposing troop counters face to face and throwing dice, modified by a small number of factors to reflect Arguments for/against them presented by players' Matrix Cards, the higher score securing an advantage, as described below. Where one side has a numerical advantage, additional bodies of troops are placed so that two units oppose one in the battle line: the umpire may allow their commander to add both their die scores, or merely to choose the better of the two.

If an Argument that one force wins a victory or that its opponent suffers a defeat is not avoided or countered by a far more forceful Argument that reverses the proposed outcome of the battle, the first force wins the engagement without actually fighting it out using the Battle Rules. If the Argument is countered by a more forceful one that avoids the battle altogether, by proposing that the attacker, for example, actually marches off in the opposite direction, or fails for some other reason to make contact with the enemy, then the battle does not occur and the force acts according to the Matrix Cards played against it. But if the counter-Argument merely reverses the outcome of the battle, the engagement must be fought out, but, where appropriate, a Tactical Advantage should be given to the side with the stronger Arguments in its support.

A simple table, along the lines below, should be used to add or subtract modifiers from the battle dice:

Tactical Advantage Matrix Card played that turn +1  
Weather Effect Matrix Card played that turn

(for/against)	+/-1
French troops commanded by Napoleon	
in person	+1
Defeated/Routed in last battle	-1/-2
Fatigued after Forced March that turn	-1
Inexperienced Conscripts/Landwehr	-1
The scores thus obtained by each body of troops and its opponent(s) should be compared:	

If the scores are even, there is no advantage either side – a bloody draw – so the troops are left in place. If one side has an advantage of less than 2:1 the loser is moved back, but remains facing the enemy; if the odds are more than 2:1 but less than 3:1, the loser is decisively beaten and the troops are moved back and turned away from the enemy; if the odds are 3:1 or more, the losing troops are routed and dispersed into an adjacent movement zone. By looking along the battle line, the umpire and players can easily determine which army has been victorious by comparing the number of routed and defeated troops on each side. Formal rules can specify when, and how far, the defeated army must retreat, or the decision as to how to react can be left to the players themselves. Battles involving several corps, or even armies, such as those of the Leipzig Campaign can be resolved quickly using this simple system, allowing the entire campaign to be recreated in an afternoon, if each turn represents several days or a week of real time.

A Matrix Game of the Leipzig Campaign, unlike a Generalship Game, requires at least six players to generate confusion and uncertainty, as well as a good social atmosphere around the map. Participants can take the roles of Napoleon, Ney, Oudinot, Davout and Macdonald on the French side; and Schwarzenberg, Blücher, Bernadotte, Bannigsen and Wittgenstein for the Allies. In addition, monarchs such as Tsar Alexander I, Emperor Francis I, King Frederick William III of Prussia and King Frederick Augustus I of Saxony could be played to add a political dimension to the military manoeuvres. Sovereigns might be forced to choose from a separate pack of Matrix Cards bearing different words or phrases to those of military commanders, in order to introduce their often less than happy interference in military affairs and individual political objectives beyond the immediate defeat of Napoleon.

## 'After such Butchery, No Result!'. (Battle Games)

The sheer size of the forces engaged in the battles of the Leipzig Campaign and the extent of the battlefields effectively prevent engagements such as Dresden or 'The Battle of the Nations' itself from being recreated using conventional brigade or division level wargame rules and the larger 25mm or 15mm figures; instead, the game organizer must adopt a 'broad-brush' approach, sacrificing details of tactics to concentrate upon the command and control problems of such large armies, using boardgame-style combat resolution methods and 1/300 figures or counters.

Participants will take the roles of army and, if sufficient players wish to take part, corps commanders. The tactical unit will be the division, which will be assigned a points value prior to the game representing its numerical strength, morale and training/experience in one Combat Value. Divisions will be regarded as **Marching/Manoeuvring** when moving out of contact with the enemy, when arriving on the battlefield, or executing a flank march, for example; **Formed** when stationary on the battlefield, out of contact with the enemy and able to march or deploy at short notice, as when held in reserve awaiting orders; **Deployed** when drawn up in battle formation for attack or defence; **Engaged** when in contact with the enemy, whether making or receiving a determined attack or merely skirmishing and feeding troops into the firing line; and **Spent/Dispersed** after having been **Engaged** for several hours, repulsed after making several unsuccessful attacks on a position, or driven off in disorder by an enemy attack. Troops cannot Deploy easily or rapidly unless they are **Formed**, or **March/Manoeuvre** quickly from **Deployed** without first being **Formed**, preventing the rapid reactions and redeployments so often seen in tabletop wargames, which take little or no account of the way bodies of troops had to change formation in reality. Once **Engaged**, divisions will soon become involved in battles of attrition, feeding more men into the firing line until one side can achieve superiority over its opponent's skirmishers and can advance – but if by that time the division has become **Spent**, only a fresh **Deployed** or **Formed** division will be able to

exploit the advantage gained. This will encourage players to hold troops in reserve, and should permit the player who can lure his opponent into committing his reserves, while retaining some **Formed** troops himself, to emulate Napoleon's grand tactics on the battlefield.

Combats will be resolved by comparing the Combat Values of opposing forces, modified by a few tactical factors and a die score to determine the winner. The original ratio of the Combat Values will indicate the time taken to achieve the decision: victors with far greater Combat Values than their opponents should achieve a decision in less time than those who are evenly matched, or outnumbered, who have to fight long and hard to gain the day. The ratio of the final Combat Scores will be used to discover the scale of the victory and extent of the casualties suffered by both sides. All troops that have been defeated, and those who win only after hard fighting, will be **Spent** and unable to take further offensive action that day, or for at least several hours.

Only one division in the immediate vicinity of a corps or army commander can receive orders from him and begin to implement them at once; all others must receive orders by messenger or aide-de-camp, which risk being delayed or failing to arrive altogether. Commanders should be limited to the historical number of aides-de-camp, and a record kept of their availability, perhaps by removing figures from a separate staff group at the player's elbow when messages or orders are sent and replacing them if and when the aides return. A Commander temporarily without aides will have no choice but to deliver vital orders in person, but will risk coming under fire as he ventures near the battle-line!

Battle games should be controlled by one or more umpires, who will move the divisions on a model terrain representing the entire battlefield, or on separate displays portraying different sectors, in accordance with simple movement rules, and dice throws to introduce the inevitable delays and confusions which von Clausewitz termed 'friction'. Players can only issue orders and watch the display to discover whether, and how well, those orders are being obeyed. Troops who are **Engaged** should be shrouded in cotton-wool 'powder-smoke' until such time as a decision is achieved.



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