

DEVELOPMENT: NAPOLEON'S COUNTERSTRIKE ORBAT

Coalition Attrition Prior to Dresden, August 15-25, 1813

Project: Determine unit strengths at Dresden
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Jack Gill has taken a fresh look at the Dresden Orbat and supplied us with copies of his work to use for Napoleon's Counterstrike. Overall, the mid-August Coalition strength was 240-250 k some days before the battle. We wanted good numbers for the actual battlefield force on August 26-27. Jack begins by describing his sources for his new OrBat.

Gill: Where I could draw on French archival records for Napoleon's forces (as indicated in the footnotes), I am reliant on secondary sources for the Allies.

- Horstenau, Edmund Glaise von. *Feldzug von Dresden*, vol. III, Vienna: Seidel & Sohn, 1913.
 - Friederich, Rudolf. *Geschichte des Herbstfeldzuges 1813*, vol. II, *Von der Schlacht bei Kulm bis zu den Kämpfen bei Leipzig*, Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1904. and
 - Bogdanovich, Modest Ivanovich. *Geschichte des Krieges im Jahre 1813 für Deutschlands Unabhängigkeit*, St. Petersburg: Hässel, 1865.
- Austrian figures are from **19 August**.
• Russian data is from approx. **9 August** (both Horstenau and Friederich rely on Bogdanovich).
• Prussian figures (Kleist) are from **late July**.

KZ: My best guess for attrition at this stage of the campaign is something like 0.9% per day during active operations, maybe half that during an administrative march, depending on forced march.



To check this I need to know the distance everybody moved prior to the battle... All the Coalition troops at the battle had to march around 9, 10 or 11 miles per day during the period between the parade states and the battle. Schwarzenberg's Right Wing had to march 130 km to reach the battlefield from Prague, departing on 19 August (7 days) = 18.5 km or 11.6 mi / day. Klenau's Left Wing had to march 100 km from Kadan, departing on 19 August (7 days) = 14.2 km or 9.9 mi. / day. Wittgenstein's Russians have to march about 235 km, already en route on 9 August = 13.8 km or 8.6 mi. / day. Kleist's II Corps and Konstantin's Reserve have to march 300 km in 17 days = 17.64 km or 11 mi / day. Kleist's parade states are older so they have to be reduced somewhat more.

Gill: Yes, I come up with similar figures looking at the Austrian maps from Glaise

von Horstenaу's history for 17 to 24 August. These marches get them to an arc from approximately Lippersdorf-Höckendorf-Rainholdshain-Dohna west to east with advance guards forward towards Dresden and Klenau considerably behind the left wing. So still some distance to go to reach Dresden proper.

More important than these fairly usual distances per day were ...

- (a) the rugged terrain
- (b) the wretched roads over the Erzgebirge
- (c) the rainy, rainy weather
- (d) the very poor logistical arrangements.

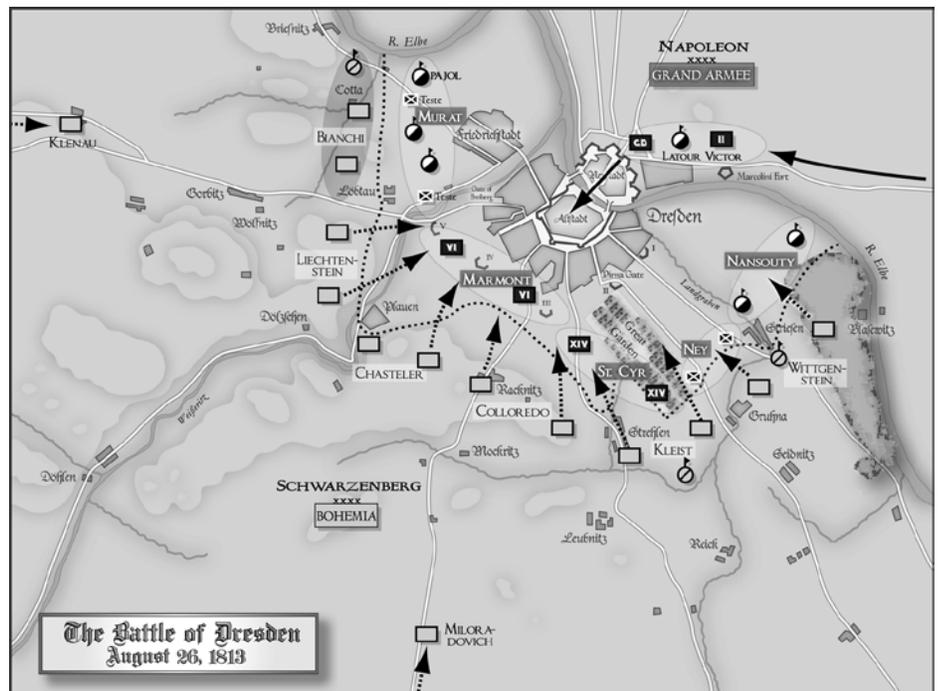
Austrian recruits were already going barefoot and the bread in their supply wagons often turned to mush—yum = plunder local citizenry). And from the evening of the 24th, Klenau still had 44 km or more to go to get to the battlefield. Austrian accounts of his march through the forests near Tharandt describe dreadful conditions (perhaps partially self-exculpatory, but real nonetheless...). Moreover, there were, of course, some skirmishes on the Allied right during these approach marches.

KZ: That is really great to know, it changes my thinking about the attrition. I assumed that during the march through Austrian territory they would be well-provisioned, so in terms of "APs" we are looking at a tough march indeed. One key question for me is Coalition losses at Dresden. Digby Smith says about 10,000 which is highly unlikely! (At least he says he doesn't know.) John Wladis wrote an article for OSG's Special Study Nr., 1 (p. 41) where he discusses the problem, and estimates 25,000 plus the pursuit. Do you have anything?

Do you have any thoughts about where the new conscripts were put? Or were they distributed evenly throughout the army? My purpose being to establish initiative ratings. What have you found on that score? I ran some test numbers just to get an idea of the ballpark attrition.

ATTRITION TEST NR. 1

Schwarzenberg Right Wing	61,436 - 56,521;
attrition of 4,915	
Klenau Left Wing	37,983 - 34,944;
attrition of 3,039	
Wittgenstein	34,926 - 29,338;
attrition of 5,588	
Kleist Pr. II Corps	37,800 - 31,752;
attrition of 6,048	
Konstantin Gde & Res	51,438 - 43,208;
attrition of 8,230	
Total	223,583 - 195,763;
attrition of 27,820 (12%)	



**I took the army totals from F.N. Maude, "The Leipzig Campaign," just because they were handy.*

At this point I got in touch with Chuck Siverstein, known via *Thursday Night Gamers...*

KZ: Chuck, I need to work out the attrition suffered by the Coalition army prior to the battle of Dresden, during which period it was mostly marching through friendly territory. I would like to know what losses the *Struggle of Nations* attrition system would show.

You will need to set up the game to the beginning of the Autumn Campaign, 15 August. (Some of the forces do not start marching until the 19th, see below for details.) Then run the first 5 turns of the game, up to the eve of Dresden on the 26th, keeping track of attrition (or just record the average attrition to be expected) on a force-by-force basis. Let me know what you come up with...

Chuck: In looking at Petre's chapter on the approach to Dresden, I can glean that Wittgenstein reached Hellendorf on August 22, where there was a skirmish. Looking at the *SoN* map, this would be a march of 22½ MPs over 8 days. After that date he was fighting the French and pushing them back into Dresden. Since he sets up with Barclay and Kleist I would assume for this game the entire force moves together as one.

21 August

While Napoleon was marching east against Blücher, Schwarzenberg pushed his newly-reinforced army northward into the Erz Gebirge, in four columns, from right to left as follows

I. Wittgenstein moved through the passes of Peterswald and Berggieshubel toward Königstein and Pirna.

II. Kleist seized Sayda, and supported Wittgenstein.

III. Hessen-Homburg advanced on Marienberg (1834-*Crossroads* map), led by his Avant Garde under M. Liechtenstein.

IV. Gyulai moved toward Annaburg (1433), followed by Klenau. Crenneville's 3rd Reserve Division moved toward Johstadt.

Schwarzenberg is described by Petre as 'slowly moving' on Dresden, and based on a map from Arnold's book *Napoleon: The Last Campaigns 1813-1815*, I am routing him through Kulm, which gives a march of 14 MP in 7 days (19-25 August).

Klenau's route is not clearly spelled out, but Petre mentions him as reaching Freiberg by August 25th, which is a march of 17 MP in 7 days. I assumed that Klenau will enter on the easternmost road from Carlsbad and Schwarzenberg on the road from Saaz that leads to Dux.

I also designated the entry road for Schwarzenberg as the Supply Source for the Army of Bohemia and Theriesienstadt for the Center of Ops. From there the three packages will be in Friendly Dispatch Distance until they march into Saxony.

The Wittgenstein/ Barclay/ Kleist package has to move 22 ½ MP over 4 game turns, that's 5 MP per turn more or less. Schwarzenberg will have to cover 14 MP in 4 turns, 5-3-3-3 MPs. Klenau has to reach his historical position in 4 game turns too, also 5-3-3-3.

What puts the AoB in a bind is that they'll be spending APs nearly every turn in order to issue movement commands to match this historical march rate. Starting with 21 APs, they will be spending 3 APs for Barclay over 4 turns and 2 APs for 3 turns. That's 18 APs spent, which would leave 3 AP by the time the battle turn begins. This is not counting whatever APs they get from rolling on the AP Pool. There's also the need to spend at least 1 AP turn for support to avoid 2 column shifts on the AQM.

I used the historical march timetable I gleaned from Petre, and I marched the Barclay-Wittgenstein-Kleist package to Hellendorf by the 22d where they started clashing with the French outposts and drove them to Dresden. All forces will be within Dispatch Distance during this whole march. To match the historical march times Barclay will move 5 MPs each turn.

I used a die rolling app to generate more random results.

The AP Pool, after support allocated support and MC costs, looked like this over the game:
15/16 August - **19 AP**. 17/18 August - **16 AP**
19/20 August - **14 AP**
21/22 August - **9 AP**. 23/24 August - **7 AP**.
25/26 August - **11 AP**

Total Losses for the Army of Bohemia-
48i and 6c.
Barclay 8i, Wittgenstein 10i, 3c. Kleist 14i,
1c, Schwarzenberg 7i, 2c Klenau 9i.

So here's what I got:

15/16 August. AP dr 4 for net 2 AP gain
for 19 AP after MC issued
1R column shift on AQM table
Barclay loses 3i, Wittgenstein loses 8i & 2c,
Kleist loses 2i.

17/18 August. AP dr 2 for net 3 AP gain for
19 AP after MCs issued
1R column shift on AQM table
Barclay loses 4i, Witt loses 1i, Kleist loses 4i
and 1c

19/20 August. AP dr 5 for 1 AP. No AP
gain for 14 AP after MCs issued
Barclay has no losses, Witt loses 4i and 1c,
Kleist loses 8i and 1 c
1R column shift on AQM
Schwarzenberg loses 2i and 1c, Klenau loses
4i.

21/22 August AP dr 6 no AP received AP
now 9 after MCs issued
@R column shift on AQT
Barclay loses 1i, Witt loses 4i and 1c, Kleist
loses 4i.
Schwarzenberg loses 1i, Klenau loses 2i.

23/24 August AP dr 6 no AP received. AP
now 7 after MCs issued.
2R column shift on AQT
Schwarzenberg loses 3i and 1c, Klenau loses
3i

25/26 August AP dr 1 for 5 AP net gain of 4
AP so now 11 APs after MCs issued

1R column shift on AQM
Schwarzenberg loses 1i, Klenau suffers no
losses.

These results gave a higher attrition rate
than expected, so I maneuvered at more
optimal rates for a second run through.

In looking at the OOB to see if some units
could be reassigned, I found I had
miscalculated Wittgenstein -He has 26i and
10c. I tried to march the units to match the
historical timeline.

Barclay, Wittgenstein and Kleist marched
from Muenchengraetz to Niemens, Gabel,
Zwickau, Teschen, and Kulm along primary
roads as much as possible, at a march rate of
3, 5, 3, 3, and 5 MP. This brings them up a
little short.

Schwarzenberg stayed at a march of 5, 3,
3, and 3 through Zinnwalde, Allenberg, and
then on the primary road NE to Dresden,
and Kleist was bumped to 5, 3, 3, and 5 to
keep pace marching through Anneburg,
Marienburg and then NE on the road to
Dresden.

Final body count was **30i** and **2c**
attrition: Barclay **5i**. Wittgenstein **10i, 1 c**.
Kleist **5i**. The last leg had to be made with
only 5AP available and Witt was unlucky on
that last die roll, losing **6i**.
Schwarzenberg **4i, 1c**. Klenau **6i**.

Having to push the forces to a 5MP rate,
which was necessary to try to keep the forces
starting from Muenchengraetz on time led to
most of the attrition loss. The Bohemian AP
pool also dwindled quickly from the need to
issue MC to all the forces.

It was clear that 3 MP per turn is the
ideal rate to minimize the risk for bad
attrition losses. Rolling for Initiative is
problematic, as Barclay with his 3 is the best
of the lot. Assuming the French start
Dresden at Morale +1 there is at best a 50%
chance of successfully moving an Allied force
other than Barclay by Initiative.

from OSG's Special Study 1 Attack from Bohemia

Schwarzenberg's original intention had been to march on Leipzig. His troops followed St. Cyr's columns retiring toward Dresden. In the evening, Schwarzenberg's columns headed into Dippoldiswalde and Freiberg. The right wing between Dippoldiswalde and Beerwalde, left wing in Waltersdorf, Kleist in Reinholdsheim, Wittgenstein before Königstein, Klenau moving toward Freiberg. General Roth's Division, part of Wittgen-

stein's advanced guard, but St. Cyr continued his retreat through Pirna.

Kleist's II Corps moved through 2431, the Austrians to 2233. Yermolov's 1st Guard Division arrived in Teplitz. Wittgenstein bivouacked in Pirna, Milesinov's cavalry had forged ahead to grab the Grosser Garten in the suburbs of Dresden.

24 August: Dresden

Small skirmishes flared in front of Dresden as Schwarzenberg, who had no inkling of the whereabouts of Napoleon, delayed his attack.



stein's advanced guard, encountered the French 43rd Division (Claparede) near Berggießhübel. Eugen's II Corps followed Roth, while Gorchakov's I Corps remained behind Peterswalde. Millesinov's Division of Pahlen III's cavalry followed behind the I Corps; the wooded slopes were not suitable for the deployment and maneuver of cavalry. When Wittgenstein began to turn the position, St. Cyr's 44th and 43rd Divisions and L'Heritier's cavalry withdrew in haste to Zehista, near Pirna. Pajol's cavalry had been detached to the west (2130); the 45th Division at 2529. Eugen's pursuit stopped at Torna,

25 August: The Heights of Racknitz

At nine in the morning the Tsar and the King of Prussia stood with their advisors on the heights, looking down on the weak French defenders, but Schwarzenberg insisted on waiting for his Austrian troops.

Wittgenstein detached the 3rd Russian Division in Zehista with General Helfreich. The remainder of the corps marched down the main road to Dresden. In the evening Wittgenstein came to Racknitz in person to request permission for a night assault. This was refused on Schwarzenberg's orders. Meanwhile the rest of the army was still

	LOCATION	DEPART	STR (1)	DISTANCE	ATTRIT	STR (2)	CHUCK'S TEST	AVERAGE
Schwazenberg	Prague	19-Aug	61436	130	4915	56521	Schwarzenberg 4,000i, 1,000c	5000
Klenau	Kadan	19-Aug	37983	100	3039	34944	Klenau 6,000	4500
Wittgenstein	en route		34926	235	5588	29338	Wittgenstein (reduced) 7,000i,	7300
Kleist			37800	300	6048	31752	Kleist 5,000	5500
Constantine			51438	300	8230	43208	Barclay 5,000	6500
TOTAL			223583		27820	195763	TOTAL 29,000	28800

filing through the exits from the mountains. Kleist advanced on the road to Maxen by Lockwitz toward Dresden. Coloredo's III Column headed by M. Liechtenstein advanced through Wendisch Carsdorf toward Kaitz. Chasteler's IV Column with Crenneville in advance moved through Rabenau and Coshütz. Bianchi in reserve reached Wendisch Carsdorf; Civalart brought up the ultimate reserve to Dippoldiswalde.

The Russian 1st Grenadier Division, the 2nd Guard Division, and the Guard Light Cavalry under Miloradovich reached Dippoldiswalde. Konstantine and Yermolov marched by the main route through Berggieshubel. Barclay occupied Leubnitz behind Kleist's right. Vandamme's positions astride the army's LOC through the mountains was of great concern. Wolf's brigade of Eugen's Corps attempted to burn the French bridges at Königstein, but the 42nd Division—Mouton-Duvernet's garrison—prevented this.

Later, on 22 August, these same forces clashed at Pirna, so combat losses will need to be deduced from our countermix on both sides of this action. Digby Smith lists as engaged, on the French side under St. Cyr, 9, 10, 11 and 12 I.R., one bn. each; 27, 45, 65, 95, 100, 103 I.R. as well as parts of the I Cav, III Cav, and IV Cav Corps.

Facing these, under Wittgenstein, the Murom, Reval, Tchernigov, Selenginsk I.R., 20, 21 J.R. Tobolsk, Volhynien, Krementschuh I.R., 4, 34 J.R., plus Hussars and Cossacks under general Millesinov. In a series of clashes allow 3-4,000 Russian infantry.

