

BARON FRANZ VON DER TRENCK AND HIS PANDOURS IN BRITISH NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyze the manner in which British newspapers portrayed Baron Franz von der Trenck, a German-speaking nobleman who owned estates in the Croatian region Slavonia, and his Pandours, irregular soldiers whom Trenck recruited in order to join the fight for the Habsburg cause in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). The images of these combatants will be compared with other primary sources, such as Baron Trenck's Memoirs and other secondary literature. As these combatants were mostly remembered for their extensive use of violent force during the mentioned war, the attempt will be to offer a possible explanation for such behavior by placing them within the context of eighteenth-century warfare.

Keywords: Baron Trenck, Pandours, War of the Austrian Succession, British newspapers, early modern warfare

IL BARONE FRANZ VON DER TRENCK E I SUOI PANDURI NEGLI ARTICOLI DEI GIORNALI BRITANNICI

SINTESI

L'intento del saggio è proporre un'analisi del modo con il quale i giornali britannici rappresentavano il barone Franz von der Trenck, nobile di origine prussiana che possedeva alcune terre croate nella regione della Slavonia, e i suoi panduri, soldati dell'esercito irregolare, che venivano reclutati da Trenck per combattere la causa asburgica nella Guerra di Successione Austriaca (1740–1748). Le immagini di quei combattenti verranno messe a confronto con altre fonti primarie, come per esempio le Memorie del Barone Trenck e la letteratura secondaria. Siccome la memoria dei panduri era legata soprattutto all'uso estensivo della violenza durante la menzionata guerra, il saggio tenterà di offrire una possibile spiegazione del loro comportamento, collocandolo nel contesto delle guerre del Settecento.

Parole chiave: Barone Trenck, panduri, Guerra di Successione Austriaca, giornali britannici, prime guerre moderne

BARON FRANZ VON DER TRENCK IN SOURCES, LITERATURE AND POPULAR CULTURE¹

For a long time the main source for exploring the life and deeds of the belligerent nobleman Baron Franz Seraphin von der Trenck (1711–1749), as well as the actions of his irregular military corps called the Pandours, was his biography which was first published in the spring of 1745 in Frankfurt and Leipzig.² The editor of this literal work stated that he composed it according to Trenck's own notes, which he mysteriously came by. Two years after that, the second, supplemented version of the work was published in Frankfurt and Leipzig, as well as the first English edition in London. In contrast to the first German edition, the editor of the English version emphasized the fact that it was an autobiography.³

In 1748 a third edition of Trenck's (auto)biography followed, which included the description of the court proceedings against him. Trenck's fame would reach its peak after 1787, when his biography was attached as an appendix to the memoirs of his equally adventurous Prussian cousin Friedrich Freiherr von der Trenck (1726–1794).⁴ Yet, it is important to bear in mind that with the growing number of editions describing Trenck's life and adventures, such as the Italian and French novels, the former published in 1754 and the latter in 1788, the image of the commander of the Pandours changed significantly, distancing itself from reality and developing a more fictitious character (Buczynski, 2015, 24–25, 74–75, 77–78, 94).

Croatian historians who analyzed the exploits of Baron Trenck and his Pandours, such as Ferdo Šišić, Stjepan Schmidt and Luka Ilić Oriovčanin, relied mostly on Trenck's biography. In their works Trenck is portrayed as a somewhat heroic figure, who may have displayed examples of a violent nature, but who nonetheless proved himself a valuable asset on the military field.

The images of Baron Trenck, either positive or negative, are still being developed in modern times. For instance, the memory of Trenck as a merciless and bloodthirsty feudal despot, along with his Pandours as his evil henchmen is being maintained through the festival *Trenck der Pandur vor Waldmünchen* which is being performed annually from 1950 onwards in the Bavarian small town Waldmünchen in the county of Cham (Pederin, 2001, 45–47). Aside from that negative personification of Baron Trenck, a more positive one can be found in the historical novel by Marko Tominac *Lika, Beč, Trenk*

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2 The full title of the piece: *Merkwürdiges Leben und Thaten des Welt-berühmten Herrn Francisci Freyherrn von der Trenck – Ihro Königlichen Majestät in Ungarn und Böhmen etc. etc. würcklicher Cammer-Herr; wie auch Obrister über ein Corpo Banduren und Slavonischer Husaren etc.*

3 Alexander Buczynski and Ivan Pederin claim that Baron Trenck was not the author of the *Memoirs*, but that they were composed by someone close to him, possibly a servant or his lawyer. Compare: Buczynski, 2015, 97; Pederin, 1977, 175–180.

4 The full title: *Des Freyherrn Friedrichs von der Trenck merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte. Von ihm selbst als ein Lehrbuch für Menschen geschrieben, die wirklich unglücklich sind, oder noch gute Vorbilder für alle Fälle zur Nachfolge bedürfen.*

ili bilo jednom 1746, published in 2012 which portrays Trenck as a heroic figure and a martyr (Tominac, 2012) and through the historical military squad *Trenkovi panduri*, which functions from 1997 and whose main goal is to celebrate the military exploits of Trenck's Pandours.

The aim of this paper is to review a different type of historical source which also reflects the military actions of Baron Trenck and his Pandours, namely, the contemporary British newspapers. The paper will compare the reports of Baron Trenck and his Pandours which can be found in the mentioned newspapers with the accounts from the English version of Trenck's *Memoirs* and other historical works. By analyzing the descriptions of this extraordinary military corps and its commander, the article will try to explain why they attained such a special place of interest and whether their style of warfare truly differed considerably from the actions of other contemporary combatants.

BARON FRANZ VON DER TRENCK: A PROFILE OF A BELLIGERENT NOBLEMAN

If one glances into the first pages of Trenck's *Memoirs*, he or she may notice that from the very beginning of his life Baron Trenck displayed signs of devotion towards the military trade (*Memoirs*, 1747, 2–8). Trenck was following in the footsteps of his father, Baron Johann von der Trenck, who began his military career in the Prussian service, but after the relief of the siege of Vienna in 1683 converted to Catholicism and entered the service of the Habsburg rulers. In 1727, Franz von der Trenck began his military career at the age of 16 when he became an ensign in the regiment of the Palatine Miklós IX Pálffy (1714–1732) (Pavičić, 2009, 125–126; Preradovich, 1980, 23–24). After five years, on the request of his father who then lost the second of his three sons, Trenck agreed to devote his life to family and estates in Slavonia. However, after the death of his wife and four children in 1737,⁵ Trenck once again pursued his initial life goal. The opportunity to distinguish himself on the battlefield presented itself that same year, when the Habsburg Monarchy, as an ally of the Russian Empire, was obliged to join in the fight against the Ottoman Empire. Trenck presented an offer to form a band of volunteers with which he intended to invade Ottoman Bosnia, but was refused by the Habsburg military authorities. He then decided to offer his military services to the Russian Empress Anna (1730–1740) and departed to present day Ukraine (*Memoirs*, 1747, 24, 31; Šišić, 1896, 87).

Baron Trenck did not achieve the anticipated glory during his Russian service. Furthermore, in 1739 he found himself awaiting execution in a Russian prison only to be unexpectedly pardoned at the last moment. His death sentence was replaced with six months of forced labor on the reparations of Russian fortifications which was followed by a dishonorable discharge from the Russian army. The main cause for this kind of outcome

5 Šišić claims that Trenck's wife and children died of plague, while the causes of their deaths are not mentioned in the *Memoirs*. However, according to Robert Skenderović the town of Požega and the surrounding region, in which Trenck's estates were situated, were affected by plague from spring of 1739 until the beginning of 1740. This means that Šišić's claim might be incorrect and that the cause of death was something else. Compare: Šišić, 1896, 87; *Memoirs*, 1747, 14, 42; Skenderović, 2003, 157–170.

was due to Trenck's frequent signs of insubordination towards his superior officers, as well as multiple duels (Memoirs, 1747, 31–33, 37–39; Pavičić, 2009, 126; Šišić, 1994, 192–193). It is important to note that during his earlier military service, Trenck displayed similar patterns of behavior (Preradovich, 1980, 24).

Interestingly, Trenck's *Memoirs* are abundant with stories of his love affairs and duels which often seem to have presented a serious obstacle for his military career (Memoirs, 1747, 9–14, 17–23, 25–26). These characteristics would certainly not be appealing to Trenck's sovereign Maria Theresa (1740–1780) who prescribed special rules of conduct for officers who wished to progress in their careers.⁶ On the other hand, many Croatian historians stress the fact that it was precisely the violent and cruel nature which Baron Trenck displayed that enabled him to achieve so many victories for the Habsburgs during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) (Buczynski, 2015, 99–100; Šišić, 1896, 192–193). Indeed, the evolution of warfare during the eighteenth century put more emphasis on the soldiers' discipline in order to make them less prone to mutiny, desertion, pillage and rape, as well as more efficient on the battlefield (Ruff, 2001, 62–63). Yet, this transformation could only be accomplished by implementation of strict and harsh rules which were enforced by the officers.

However, it is also noteworthy that beside the violent features of Trenck's persona, authors as Luka Ilić Oriovčanin and Stjepan Schmidt, also mention Trenck's good heartedness towards his peasants inhabiting his Slavonian estates. According to those authors, Trenck was favored by his peasants because he supplied them with provisions in times of famine and provided protection from bandits roaming the forests of Slavonia (Ilić Oriovčanin, 1845, 33–34; Schmidt, 1900, 10, 13).

Naturally, in the process of exterminating the bandit threat Trenck often had to resort to violent measures which sometimes encouraged him to overstep the boundaries of the conduct tolerated by the authorities. It seems that it was because of such an incident, when Trenck pursued a bandit across state boundaries and killed him on Ottoman soil, that he was called to answer for his crimes at the court in Osijek. Instead, Trenck decided to flee to Vienna and offer his military services to Maria Theresa. The Habsburg ruler, being recently involved in a bitter conflict with various European monarchs,⁷ eagerly accepted any offer of military support (Memoirs, 1747, 47–53; Schmidt, 1900, 13–14).

TRENCK'S PANDOURS

Baron Trenck recruited about a thousand volunteers that comprised a *Freikorps* which was to be put at the Queen's disposal. Most of the recruits were levied from the Slavonian and Syrmian districts. Trenck supposedly covered the expenses of the equipment for the

6 Maria Theresa stressed the importance of promoting Christian values. Thus, she imposed strict rules with the aim of limiting the primitive manifestations of male competitiveness in the form of duels. Furthermore, she endeavored to regulate the sexual rules by imposing matrimonial regulations on the noblemen and forbidding them to visit brothels and carry on love affairs (Barker, 1982, 144).

7 For more information regarding the gathering of the political powers with the intent of dividing the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy after the death of Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740) see: Browning, 1994, 37–51.



Fig. 1: Illustration of Baron Trenck in the third edition of his memoirs from 1748.

men which were drawn from his own estates, while the expenses of others were covered by the Crown, the Kingdom of Croatia and individual landlords (Pavičić, 2009, 127–128).

The term *Pandour* had different meanings. According to Šišić and Pederin, the word derived from the medieval *banderium*, which signified the armed escort of a nobleman (Šišić, 1994, 73; Pederin, 1989, 28–29). In Venetian Dalmatia, the term was used to denote local militiamen which the Venetian authorities recruited and assigned them the task of pursuing bandits roaming the countryside (Fortis, 1984, 37; Perićić, 1999, 206–208). However, it is interesting to observe that the traveler Balthasar Hacquet (1739–1815), who visited the Croatian regions in the second half of the eighteenth century, stressed the negative connotations of the above-mentioned term. He explained that it became a synonym for murderers and robbers under the command of Baron Trenck and Johann Daniel von Menzel (1698–1744). These commanders allowed them to perform various kinds of atrocities in order to share the spoils of war with them, according to Hacquet (Hacquet, 2008, 79). The Prussian monarch Friedrich II (1740–1786) also attached negative paraphrases to the Pandours, referring to them as *barbarians* and *bandits* (Russell, 1978, 631). Although these negative connotations may suggest that the Pandours were indeed violent soldiers, it may also point to the fact that they were actually quite successful in executing the military tasks of crippling the enemy's supply lines.

The Pandours may have initially been designed to be Trenck's personal guards, but their relationship did not necessarily imply unconditional loyalty and respect. Trenck's *Memoirs* include certain tales in which the Pandours were portrayed as Trenck's saviors and loyal combatants. There is an account about an incident in the Slavonian town of Našice in 1734 when Treck was robbed at the town fair. He and his Pandours fought against the members of the local community who had concealed the perpetrator and against the local militiamen sent to intervene (*Memoirs*, 1747, 15–16.). On the other hand, Schmidt mentions another tale, not included in the earlier version of the *Memoirs*, which puts the alleged loyalty of the Pandours towards their liege under question. He describes an attempt by the Pandours, who were unsatisfied with Trenck's relentless pursuit of bandits, to murder him (Schmidt, 1900, 6).

It can be assumed that during the War of the Austrian Succession Baron Trenck was also forced to find various ways to motivate his men to participate in military endeavors, but also ways to restrain their behavior when it was becoming too calamitous.⁸ In the former case the promise of a rich booty was probably Trenck's best choice, while in the latter he had to resort to violent measures, such as execution (Šišić, 1994, 126).⁹

Another factor which may have contributed to tense relations between Baron Trenck and the Pandours refers to their recruitment. Although this military corps was officially comprised of volunteers, Trenck often resorted to violent measures in order to ensure the

8 An example can be provided by the case of the assault on München by the Habsburg forces in 1742, during which the Pandours were prevented from charging the city walls by Trenck, who assumed that their actions would cause great civilian casualties (*Memoirs*, 1747, 75–76; Šišić, 1994, 107–108).

9 In 1741, Baron Trenck lost the command over the Pandours in favor of Johann von Menzel. However, the Pandours were apparently not inclined to the new commander, so Field marshal Ludwig Andreas Khevenhüller (1737–1744) reinstituted Trenck so as to prevent the Pandours from starting a rebellion (Basset, 2016, 94).

sufficient number of *volunteers*. In other words, he often filled the ranks of his corps with captured bandits (Zakošek, 2007, 349–350), but also forced other commoners to join, which, ironically, actually increased the number of men that were leaving the land and joining the bandit bands (Herman Kaurić, 2004, 120).

One of the main features of the Pandour corps was their peculiar garments and arms. Besides their recognizable red cloaks, authors mention various oriental features: blue *shalwars*, Turkish boots, (Buczynski & Čoralić, 2013, 153), Turkish weapons, including pistols and long knives, a banner with a horse's tail and Turkish musical instruments (Schmidt, 1900, 16; Šišić, 1896, 89).¹⁰ There are various explanations for the choice of these kinds of garments and armaments. For instance, easier accessibility and cheapness could be listed among the most obvious reasons.¹¹ Another explanation can be found in the fact that Baron Trenck displayed his admiration towards the Tatar horsemen he encountered during his service in the Russian army (Memoirs, 1747, 31). The military advantages should certainly be taken into consideration, since this kind of attire aroused fear among enemy soldiers (Aralica & Aralica, 1996, 126–128) and at the same time made desertion more difficult (Lynn, 2003, 116–118). Another consideration may be taken into account, namely, the popularity of Turkish culture (*turquerie*) among the eighteenth-century aristocrats. European elites, including Maria Theresa, dressed *alla turca* during masquerades and adopted the double role of the Ottoman music band (*mehter*) – the military and the ceremonial (Pfeifer & Bevilacqua, 2013, 77–78, 80, 85, 98–100, 107).

BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

The first newspaper to Baron Trenck was the Austrian *Wienerisches Diarium* in May of 1741. The article in the newspaper described the appearance of Baron Trenck and his extraordinary band of soldiers before Queen Maria Theresa in front of the palace Favoritenhof, the summer residence of the Habsburgs in Vienna. The article displayed most interest for the *Turkish* musical instruments which the Pandours possessed, namely, the drums and cymbals (Buczynski, 2015, 27). Besides the Austrians newspapers, other newspapers which were published in German speaking areas, such as *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unparteyischen Correspondenten*, *Frankfurtische Gelehrte Zeitungen*, *Genealogisch-Historische Nachrichten*, *Europäischer Staats-Secretarius* and *Neue Europäische Fama* also reported on Trenck's military activities, but to a much lesser extent than in the Austrian newspapers (Buczynski, 2015, 28–29).

Surprisingly, the Dutch newspapers *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, *Amsterdamse Courant*, *Hollandsche Historische Courant* and others showed a considerable deal of interest

10 Šišić and Slavko Pavičić claim that in 1744 the Pandours wore green cloaks, while only their hoods were either red or yellow. Compare: Pavičić, 2009, 133; Šišić, 1994, 132. For information regarding the physical appearance of the Pandours see also: Hollins, 2005, 5.

11 Pederin claims that the inhabitants of the rural parts of the Croatian lands in the eighteenth century accepted the Oriental style of dressing rather than the Western (Pederin, 1977, 199). Furthermore, Marija Šercer explains that the armaments of regular and irregular soldiers, as well as bandits, inhabiting the same lands were manufactured in Bosnian workshops up to the mid-eighteenth century (Šercer, 1993, 212–213).

for the exploits of the Pandours and their leader (Buczynski, 2015, 29–30). A similar case can be witnessed in Great Britain. News about Trenck and his Pandours were published in the prominent London newspapers *The London Gazette*, *The St. James's Evening Post* and *The London Evening Post*. It is noteworthy that even the provincial newspapers, such as *The Derby Mercury*, *The Newcastle Courant*, *The Caledonian Mercury*, *The Ipswich Journal*, *The Stamford Mercury* and *The Scots Magazine*, also transmitted reports concerning Trenck from the London newspapers (Buczynski, 2015, 30). Tales about these extraordinary combatants did not only circulate on European soil, but reached the British colonies as well. For instance, in May of 1742 news about Trenck's victory over the Bavarians at Mainburg were published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, whose editor was the none other than Benjamin Franklin (Buczynski, 2015, 31).

The reason why British newspapers showed such interest for Baron Trenck and his Pandours should not solely be based on the fact that Great Britain was the Habsburg ally, especially because it was not earlier than 1743 that the British joined the Habsburg cause.¹² Another reason why British newspapers displayed such interest for the Pandours is possibly because of their revolutionary style of warfare, namely, the appliance of guerrilla tactics. Furthermore, the activities of irregular units in general, such as Highlanders, French *Grassins* and Pandours, was one of the more interesting topics which filled the pages of British newspapers. One might say that tales of the Pandours' successful enterprises which were often rewarded with immense quantities of booty were appealing to people engaged in a similar trade. For instance, records from the second half of the eighteenth century show that a privateer labeled *Pandour* was present in Jamaica (Russell, 1978, 640–641). Besides the tales of riches obtained during military undertakings, the readers of the eighteenth century were drawn by descriptions of violent behavior, which included murders, rapes and pillaging (Ruff, 2001, 27, 39) or in other words, traits which were usually attributed to soldiers, especially irregular ones.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, journalism achieved a considerable development and expansion in Great Britain. At that time, there were eighteen newspapers being published in London alone, while forty newspapers were recorded in the provinces. Regarding the circulation of newspapers, there were about 100,000 copies printed in London and about 9.4 million in the whole country (Barker, 2000, 29–31). In the course of the eighteenth century British readership became more numerous and more socially diverse. Even illiteracy did not present an obstacle for groups of individuals to familiarize themselves with the latest news. As a common practice, newspaper articles were often read aloud in private homes or public places, such as pubs, coffee houses, stores and reading rooms (Barker, 2000, 63).

The main source of information about the events on the Continent was the official government newspaper, *The Gazette*, which published foreign diplomatic and war reports, as well as accounts by soldiers and officers. These reports were supplemented by articles

12 In 1741, the British monarch George II (1727–1760), who was also the elector of Hannover, promised to support the Elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert (1726–1745), in his claim for the imperial crown (Hochedlinger, 2003, 249–252).

from foreign newspapers and letters from merchants and travelers. Because of the great distances and difficulties in communication, news might not always be entirely true or up to date, but what is remarkable is the high degree of objectivity which British newspapers possessed. For instance, when reporting on affairs concerning warfare, the courage and heroism of enemy troops, such as the French, British newspapers often included words of praise (Barker, 2000, 105–106).

REPORTS ON BARON TRENCK IN BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

As opposed to the *Memoirs*, in which the reader may occasionally encounter tales which described Trenck's violent nature, such descriptions are not included in British newspapers, at least when they were describing Trenck's activities during the War of the Austrian Succession. In that respect, a positive personification of Trenck is almost prevalent. He is often referred to as a *gentleman*, and probably as such he was perceived as incapable of violent behavior. A physical description of Trenck appears in an article published from 1743. He is described as *a tall Man, extremely well shaped, and endow'd with an extraordinary Strength of Body*, but also a man admired for his politeness and other merits (The Derby Mercury, 6. 10. 1743 (OS)¹³, 2).

During the years 1742 and 1743 the newspapers were informing on Trenck's successful military actions, which included gathering forage and collecting war contributions¹⁴ from the French inhabitants of Alsace (The Derby Mercury, 7. 10. 1742 (OS), 1; The Ipswich Journal, 24. 9. 1743 (OS), 2; The Caledonian Mercury, 26. 9. 1743 (OS), 1). Fulfillment of these tasks was crucial for sustaining the Habsburg armed forces and preventing the soldiers from deserting and harassing the peasant populations. It seems that Baron Trenck was quite successful in accomplishing the prescribed tasks.¹⁵

The newspapers also contain reports which suggest that Trenck made efforts to protect his men. In the Autumn of 1743 *The Newcastle Courant* published a letter from a British eyewitness in the army of Prince Charles of Lorraine (1712–1780), the field marshal of the Habsburg army. The eyewitness informs that during the planned crossing of the Habsburg army over the Rhine near Old Brisac¹⁶, a quarrel broke out between Baron Trenck and another Habsburg commander named Königseg¹⁷. The main reason for the quarrel was that neither Trenck was willing to sacrifice his Pandours nor Königseg his grenadiers for the mission of assaulting the bridgehead (The Newcastle Courant, 8. 10. 1743 (OS), 1).

13 The dates in the British newspapers are written in the "Old Style" (OS). After the Gregorian reform, Great Britain continued to use the Julian calendar until 1752, when it switched to the reformed calendar.

14 In order to limit the soldiers' need to pillage, the contribution system was introduced, which signified that armies were allowed to extract regular payments in money or kind from a certain region under threat of force. However, such arrangements, even though they were designed to safeguard the region from the violence of soldiers, could not entirely fulfill the prescribed task (Ruff, 2001, 44).

15 *The Caledonian Mercury* reports that by way of contribution, Trenck collected the amount of 220,000 florins, from the intended amount of a million florins (The Caledonian Mercury, 25. 8. 1743 (OS), 1).

16 Present-day Breisach in Baden-Württemberg, Germany.

17 The name probably refers to Christian Moritz von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1705–1778).

One of Trenck's most significant contributions, according to the newspaper reports, was enabling the Habsburg army to cross the Rhine into French territory. Baron Trenck used boats to cross to the other side of the river and repelled French attacks while the bridge over which the Habsburg army would cross was being repaired (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 5. 7. 1744 (OS), 1–2). *The Scots Magazine* emphasizes Trenck's fearlessness, informing that it was he who first jumped out of the boat and charged towards the enemy (*The Scots Magazine*, 1. 6. 1744 (OS), 42). *The Derby Mercury* also praised Trenck's endeavors, expecting that the passage of Habsburg troops into French territory will turn the tide of the war in their favor (*The Derby Mercury*, 29. 6. 1744 (OS), 4).

The course of the war did indeed change, but not in the direction that the British anticipated. Once again Friedrich II declared war on the Habsburgs and invaded Bohemia. With this unexpected development of affairs, the Habsburg army was forced to abandon the Rhineland and defend its possessions against the Prussians. It was in this phase of war that Trenck reached the peak of his career and popularity. British newspapers followed his exploits with great interest. In Autumn of 1744 Trenck captured the Bohemian town Budweis¹⁸. The newspapers report that on this occasion Trenck refused the offer of the town's surrender, given by the defending Prussian commander, because an assault on the city offered the opportunity of turning the defenders into prisoners. Trenck's prisoners numbered about a thousand, including the commander and a large number of sick persons (*The Derby Mercury*, 26. 10. 1744 (OS), 4; *The Derby Mercury*, 26. 10. 1744 (OS), 2). Soon afterwards, Trenck applied a similar approach during the siege of Frauenburg¹⁹, which resulted in the capture of 250 defenders (*The Derby Mercury*, 26. 10. 1744 (OS), 4; *The Caledonian Mercury*, 12. 11. 1744 (OS), 1).

In 1745, Trenck was also successful in the Silesian theater of war. According to the articles in the newspapers, in the summer of that year Trenck was victorious over the Prussian forces at Neustadt and Hotzenplotz, which cost the Prussians considerable losses in manpower and material (*The Derby Mercury*, 19. 7. 1745 (OS), 4; *The Derby Mercury*, 2. 8. 1745 (OS), 3). It was at that time that Trenck reached the high point of his military career. Already earlier Trenck earned the favor of Field marshal Khevenhüller who in 1744 recommended that Trenck be promoted to the rank of colonel, which Maria Theresa approved (*Memoirs*, 1747, 83–84). Upon Trenck's plea, she also transformed Trenck's Pandour *Freikorps* into a regular infantry regiment in March of 1745 (Buczynski, 2015, 14).

Trenck's success on the battlefield and ascent in the military hierarchy can certainly be explained by his heroic deeds. Yet, British newspapers reveal another side of the path to success, beside his personal courage and ambitiousness. In the mentioned conflicts with the Prussian troops, the newspaper articles also point to some high losses among Trenck's own troops. It seems that Trenck's eagerness to please his superior officers came at the cost of his willingness to sacrifice the lives of his men in the attempt to accomplish his goals, which represents a significant difference from the earlier phase of the war. An

18 Present-day České Budějovice in the Czech Republic.

19 Present-day Hluboká nad Vltavou in the Czech Republic.

example of Trenck's overambitious nature can be noticed in an article published in 1744. The article explains that Field marshal Charles of Lorraine refused Trenck's request of 6000 reinforcements with which Trenck would attempt to recapture Prague. The Habsburg Field marshal dreaded the high number of casualties that this endeavor would probably cost (The Derby Mercury, 9. 11. 1744 (OS), 3).

THE CAPTURE OF CHAM

An event concerning Baron Trenck and his Pandours which attracted the most attention in British newspapers was the capture of the Bavarian town of Cham, located near the Bohemian border. In September of 1742, Baron Trenck appeared before the fortified town with an army of about 700 men, including four regular Hungarian infantry companies and 140 Pandours, as well as two cannons. Cham was defended by 700 Bavarian soldiers and 10 cannons under the command of Colonel Joseph Franz Ignaz Count Künigl. The attack on the city began when the Pandours set fire to the suburbs. This was followed by firing flaming cannon balls which hit a few houses inside the city walls causing the fire to spread more rapidly. The citizens panicked and opened the gates after which the Pandours rushed into the city pillaging its remains and killing everyone they encountered, while Trenck was helplessly trying to restrain them (Buczynski, 2015, 31–32).

Although most reports about Trenck and the Pandours coincided with one another in various British newspapers, the case regarding Cham presented an exemption. *The Derby Mercury*, for instance, approved Trenck's methods of capturing the town. The articles published in this newspapers stresses that the defenders and their commander were in fact violating the agreement given earlier that same year following the capitulation of Linz. There, they were offered a safe passage from the besieged city upon the promise that they would not raise arms against the forces of Maria Theresa for the remainder of the year. After reminding them of their oath, Trenck demanded the surrender of the town. However, the commander was delaying his decision, and in the meantime the defenders even shot two of the Pandours. This gave the besiegers a justifiable cause for an assault on the city. Furthermore, the article explains that after the fall of Cham, the captured soldiers were offered a pardon from Trenck if they were to enlist in the service of the Queen, which the captured Bavarians joyfully accepted. In Trenck's report to his superior officers, which is also attached to the newspaper article, readers are informed that a significant amount of booty was distributed among Trenck, his officers and the Pandours, as well as that Trenck commended the behavior of his men (The Derby Mercury, 23. 9. 1742 (OS), 3–4; The Derby Mercury, 30. 9. 1742 (OS), 3).

A similar account was conveyed in the *Ipswich Journal* (The Ipswich Journal, 25. 9. 1742 (OS), 2), while *The Caledonian Mercury* offers a slightly different interpretation. This Scottish newspaper reports that Baron Trenck *pretends, that this Corps is Part of the Garrison of Lintz and that it has violated the Capitulation, whereby it was stipulated that none of that Garrison should serve for a Year to come*. There is no word of Trenck generous offer of pardon to the captured Bavarians, yet it is stated that they

were sent to trial in Vienna. As is the case in other British newspapers, the information regarding the immense amount of booty is provided (The Caledonian Mercury, 28. 9. 1742 (OS), 1–2).

The capture of Cham left a considerably negative mark on Trenck's image, especially in Bavaria. However, although the event was accompanied by atrocities performed by Trenck's troops, it is important to bear in mind that it was actually a practice which was common to early modern warfare. British newspapers inform of a similar fate which awaited Neuburg²⁰ shortly after (The Ipswich Journal, 13. 11. 1742 (OS), 3; The Caledonian Mercury, 16. 11. 1742 (OS), 1). According to contemporary rules of siege warfare the defenders were usually given the opportunity to surrender. In the case of their refusal, the attackers were not obliged to show any mercy while assaulting the city (Lynn, 2003, 133–136).²¹ Furthermore, Buczynski claims that the fate of Cham was not used in any of the later trials against Trenck for his violent conduct and that the Habsburg commanders used this example to frighten other Bavarian towns and persuade them to surrender (Buczynski, 2015, 36–37).

THE PANDOURS IN BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

As opposed to the descriptions of Baron Trenck, for whom British newspapers mostly had words of praise regarding his military actions, the images of the Pandours are interwoven between positive and negative portrayals. When the newspapers first started reporting on the Pandours, the main concern was their frightful appearance. In 1742, *The Newcastle Courant* and *The Derby Mercury* published an article which describes the entrance of a band of irregulars, including the Pandours, into the Bavarian suburb Stads-Am-Hof and adjacent villages. The articles states: *Most of them are cover'd with Skin of Bears, Wolves, and the Wild Beasts. Their Arms are Musket, a very broad Scimitar, a sort of Knife made like a Bayonet, and a very heavy Club. After they had pillaged all the Houses and Convents, they departed* (The Newcastle Courant, 27. 3. 1742 (OS), 2; The Derby Mercury, 1. 4. 1742 (OS), 2). A similar tale was transmitted in 1744 by a British soldier who found himself in the camp of Prince Charles of Lorraine at Necker-Ulm. He described how the Pandours and other irregulars situated in the camp made a terrible appearance with their unusual dresses and unpleasant looks. The wild character of these soldiers is further illustrated by their merciless conduct towards their French foes, whose severed heads they keep as war trophies. Yet, the same eyewitness also expressed admiration for their strength and endurance after observing their games and exercises (The Derby Mercury, 1. 6. 1744 (OS), 4).

Besides presenting a frightful appearance, another factor which may have made the tales about the Pandours interesting to British readers could have been their frequent

20 Present-day Neunburg vorm Wald in Bavaria, Germany.

21 Interestingly, the same rule concerning siege warfare is included in the pedagogical textbook *Orbis Pictus* written by Jan Amos Komensky (1592–1670) and published in 1658, which continued to be in use during the eighteenth century (Joh. Amos Comenii, 1728, 181).

engagements with the French. An article in *The Stamford Mercury* explains that the French reinforcements which were supposed to help the relief of Prague dreaded the very mention of the name *Pandour* or *Croat* (*The Stamford Mercury*, 12. 8. 1742 (OS), 2). Stories of the merciless engagements between the French and the Pandours, such as the one at Gernersheim in 1744 (*The Derby Mercury*, 22. 6. 1744 (OS), 3) seem to have been particularly interesting for the readers.

However, positive descriptions of the Pandours can also be found in British newspapers. For instance, in an article from 1743 they are portrayed as honorable warriors. The article informs that a thousand Pandours reached Breisgau²² and offered to expose themselves to any kind of danger in order to redeem themselves for an unknown crime they committed (*The Newcastle Courant*, 30. 6. 1744 (OS), 1). A report from Mannheim describes the Pandours as the protectors of local peasants from French aggression. According to the report, the peasants look upon them as their deliverers, bestow them with money for their sustenance and live with them in complete harmony (*The Derby Mercury*, 28. 7. 1743 (OS), 1). A letter from Basil praises the civility and the kindness of the Pandours and attests that the Pandours show their fury only in battles (*The Derby Mercury*, 6. 10. 1743 (OS), 2). It seems that during the course of time a sort of comprehension and justification for the acts of the Pandours had developed. For instance, their slaughter of the French garrison of the fort Saverne in Alsace in the Summer of 1744 was justified by the fact that it was an act of reprisal for the slaughter of the Hungarian garrison of Weissenberg, which the French committed earlier that year (*The Newcastle Courant*, 18. 8. 1744 (OS), 1).

On the basis of information provided by the British newspapers, it is possible to distinguish the military tasks assigned to the Pandours. During the earlier years, the reports focus on their raids in Bavaria and the Rhineland-Palatinate (*The Stamford Mercury*, 21. 1. 1742 (OS), 1; *The Derby Mercury*, 20. 5. 1742 (OS), 3; *The Derby Mercury*, 11. 8. 1743 (OS), 3), their assaults on enemy grain stores (*The Ipswich Journal*, 23. 7. 1743 (OS), 3), the collection of war contributions in Alsace (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 29. 8. 1743 (OS), 1; *The Caledonian Mercury*, 23. 8. 1743 (OS), 2; *The Derby Mercury*, 18. 8. 1743 (OS), 1; *The Derby Mercury*, 18. 8. 1743 (OS), 3–4; *The Newcastle Courant*, 20. 8. 1743 (OS), 2; *The Newcastle Courant*, 20. 8. 1743 (OS), 2; *The Derby Mercury*, 18. 8. 1743 (OS), 1–4; *The Caledonian Mercury*, 25. 8. 1743 (OS), 1) and the harassment of enemy forces (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 29. 9. 1741 (OS), 2). Besides Baron Trenck, the newspapers mention other Habsburg commanders, such as Johann Leopold Bernklau zu Schönreith (*The Stamford Mercury*, 4. 3. 1742 (OS), 3; *The Stamford Mercury*, 30. 9. 1742 (OS), 2), Miklós Pálffy ab Erdöd, Franz Leopold Nádasdy-Fogáras and Johann Daniel Menzel (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 5. 10. 1742 (OS), 2) who were commanding the Pandours in these endeavors. The preceding examples suggest that the Pandours were the most suitable unit able to perform these types of military tasks, as well as the fact that these operations provided the opportunity of gaining booty, which could be interpreted as an important motivational factor.

22 Probably present-day Freiburg im Breisgau in Baden-Württemberg, Germany.

The tasks performed by the Pandours may seem as dishonorable and deceitful, yet they were actually an integral part of the strategy characteristic for early modern warfare. Raids, which aimed at weakening the opposite side and eventually force it to surrender, were performed by other troops as well. For instance, the newspapers mention raids in Bavaria performed by the Austrian hussars (The Caledonian Mercury, 18. 8. 1743 (OS), 2; The Ipswich Journal, 23. 1. 1742 (OS), 2). Moreover, Prussians hussars, labeled *Death and Destruction* in British newspapers, were notorious for the devastation inflicted on the Bohemian lands (The Derby Mercury, 15. 3. 1745 (OS), 2; The Derby Mercury, 27. 8. 1741 (OS), 1; The Caledonian Mercury, 29. 10. 1744 (OS), 1), and the French regular soldiers supposedly performed much worse atrocities in Bavaria than did the Pandours (The Stamford Mercury, 30. 9. 1742 (OS), 4; The Newcastle Courant, 4. 12. 1742 (OS), 1).

Although the Pandours with their *exotic* appearance and guerilla style of warfare²³ presented something different and unusual to Western observers, perhaps it was not their own intent to create a notorious reputation. It may have been also partly due to the efforts of the Habsburgs commanders, who recognized the military advantage of the peculiarity of these types of troops, and decided to employ it for military purposes. In autumn of 1743 a report from Frankfurt explains that when the Habsburg army was preparing its winter quarters, the Pandours and other irregulars were posted along the Rhine so as to incite them to venture into French territory and keep the enemy constantly alert during the whole winter (The Newcastle Courant, 15. 10. 1743 (OS), 2; The Derby Mercury, 13. 10. 1743 (OS), 3). The Habsburg commander also used the Pandours' reputation as a threat to extort contributions from the civil populace (The Newcastle Courant, 24. 7. 1742 (OS), 1).

The reports in British newspapers also offer an opportunity to question the degree of control which the Habsburg commanders had over the Pandours. Trenck himself was forced to employ means of cruel punishment in order to keep his Pandours disciplined.²⁴ An article from *The Derby Mercury* describes how the Habsburg commander Nádasdy was unable to prevent the Pandours from slaughtering the French soldiers, who in 1742 helplessly sought refuge in the sanctuaries of the Bohemian town of Kaaden (The Derby Mercury, 28. 10. 1742 (OS), 3). Another example which testifies to the high degree of self-will among the Pandours was the issue of desertion. In autumn of 1743 the newspapers mention two cases, in Ingolstadt and Freiburg

23 Guerilla style of warfare which the Pandours practiced may had been perceived as a dishonorable type of combat by the contemporaries who cherished perseverance and exposure to enemy volleys. An article in *The Caledonian Mercury* describes an account in which the Pandours did not receive the French volleys standing on their feet, but lying down on the ground, after which they returned the volley and charged the enemy with swords in their hands (The Caledonian Mercury, 29. 8. 1743. (OS), 1). This example represents a contrast to the tale given by Voltaire about the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745, when the British officers supposedly invited the French to fire first, to which the French officers refused and insisted that the British fire first. Although it is probably fictitious, the account nevertheless reveals the appreciation for the virtue of forbearance, which was especially praised during the Enlightenment (Lynn, 2003, 114–115).

24 In 1741, when they were stationed in Silesia, the Pandours got drunk and shot two merchants who were in Trenck's custody. He reacted by having the two offenders beheaded (Memoirs, 1747, 55).

im Breisgau, in which the Pandours, regarding that they fulfilled the agreed term of their service, decided to return to their homeland. In both cases, other Habsburg troops were sent to prevent them from leaving which led to an armed conflict (The Ipswich Journal, 15. 10. 1743 (OS), 3; The Derby Mercury, 20. 10. 1743 (OS), 4; The Caledonian Mercury, 5. 12. 1743 (OS), 3).

The advantages of the Pandours as military troops were soon recognized by other states as well. In 1744, an article from the *Caledonian Mercury* revealed the incredible plan according to which Great Britain would offer subsidies to Maria Theresa in order for her to recruit 100,000 men, including *Croats, Hungarians, Pandours, Lycadians, Waras-dins, & c.* These men would invade the French provinces, while the English and Dutch fleets would fight the Spaniards and French on sea (The Caledonian Mercury, 23. 7. 1744 (OS), 2). The appearance of these *exotic* troops also inspired the French to present their own extraordinary soldiers, such as the Polish Uhlans and Scottish Highlanders, on the military stage (The Newcastle Courant, 9. 4. 1743 (OS), 2). A report from 1743 informs that the French were trying to employ captured Pandours in their service. However, the did not prove successful and the Pandours were soon imprisoned *for exercising their Trade a little too early, by cutting People's Throats on the Road to Paris* (The Caledonian Mercury, 4. 1. 1743 (OS), 1).

The distinguished French Marshal, Maurice comte de Saxe (1696–1750), formed a mixed cavalry and infantry regiment *Grassin* in 1745, which was often referred to in the newspapers as *The French Pandours*, mostly because of the Tatar style garments which the soldiers of this regiment wore (The Derby Mercury, 17. 5. 1745 (OS), 1; The Derby Mercury, 7. 6. 1745 (OS), 2; The Newcastle Courant, 8. 6. 1745 (OS), 2). Two years after, Saxe formed a regiment of Black Pandours, comprised of about 600 Blacks (The Newcastle Courant, 29. 8. 1747 (OS), 2).

Another indicator of the popularity of the Pandours may refer to their numerical growth in British newspapers. For instance, in 1743 the recruitment of 6000 Pandours was announced for the following year (The Newcastle Courant, 19. 11. 1743 (OS), 2). In 1746, an incredible score of 22,000 Pandours was reported to be travelling to the Low Countries (The Glasgow Courant, 3. 3. 1746 (OS), 3). The following year a letter from Liege published in the newspaper mentions a number of 13,000 Pandours (The Caledonian Mercury, 5. 10. 1747 (OS), 3). Although these numbers are most probably exaggerated, they nevertheless suggest that the British may have started to label all the irregular forces fighting on the Habsburg side as *Pandours*. Yet, as the popularity and reputation of the Pandours grew, the image of Baron Trenck as an honorable combatant slowly started to wane.

TRENCK'S DOWNFALL

The defeat of the numerically superior Habsburg forces against the Prussians at the battle of Soor²⁵ at the end of September of 1745, also signified the beginning of the

25 Present-day Hajnice in the Czech Republic.

decline of Baron Trenck's career. Soon afterwards an investigation against his conducts was initiated on the basis of complaints issued by his subordinates (Buczynski, 2015, 38–42). British newspapers intensively reported on the progress of Trenck's case. In 1746, they listed the following accusations against him: neglecting his orders at the battle of Soor;²⁶ causing disorders and pillages with the sole aim of acquiring booty; sacrilege in the sense of plundering churches and other sacred places; mistreatment of his subordinates; planning a rebellion in Slavonia and the intent of leaving the Queen's service (The Caledonian Mercury, 7. 7. 1746 (OS), 2; The Stamford Mercury, 10. 7. 1746 (OS), 1). *The Scots Magazine* added another rumor which involved Trenck in the affair with Prince Catacuzeni, an exiled nobleman from Wallachia, at the moment residing in Vienna, who was accused of carrying out a correspondence with the Pasha of Belgrade, with the alleged intention to initiate a revolt among the Orthodox populace in several Hungarian provinces (The Scots Magazine, 6. 6. 1746 (OS), 28).

During the course of Trenck's trial, British newspapers differentiated concerning their stance towards Trenck. For instance, *The Derby Mercury* informed that the public opinion was inclined to the idea that Trenck will be exonerated of all his accusations (The Derby Mercury, 5. 12. 1746 (OS), 1). On the other hand, *The Newcastle Courant* informed that Trenck was put under the strict guard surveillance and that until that point he enjoyed such a high degree of freedom owing to his connections. The article also emphasized the fact that the public opinion claims that he will receive a sentence of life imprisonment (The Newcastle Courant, 10. 5. 1746 (OS), 1).

In August of 1746, a sensational report was published in British newspapers, which described that the court decided to sentence Trenck to death, but Maria Theresa changed the sentence into life imprisonment in the castle Kufstein in Tirol, while the entire Trenck's estate was to be confiscated (The Derby Mercury, 22. 8. 1746 (OS), 3; The Scots Magazine, 1. 8. 1746 (OS), 386). However, at the end of 1746 an article in *The Derby Mercury* informed that Trenck's lawyer²⁷ was able to disprove all the accusations and that Trenck would be freed (The Derby Mercury, 5. 12. 1746 (OS), 1).

In 1747, *The Derby Mercury* continued to report in favor of Trenck's release (The Derby Mercury, 30. 10. 1747 (OS), 2). Interestingly, the anonymous editor and translator of the English version of Trenck's *Memoirs*, which were published the same year, revealed in the introduction his astonishment with the fact that a man who performed so many noble deeds could have been exposed to such a fate (Memoirs, 1747, iv).

In the summer of 1747 Trenck received his final sentence. He was exempted from the charges concerning high treason, relating to his implication in the defeat at the battle of Soor and the planned rebellion in Slavonia, but found guilty of violent conduct towards his subordinates, as well as of various excesses and embezzlement on the state's expense. Although he was supposed to be executed, by the grace of the Queen, his sentence was replaced by life imprisonment in the Bohemian castle Spiel-

26 Baron Trenck was accused of plundering the Prussian camp instead of executing the dictated attack on the Prussian rear guard (Šišić, 1994, 161–162).

27 Buczynski notes Trenck's lawyer as Dr. Perger (Buczynski, 2015, 70).



Fig. 2: Baron Franz von der Trenck, 1711–1749, contemporary portrait painting in the Army Museum of Bavaria in Ingoldstadt, author unknown (Wikimedia Commons).

berg (Buczynski, 2015, 81–83). In 1748, *The Ipswich Journal* published the penalties which Trenck was obliged to pay: 1000 florins to Anna Maria Gerstenbergerin, a miller's daughter whom he molested, 15,000 florins to the citizens of the Duchy of Silesia and the costs of the lawsuit which amounted to 200,000 florins (*The Ipswich Journal*, 10. 9. 1748 (OS), 2).

After Trenck's imprisonment, *The Derby Mercury* noted that when he arrived to Spielberg and read the notification of his sentence, Trenck accepted his punishment with great humility and hope for clemency from his sovereign. Furthermore, the article informs that some persons of very high rank were still supporting Trenck's cause and that it is a possibility that in time Trenck might be pardoned, or at least his sentence mitigated (*The Derby Mercury*, 16. 9. 1748 (OS), 3). However, the newspaper eventually turned the other cheek by publishing the mentioned list of Trenck's penalties and added that all those who have any kind of grievances against Trenck should come forward (*The Derby Mercury*, 23. 9. 1748 (OS), 1). *The Ipswich Journal* published a short biography about Trenck which portrays him in an extremely negative light. It highlights Trenck's affinity to misdemeanors and describes him as a greedy man capable of performing heinous acts in order to gain riches (*The Ipswich Journal*, 10. 9. 1748 (OS), 2). *The Derby Mercury* followed up by informing about Trenck's supposed attempt to escape from Spielberg and offer his services to the Ottoman Sultan (*The Derby Mercury*, 21. 9. 1748 (OS), 3; *The Derby Mercury*, 28. 10. 1748 (OS), 1).

Baron Franz von der Trenck died on October 4th 1749 in Spielberg, at the age of thirty-eight, wearing a habit of a capuchin monk (Buczynski, 2015, 87, 89). British newspapers reported that after hopes of his liberation failed, Trenck fell into a state of depression and caught dropsy from which he died (*The Derby Mercury*, 13. 10. 1749 (OS), 2; *The Newcastle Courant*, 14. 10. 1749 (OS), 1). They also emphasize his penitent nature, describing how in his will he prescribed the amount of 40,000 florins for the foundation of a hospice for the well-being of the impoverished citizens of the destroyed city of Cham (*The Derby Mercury*, 13. 10. 1749 (OS), 2; *The Scots Magazine*, 11. 10. 1749 (OS), 510; *The Newcastle Courant*, 14. 10. 1749 (OS), 1). Even though these acts may be interpreted as signs of Trenck's repentance, they do not necessarily mean that he considered his earlier acts unjustifiable. He could have only been giving something back to the city which afforded him great fame and fortune.

THE PANDOURS DURING TRENCK'S TRIAL

Even though British newspapers were intensively following Trenck's case, they did not lose interest in the Pandours. They continued to report on their activities during the war, such as their arrival on the Apennine peninsula in 1746, under the command of *Feldzeugmeister* Maximilian Ulysses Browne (1705–1757) (*The Derby Mercury*, 9. 1. 1746 (OS), 4). In contrast to the Italian theater of war, the presence of the Pandours was much more noticed in the Low Countries (*The Glasgow Courant*, 3. 3. 1746 (OS), 3; *The Newcastle Courant*, 10. 5. 1746 (OS), 1; *The Derby Mercury*, 22. 8. 1746 (OS), 1). Throughout 1746 and 1747 the newspapers describe their bloody encounters with the

French regular and irregular units (The Newcastle Courant, 10. 5. 1746 (OS), 1; The Newcastle Courant, 13. 6. 1747 (OS), 3; The Caledonian Mercury, 22. 6. 1747 (OS), 2), as well as the Swiss troops which were fighting on the French side (The Derby Mercury, 22. 8. 1746 (OS), 1).

The appearance of the Pandours on Dutch soil stimulated fear among the local civilians, which occasionally initiated conflicts. The newspapers mention the efforts of the Croatian Ban and Habsburg Field marshal Charles Joseph Count Batthyány (1697–1772) who used various means to keep the Pandours disciplined (The Stamford Mercury, 29. 5. 1746 (OS), 1; The Derby Mercury, 18. 7. 1746 (OS), 2; The Stamford Mercury, 29. 5. 1746 (OS), 1). It seems that this task presented a great burden for Batthyány, because we learn from and an article from *The Derby Mercury* we learn that he eagerly awaited Trenck's departure to the Low Countries (The Derby Mercury, 9. 5. 1746 (OS), 2).

Another peculiarity which appears in an issue of *The Derby Mercury* is the different labeling of the Pandours corps. They are referred to as *The Queen's Pandours* (The Derby Mercury, 8. 8. 1746 (OS), 1) which might suggest that they were trying to be distanced from Trenck, who was losing social prestige at the time. However, it is important to point out that from the very start British newspapers did not emphasize the connection between Baron Trenck and the Pandours. He was merely one, although the most frequent, of their commanders. Furthermore, British newspapers did not register the change which occurred in 1745 when the Pandours became a regular unit within the Habsburg army. During the course of 1746 and 1747 the newspapers still treated them as an irregular unit.

In 1747, there were reports of Pandours deserting, as well as them being recruited by the Prussians and the Swiss (The Derby Mercury, 22. 1. 1747 (OS), 2; The Ipswich Journal, 4. 4. 1747 (OS), 2). Šišić explains this phenomenon with the fact that the Pandours were displaying their discontent with Trenck's disgraceful fate (Šišić, 1994, 180). On the other hand, their displeasure may had been connected with the fact that as a regular unit they were not entitled to the spoils of wars as was the case earlier. Besides that, they could have also been weary of the long military service in a land very far from home. It seems that their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Lambert-Henri d'Olne, was also dissatisfied with his service in the Habsburg army. An article reports that he continued his military career in the service of the United Provinces, from which he hailed (The Newcastle Courant, 21. 11. 1747 (OS), 1).²⁸ Nonetheless, Vienna was eager to keep the Pandours in Habsburg service. In the last year of the war the Pandours and other *Croatian* troops were offered double wages on the condition that they remain in the service after their contracts expires (The Derby Mercury, 12. 8. 1748 (OS), 2).

28 Baron d'Olne carried off with him the regimental treasury which contained the amount of 6,919 florins. The Habsburg Imperial Council of War (*Hofkriegsrat*) demanded his extradition from the Dutch authorities, but in vain (Buczynski, 2015, 77).

CONCLUSION

The War of the Austrian Succession was characterized by a high degree of violence inflicted on the civilian population, which was a common feature of early modern warfare. Both contesting sides contributed in their own way. Because of their unusual appearance and participation in the distribution of violence, the Pandours were a particularly interesting topic which filled the pages of contemporary British newspapers. The first news regarding the military actions of these irregulars highlight their unusual appearance and style of warfare. However, examples which show justification for the conduct of Pandours, as well as their praise, can also be found in these newspapers. This fact could possibly be explained by the notion that observers became much more acquainted with the *strange* Pandours and started to regard them as other soldiers.

As opposed to Trenck's *Memoirs*, the newspapers seem to show more interest for the acts of the Pandours than their leader during the War of the Austrian Succession. On the basis of his military achievements, noble status and the damage he inflicted on British direct or indirect enemies, Baron Trenck attained the status of an honorable combatant. However, when Trenck was put on trial, British newspapers started following him more eagerly, mostly because of the gossips about him which emerged within the public sphere. Thus, a shift regarding the imaging of the Pandours and Baron Trenck occurred. While the public was becoming more accustomed to the appearance and behavior of the Pandours, Trenck was becoming a social outcast.

The portrayal of Baron Trenck and his Pandours in British newspapers demonstrates how the representation of deeds performed during wartime may differ from actual reality. Early modern warfare, as any other type of warfare from different periods, was much more complex than it is usually portrayed, with images of honor and glory. Warfare included a high degree of violent acts which were necessary in order to sustain an army and compel the opposing side to start the negotiations for peace terms. Newspapers, even though their main goal was to praise certain deeds and condemn others, offer an opportunity to distinguish certain features of early modern warfare. One of them is certainly the relationship between commanders and soldiers, which may have been far more complex and probably involved the process of negotiation and employment of violent measures in order to successfully perform military operations.

BARON FRANZ VON DER TRENCK IN NJEGOVI PANDURJI V ČLANKIH BRITANSKIH ČASOPISOV

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POVZETEK

Zgodbe o dejanjih barona Franza von der Trencka (1711–1749), borbenega plemiča v službi Habsburžanov, in njegovih neregularnih vojakih – pandurjih so postale zelo priljubljene zaradi Trenkove (avto)biografije, ki je bila v 18. stoletju večkrat objavljena. Primerjava med tem literarnim delom in poročili iz tedanjih britanskih medijev nam pokaže, da so bili vojni podvigi barona Trencka in njegovih pandurjev med Avstrijsko nasledstveno vojno (1740–1748) prikazani na drugačen način od tega, kar smo bili vajeni. Kaže, da so med omenjeno vojno časopisi posvečali več pozornosti pandurjem kot pa njihovemu poveljniku. Trenck je bil na podlagi častniških položajev predstavljen kot časten bojevnik, pandurji pa so bili prikazani na različne načine, čeprav so jih zaradi nenavadnega videza pogosto povezali z nasilnimi in družbeno nesprejemljivimi dejanji. Časopisna poročila torej predstavljajo dragocen vir podatkov, da lahko določimo različne osebnostne lastnosti pandurjev in hkrati razkrivajo lastnosti, ki so bile pogosto temačne in sovražne, a vendar ključne glede bojevanja na začetku moderne dobe in so bile obenem pogosto zapostavljene ter prikrite s tančico časti in slave.

Ključne besede: Baron Trenck, pandurji, Avstrijska nasledstvena vojna, britanski časopisi, prvo moderno bojevanje

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