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Horace Saint-Paul

A Young British Nobleman in the Service of Austria during the Seven Years' War

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Abstract. This article examines the singular destiny of Horace Saint-Paul, a young British nobleman who served in the Imperial Army during the Seven Years' War. While the entry of foreign nobles into the service of another nation is not surprising in the modern era, the case of Saint-Paul is particularly interesting to study because of his lightning ascension through the ranks. He managed to rise to a senior position in the general staff without any military experience. His entry into the service of an army that was part of a coalition opposed to his homeland also raises questions about the complex relationship between patriotism and cosmopolitanism in the mid-eighteenth century. His example clearly illustrates the great adaptability of the nobility in the Age of Enlightenment, for whom the context of war provided significant opportunities to move around Europe.

Keywords: nobility, Seven Years' War, Horace Saint-Paul, international mobilities, Enlightenment

A young British nobleman forced into exile after winning a duel, who then enlisted in an enemy army during the Seven Years' War: this destiny, which brings to mind the famous character of Barry Lyndon, immortalized by Stanley Kubrick in a film, is indeed that of a man who actually existed in the Europe of the Enlightenment. Horace Saint-Paul was one of those military men who enlisted in the service of another monarch during the eighteenth century. The presence of foreign soldiers in European armies was a common phenomenon in the Age of Enlightenment. At the army level, there were foreign regiments such as the Swiss, Germans, and Hungarian hussars in the French Army. In the Austrian army, there were regiments representing the different peoples of the Empire: three Hungarian regiments and three Dutch regiments, as well as an Italian regiment, at the time of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).[1] Command functions were also sometimes entrusted to

1 Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa*.

foreigners. In the French army, 49 of the 583 brigadiers appointed by King Louis XV before 1759 were foreigners.[2] The same trend was evident in the Imperial Army, in which there was a strong presence of officers of British origin since the Thirty Years' War, notably known for their involvement in the assassination of Albrecht of Wallenstein.[3] During the Age of Enlightenment, there were also several officers of Irish origin such as Ulysses von Browne and Franz Moritz Lacy, and many others who were decorated with the Order of Maria Theresa, created in 1757.[4]

Saint-Paul joined the service of Empress Maria Theresa at a time when Austria was involved in a global conflict. After initial skirmishes between the French and British in North America and the Atlantic, the Seven Years' War officially began in 1756 when England declared war on France on 17 May after the capture of Minorca, and Frederick II invaded Saxony on 29 August. Since the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, France and Austria had fought alongside against their common enemy: Prussia. However, the Treaty of Versailles of 1756 included a neutrality clause whereby Austria committed not to take part in the Franco–British conflict.[5] As a result, the former allies of the War of the Austrian Succession, although part of opposing coalitions, never faced each other during the Seven Years' War. In expanding to the colonies, this war became the first world conflict, as many historians now affirm.[6] Horace Saint-Paul's singular destiny provides an opportunity to examine the issues of international mobilities in a complex, even contradictory, ideological context. Indeed, the period of the Seven Years' War was characterised both by a strengthening of patriotism[7] and by cosmopolitanism, of which Saint-Paul is an eloquent example. The feeling of patriotism exacerbated during the Seven Years' War transformed the cultural and social significance of the nobility's mobility, particularly in the case of educational travel, suspected of weakening the sense of national belonging, as Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire notes.[8]

Saint-Paul's case illustrates the tight links between the nobility and international mobility in the eighteenth century. Several factors may explain this close connection: first, the propensity of the aristocracy to embrace a military career, which was a major factor of mobility, both within and between countries. But there was also a taste for adventure among the nobles, which led many of them to set off for

2 Corvisier, "Service militaire," 185–204.

3 Barker, "Armed Service and Nobility," 472–82.

4 Cavenagh, "Irish Knights of the Imperial," 95–105.

5 Black, "Essay and Reflection"; Dziembowski, *La guerre de Sept Ans*, 121.

6 Baugh, *The Global Seven Years' War*; Externbrink, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg*; Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg.*

7 Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme français*.

8 Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe*, 210.

the islands of the West Indies in search of fortune.[9] In addition, many young nobles had already experienced the Grand Tour, a form of educational travel.[10] Through the dangers it exposed them to and their visits to former battlefields, this type of experience could also cultivate qualities useful for a military career, as Sarah Goldsmith has demonstrated.[11] The Age of Enlightenment also saw the development of a shared culture among the European nobility, particularly visible in material culture. Thus, it is interesting to wonder how these multiple identities interacted in times of war when they potentially came into conflict.

This question can be explored through the numerous papers left behind by the Saint-Paul family, which are now held in the Northumberland County Archives. The papers of Horace Saint-Paul, which are filed under references ZBU/B/2 and ZBU/B/3, include his correspondence with leading military figures of his time and several bound volumes. They contain the journals of his campaigns in Central Europe, which were written in French, an international language among the European elites during the Enlightenment. These diaries have been published in several editions: the first in 1914 by George Grey Butler,[12] with the original text in French, concerning the first two campaigns of the war (1756–1757). They were translated into English by Neil Cogswell,[13] who also published the following diaries about the last campaigns of Saint-Paul (1758–1760).[14] Horace Saint-Paul's diaries are not what might properly be called intimate diaries or personal writings.[15] They are not written in the first person, nor do they contain details of the author's private thoughts. They are factual chronicles of military operations, more akin to the battle relations published during the eighteenth century. They do provide, however, valuable details about the individual trajectory of a young nobleman across Europe during a war that is now regarded as the first global conflict by historians.

From Paul to Saint-Paul: exile in France and the adoption of a new identity

Horace Paul was born on 14 April 1729 into an eminent family of British nobility. He was the son of Robert Paul, a man of power and influence who rose to prominence in the 1710s. In 1715, the latter was appointed Comptroller General of the

9 De Cauna, *L'Eldorado des Aquitains*.

10 Black, *The British Abroad*.

11 Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger*.

12 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*.

13 Cogswell, *Horace St. Paul*.

14 Cogswell, *Olmütz to Torgau*.

15 On the use of personal writings in history, see: Bardet and Ruggiu, *Au plus près des coeurs*; Heehs, *Writing the Self*.

Accounts of the Customs, with a salary of 150 pounds a year,[16] a considerable sum given that an unskilled worker at the time earned less than 20 pounds.[17] In the same years, he joined the Royal Society and managed to forge links with the British aristocracy; he was particularly close to the Walpole family and, in fact, named his son after Horatio Walpole,[18] the brother of Robert Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742. Horace Paul was, therefore, born into an advantageous social position. He held the title of Esquire, which placed him among the landed gentry, a group of British nobility that François-Joseph Ruggiu defines according to a number of criteria, including the exercise of political and administrative responsibilities at the local level and the possession of a large landed estate, which provided a substantial income.[19] In the 1730s, Robert Paul acquired the lands of Yeavering and Coupland,[20] located in the north of Northumberland, close to Scotland. This first acquisition was completed in 1753 when Robert Paul inherited the Ewart Park estate, which was then in the hands of his brother-in-law. Horace Paul's career path had already been mapped out in his youth, as he was destined for a career in the legal profession. He joined the honourable society of Gray's Inn on 4 July 1749,[21] one of London's four Inns of Court, professional associations for aspiring judges and barristers. This promising destiny was nevertheless hampered by a tragic affair.

On 24 May 1751, Horace Paul was in the company of his sisters and William Dalton, an esquire like him. That day, the group went to the home of a certain Mrs Green, who was, in fact, having a love affair with Dalton, which Horace Paul did not know. During the meeting, Mrs Green offered Horace Paul some snuff. The latter, who seemed to appreciate it, was invited by Mrs Green to keep the tin of tobacco. This made Dalton boil with jealousy, so he threw himself at Horace Paul and hit him. This reaction may seem somewhat disproportionate, but it should be borne in mind that snuff boxes in the eighteenth century had a strong emotional charge. They were objects linked to seduction and the passions of love.[22] When Horace Paul went to Dalton's house to debate the circumstances of the affair, a sword duel ensued between the two men inside the house. It led to the death of Dalton, who was barely twenty years old at the time.[23] Horace Paul's victory in this duel testifies not only to his opponent's inexperience but also to his own fencing experience, suggesting

16 "Warrant Books," 398.

17 Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century*.

18 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xix.

19 Ruggiu, "La gentry anglaise," 782.

20 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, cxxv.

21 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xiv.

22 Beaven and Martin, "The Stuff of Snuff."

23 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, xxxi–xxxv.

at least rudimentary training in this art prized by the nobility. The context of this duel contrasts sharply with the image generally associated with it, as depicted in *Barry Lyndon*, for example, involving a confrontation in the open air in the presence of witnesses. However, duelling between two protagonists behind closed doors was still a common occurrence in Great Britain at this time because of the official and unofficial condemnations of this practice.[24] Obviously, these circumstances did not work in Horace Paul's favour since, in the absence of witnesses, the line between murder and death in a duel became blurred. Horace Paul, therefore, preferred to flee to France, fearing that he would be condemned for the death of his rival. The choice of destination was not insignificant: a few years earlier, Horace Paul had already travelled to France. He had a fairly good knowledge of the language and had even managed to make a few contacts. Saint-Paul chose Touraine as his place of exile. He owned several setters there, which were recorded in a register. In 1754, he received permission from the Grand Veneur de France to hunt, with a document that was addressed specifically to "Monsieur de Saint-Paul."[25]

At the time of the duel and when he left Great Britain, the prefix 'Saint' was not yet part of his name. Both Horace Walpole and *The Gentlemen's Magazine* referred to the duel between Mr Dalton and Mr Paul.[26] The adoption of the name of Saint-Paul, as it appears in the hunting permit he was granted, was, in all likelihood, concluded at his own initiative. By becoming 'Monsieur de Saint-Paul', the gentleman in exile benefited from a name that sounded French and enabled him to integrate more easily into noble circles of sociability. The new name was also symbolically charged: Saint-Paul was also a soldier turned apostle of Christ, a symbol of conversion and closely linked to London and its cathedral. This name, adopted unofficially, was finally recognised in Great Britain only in 1767 by a decision of the House of Lords at the request of Judith Paul, Horace's mother.[27] This integration may also have been facilitated through hunting, an activity shared by the French and British nobility.[28] This practice also reflects skill in equestrian art, which was a strong social symbol and played a major role in travel and military activity.[29]

In 1756, Horace Saint-Paul went to Brussels, then to the Austrian Netherlands. There, he managed to meet Prince Charles de Lorraine, the Emperor's brother and Governor of the Low Countries. This meeting was facilitated by Saint-Paul's network, and in particular

24 Banks, *A Polite Exchange*, 116; Shoemaker, "The Taming of the Duel," 538.

25 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xix.

26 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, xxxv–xxxvi.

27 *Journal of the House of Lords*, 3–10.

28 On hunting as an aristocratic practice, see: Roche, *Histoire de la culture*; Salvadori, *La chasse*.

29 Roche, *Histoire de la culture équestre*.

by Solomon Dayrolle, the British Minister in Brussels.[30] Despite his emigration, Saint-Paul did not totally abandon his British networks. He continued to correspond with his father, and among his papers is a draft of a memoir intended for Robert Paul, which mentions a plan to purchase a cavalry company for the Imperial Army.[31] This project never materialised, however, as Saint-Paul was fortunate enough to be hired by Charles of Lorraine as *aide-de-camp*. This sudden appointment and meteoric rise may come as a surprise, especially as Horace Saint-Paul had no military experience or training. However, hunting was not entirely foreign to the art of war. According to the Chevalier de Folard, it even helped to shape a commander's outlook and judgement:

> "Nothing contributes more to training our eye than the exercise of hunting; for in addition to acquainting us with the country and its different kinds of situations, which are infinite and never the same, we also learn a thousand tricks and a thousand things relating to war through this beautiful exercise."[32]

More than Saint-Paul's inexperience, it was ultimately the rapidity with which he succeeded in integrating himself into the upper circles of the Empire's nobility that constitutes the most striking feature of his career. It was his stay in Brussels that enabled him to forge links with the high aristocracy of the Empire. When he left the city in 1756, he took with him several letters written by prominent figures: a letter from Prince Charles of Lorraine to Marshal Browne, as well as several others, including ones from Count Cobenzl, Count Callenberg, Solomon Dayrolle and Count Hohenzollern.[33] During his service in the Imperial Army, Saint-Paul also formed friendships with other members of the European nobility, such as Louis Bruno de Boisgelin, a French officer who also fought in Maria Theresa's army and with whom he exchanged several letters written in French, during the war.[34] The language of his diaries and the language of the elite was an indispensable tool of socialisation, enabling him to enter the highest circles of the Empire's nobility. On 20 July 1759, Horace Saint-Paul was elevated to the dignity of Count of the Holy Roman Empire for his service in the army by imperial diploma, a considerable honour, especially for someone who had only served three years in the army.[35]

Aside from Saint-Paul's military skills, it is also worth asking what motivated him to join the army. His early training and career do not seem to indicate any

30 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xx; Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, 10.

31 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xxii.

32 *Histoire de Polybe,* 221.

33 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xxi.

34 Cogswell, *1757–1759.*

35 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xi.

particular attraction to the martial arts. However, one might well ask to what extent his choice was also motivated by a taste for travel and adventure. The answer is not obvious, as Saint-Paul left little information on this subject. In any case, it is certain that his new career in the army led him to travel long distances on numerous occasions. This taste was shared by some of the European nobility of the Age of Enlightenment, whether they chose military careers, religious exile or sought fortune in the colonies.[36]

Military Service: a revelatory experience of shared identity among the nobility

If the military nobility is particularly concerned by mobility, it is primarily because war itself generates incessant movement, both within and between countries, as André Corvisier and Yann Lagadec have pointed out.[37] Saint-Paul's first major trip was from Brussels to Vienna with Charles of Lorraine in early 1757. The journey included no fewer than eighty stops, the most important of which were Frankfurt, Bruschal, Nuremberg and Iglau (Jihlava). This itinerary can be traced back to a document written in Saint-Paul's hand, entitled *Route de Poste que j'ai suivi de Bruxelles à Vienne*.[38] The very existence of this document testifies to the importance of the journey for the young nobleman. This document is distinct from Saint-Paul's own diary, which is presented as an impersonal chronicle written in a neutral, factual style. The itinerary he took the time to put down in writing is similar to the *carnet de route*, a particular type of personal writing that essentially records the stages of a journey. Although the information contained in this type of source may seem meagre, travel diaries are nonetheless personal writings that are intimately linked to their author. Saint-Paul's written itinerary follows the same logic: he uses the first-person singular, which is totally absent from his campaign diary. The travel diary is intimate, for it reflects the difficulties and fatigues of the journey that put the soldiers' bodies to the test. Just like the battles, the towns they passed through were significant and deserved to be remembered by Saint-Paul, as they were by many authors of campaign diaries.[39] It should not be forgotten that warfare in the Age of Enlightenment was essentially a matter of marching and travelling.[40] Officers nevertheless had the privilege of travelling on horseback, and Saint-Paul's practice of hunting suggests

36 Figeac, *Les noblesses en France*, 164–93.

37 Corvisier, "Service militaire," 185–204; Lagadec, "Guerre sur terre."

38 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xxiv.

39 For a typology of military writings in the Early Modern era, see: Chagniot, *Guerre et société*, 313–34.

40 Duffy, *The Military Experience*, 118–22.

that he was well acquainted with the art of equitation, which was indispensable for an officer in wartime. In addition to their mounts, high-ranking soldiers could also be accompanied by a carriage and an entire crew. When Horace Saint-Paul set out on campaign in 1758, he was accompanied by:

> "A strong, light, Hungarian-style open coach that is long enough to hold a bed if necessary, 4 draught horses for the carriage, 2 pack horses or 2 mules, 3 saddle horses for me, 3 grooms' horses, 1 postilion for the 4 draught horses, 2 grooms for the 6 saddle horses, 1 mule driver for the pack horses, 1 runner or lackey, a valet."

The carriage also contained a whole range of travel necessities, which proved particularly tiresome to transport. For his part, Saint-Paul took with him:

> "A set of utensils for breakfast and toiletry, a few kitchen utensils. Tableware, table linen, a very small chest for a few uniforms and my clothes, a hat box […]. My portfolio and writing case, a few maps and a few books. A small canteen and another larger canteen for the pack horse or mule. A large bottle cellar that will hold a dozen flasks and that will be suspended behind or under the carriage to reduce the bumps, so that the wine is less spoilt on the way. […] A small case of 50 bottles of Burgundy wine. A supply of various types of writing paper, ink, etc. A fountain from Mr Lamy to filter the water. A cooker made in the French style, with a silver cooking machine. A large canteen, bigger than usual, to put on a pack horse."[41]

This list reveals two main categories of objects: those related to the service and functions performed by Saint-Paul in the general staff: the wallet and writing case are undoubtedly the most important. Then, there is a whole range of utensils and food supplies. Among these objects, the fountain he refers to is particularly interesting because it reflects a common difficulty faced by travellers and soldiers: obtaining supplies of sufficient quality water during their journeys.

> "Military troops & travelers are the most exposed to the danger of bad water, such as viscous marshes, or which have other even worse principles; those of rivers, troubled in winter by the rains, or by the melting of snow at the beginning of spring; those which are impregnated with bad principles coming from the dissolution of earth or vitriolic sands, & from stone or chalk quarries, through which they pass."[42]

The use of a portable fountain was a way of preserving both the taste of the water and the health of the user. However, the low flow rate of these instruments

41 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*.

42 Amy, *Nouvelles Fontaines*, 33.

did not allow for collective use; this travel fountain described by Amy could filter, at best, five pints of water in twenty-four hours. It is also worth noting the presence of bottles of Burgundy wine in Saint-Paul's baggage, which testifies to the spread of this method of preserving wine in the eighteenth century.[43]

The level of comfort he enjoyed during the campaign was comparable to that of senior officers and generals in the French army, who generally travelled with very heavy equipment.[44] The belongings carried by Saint-Paul during his military campaigns testify to his position in the military and social hierarchy. Even in exile, the young British nobleman managed to maintain a privileged social status, in all likelihood thanks to the financial support of his father.[45] Through his example, the nobility thus appears as a social status shared and recognised across borders in the Europe of the Enlightenment.

The experience of military campaigns in Central Europe in Saint-Paul's Journal

The Seven Years' War was a global conflict involving the French and British nations on several continents at the same time. However, from the soldier's point of view, the conflict was experienced within a well-defined geographical framework, and for Saint-Paul, this was Central Europe. His account of the Third Silesian War, which pitted the Austrians against the Prussians, focuses on this single area. His native Britain is never mentioned in the diary. While ignoring the diplomatic context and the overall situation of the conflict, he devotes much detail to the conduct of the battles he has the opportunity to observe. The forces involved and troop movements are precisely described, unlike the accounts of ordinary soldiers or officers who, in the heat of battle, often fail to get a clear, overall view of the action.[46] The style of writing reflects Saint-Paul's hierarchical position: his perception of events is guided by his status as a staff officer. Although he was perfectly familiar with the state of the troops and all the details of their organisation, his writing gives a very cold, factual view of the war. His journal is, therefore, very different from the correspondence and diaries kept by officers during the Seven Years' War. It is closer to the battle accounts that were intended to report on the state of operations to the secretaries of war. Saint-Paul's diary also includes numerous memoirs of operations and orders of battle. Sven Externbrink distinguishes three possible levels of reading military writings. They can

43 On this subject, see: Bouneau and Figeac, eds, *Le verre et le vin*.

44 "L'équipage d'un chef," 417–24.

45 Cogswell, *Olmütz to Torgau*, 18–19.

46 Chaline, *La bataille de la Montagne*, 181.

provide information on strategic aspects, life during a campaign, or finally, the experience of battle, a traumatic event that generally marks a break in the narrative.[47] It is undoubtedly the first aspect that constitutes the main interest of Horace Saint-Paul's diary. Not only does he accurately describe the movement of troops during battles and campaigns, but he also analyses the decisions taken at the operational level, criticising the Prussian and Austrian choices quite freely. He listed the mistakes made by the commanders of both armies at the start of the 1757 campaign:

> "1st fault in the army's too-delayed assembly. 2nd fault, the lack of promptness in assembling the quarters on Reichenberg and Trautenau. 3rd fault, the deliberations were too public; consequently detrimental to secrecy. 4th fault: the wrong decision not to stand between the Elbe and Moldau rivers, or not to go to the left bank when the Prussians were on the right bank. […] 5th fault of the Austrians in marching to Swigan, and great fault of the Prussians in remaining at Leütmeritz and Leypa in inaction, leaving Silesia and part of Lusatia uncovered."[48]

This freedom of speech is what makes Horace Saint-Paul's campaign diary so original. In its style, it is similar to institutional campaign reports, but in its content, it maintains a critical view of the facts, much like an officer's diary. This form of independence is obviously linked to Saint-Paul's singular destiny because he had no particular emotional ties with Austria, unlike his native Britain, to which he retained a sense of attachment.

Despite the absence of details about the author's personal experience of the events he relates, his diary nevertheless contains invaluable details about the fighting experience of soldiers in the Austrian army. Saint-Paul conceals his own emotions, but he does occasionally mention the way in which the collective emotions of his men were used to benefit their effectiveness and motivation in battle.[49] On 6 May 1757, when Field Marshal Browne received a fatal wound at the Battle of Prague:

> "It was tried to hide from the soldiers the misfortune that had befallen their general, but as this was impossible because they had witnessed it, they were exhorted to avenge him, which inspired them with new courage and made them advance with great bravery."[50]

This kind of harangue was frequent in the Age of Enlightenment and based the soldier's motivation on an appeal to his individual sense of honour, which was not

47 Externbrink, "»Ils se sont battus«," 195.

48 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 67–68.

49 As for the Enlightenment, the issue of motivation and morale has been well analysed in Berkovich, *Motivation in War*.

50 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 109.

simply a feature specific to the social and military elite but also solicited from the common soldier.[51] After this battle and during the months of May and June 1757, Saint-Paul was a protagonist and a witness of the siege of Prague, an episode that occupies a significant place in his diary. His description of the event provides information on the tactical issues at stake and how the siege was conducted. But it is also a very rich account of how the siege was experienced by the defenders of Prague.

A siege is an intense sensory and emotional experience in which the aim is to make the enemy yield as quickly as possible, either by starving him or, on the contrary, by putting up fierce resistance and resilience.[52] The rigours of the siege first appear in Saint-Paul's writings when they affect the officer corps. On 2 June 1758, he noted that:

> "For several days no more meat was distributed, not even to the Princes and generals, who had no other resource than the provisions they had taken the precaution of making."[53]

Only a few pages later, he begins to mention the difficulties of victualling the troops who were compelled to eat horses.[54] The consumption of this meat raised problems, and Saint-Paul noted the reluctance of the German regiments to eat it. It is interesting to point out that this same aversion to horsemeat was also present at the same time in New France, where the inhabitants, and by mimicry, the soldiers,[55] refused to eat the animal they considered to be "the friend of man."[56] Apart from the question of food supplies, the siege of Prague also exposed the civilian population to the intense bombardment and destruction that also marked the better-known episode of the siege of Quebec in 1759. At the beginning of June, the Marquis d'Eysne counted the number of cannon shots fired by the Prussians from two batteries in the space of twenty-four hours: 2,305 cannon shots, 683 bombs and 19 carcasses or firepots.[57] This intense bombardment did not fail to cause considerable destruction, and when it came to celebrating the end of the siege of Prague, Saint-Paul noted on 22 June that: "The *Te Deum* is sung in the Metropolitan Church of Saint-John at Hradschin, but it is so ruined that one cannot enter it because of the rubble."[58]

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51 Berkovich, "Fear, Honour and Emotional Control," 97–98; Guinier, *L'honneur du soldat*.

52 On siege warfare, see: Black, *Fortifications and Siegecraft*; Fischer-Kattner, *The World of the Siege*.

53 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 171.

54 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 173.

55 Séguin, "Le cheval et," 250–51.

56 Archambault, "La question des vivres," 25.

57 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 173.

58 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 196–97.

However, Saint-Paul's descriptions of the destructions caused by the siege are very spare, in contrast to the accounts of other officers, who often deplore the misfortunes of war, thus testifying to a mutation of sensibilities within the military nobility of the Age of Enlightenment.[59]

Conclusion

Because of structural changes in the Austrian General Staff, Saint-Paul's service in the Imperial Army ended in 1760. He remained in Austria until 1765 when he sent a memoir to the King of Great Britain requesting a royal pardon, which he succeeded in obtaining the same year.[60] For Saint-Paul, exile abroad and then entry into the service of a foreign monarch were loopholes that enabled him to escape justice, but deep down, he retained a desire to return to his homeland and serve his monarch. Despite a remarkable integration into the elite circles of the Empire and a place of choice in the military institution, the young nobleman preferred to take advantage of the royal pardon to return to Britain. He then took up diplomatic duties in Sweden and Paris.[61] The employment of military personnel in diplomatic functions was common practice in eighteenth-century Europe.[62] The particular case of Horace Saint-Paul confirms the porosity between these two functions prized by the military nobility, but it also reflects the former's lasting attachment to his country of origin. While the cosmopolitanism of the elite in Enlightenment Europe enabled him to achieve a dazzling and prestigious career abroad, the patriotism that might have animated him was not entirely extinguished. By choosing the imperial army, Saint-Paul actually avoided confronting his native country, as Austria, despite being allied with France, never opposed Great Britain during the Seven Years' War, and it was only Prussia that the young Briton had to fight during the conflict. The singular trajectory of Horace Saint-Paul thus illustrates how patriotism and cosmopolitanism, two apparently contradictory sentiments, could coexist among the European noble elites of the Age of Enlightenment, whose mobilities relied on a common social ethos shared across the borders.

59 Externbrink, "»Ils se sont battus«."

60 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, xxviii.

61 This part of his life has been well developed in Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*.

62 Black, *British Diplomats*, 44; in the French case, Claire Béchu has shown that of 179 French ambassadors appointed between 1715 and 1789, 67 percent had pursued a military career, see: "Les ambassadeurs français," 333.

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