# The concentration of the Prussian 1st corps.

Pirch II brigade.

It was around 7 a.m. that this brigade got orders to relieve the outposts at the bridges of the Sambre and later to retire to Gilly. Earlier that morning Pirch II had got information about the French advance. From Jamioulx, lieutenant Von Scheurich wrote:

An. den.Gen.Von Pirch,

Der Rittmeister von Heyking hat so eben durch den Lieutenant Von Oesfeld hierher melden lassen, wie der Feind die Vorposten von Bercie [sic] und Maladry angegriffen, und die bis Thuin zurückgeworfen hat.

Jamioulx, 15 Juny 1815 Von Scheurich Lieutenant und Adjudant in Abwesenheit des Herrn.Oberst Lt.Von Woyski <sup>1</sup>

And some time later, Von Woyski himself wrote to Pirch:

Ew.Hochwohlgeb. melde Ich ganz gehorsamst, dass bey den Vorposten stark geschossen wird, mit kleinem Gewehr und Artillerie: wie die Leute sagen in der Gegens von Thul [sic]. Ich habe zwar noch keine Meldung, Ich reite aber sogleich hin, um zu sehen, wie die Sachen stehen. Gestern nachmittag fand Ich bey dem Dorfe Clermont einen Bivouaq von etwa 2 Bataillonen, das Dorf Lerire [?] war ebenfalls mit Infanterie belegt. Jamnignoux [sic] den 15.Juny 1815

Eben geht der Rapport ein, dass die Feldwache bey Nalinns attakirt und bey derselben kanonirt wird.

Woyski<sup>2</sup>

The 28<sup>th</sup> regiment.

As soon as the alarm was raised, major Von Quadt got the order to defend the Sambre-bridge at Chatelet as long as he could. At that moment his fuselier battalion was in outposts in Joncret, les Flaches, Gerpinnes, Acoz, La Boulère [?], Villers Poterie and Bouchon [?]. Its commander, major Von Müller, was instructed in case of a French offensive, to fall back to Charleroi through Marcinelle. By 8.30 a.m. Von Müller was ordered to go to Marcinelle; at the same time he was informed that the company at Bouchon and la Boulère had already pulled off.

Major Von Müller now collected his troops at Acoz and went to Marcinelle. While on his way, however, he was informed by Pirch II – through adjutant Von Barfuss - that Marcinelle was in French hands and that he had to cross the Sambre at Châtelet. <sup>3</sup> One of his companies (the 11<sup>th</sup>),

however, didn't succeed in this, as this was confronted by French cavalry near Couillet. Here the men had to cross open ground and were soon surrounded by French cavalry and cut down or taken prisoner; only lieutenant Schröder with his 36-man picket managed to escape and got away through Charleroi. <sup>4</sup>

The remaining three companies went back towards Châtelet. These troops were here received by their fellow troops of the  $1^{st}$  and  $2^{nd}$  battalion. There, the main body of the 3rd company of the 1st battalion occupied the bridge, with a reserve further behind. The skirmishers occupied the borders of the Sambre, with the rest and the  $2^{nd}$  battalion in reserve.

Around 9 a.m. major Von Quadt got the order to pull his fuselier battalion back to Châtelet. Later that day, after leaving Châtelet, the regiment crossed Châtelineau and then followed the tracks to the Bois de Trichehève and the abbey of Soleilmont to the position of Gilly. The 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion was left behind just in rear of Châtelineau. <sup>5</sup>

The 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian nr.1).

The 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian nr.1) came from Charleroi, covered by a detachment led by captain Guionneau. <sup>6</sup> For this reason it followed the route from Charleroi to Gilly (see French advance) and then turned on the road to Lambusart in order to take up position in the Bois de Trichehève.

A part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of this regiment had received the remains of the three companies of the 3rd battalion 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Westphalian Landwehrinfantry (under Von Monsterberg) and those of the two squadrons West-Prussian dragoons under colonel Von Woisky at Montigny-le-Tilleul. Then, these troops as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, retired to Marchienne-au-Pont, where another part of the battalion was posted. It was from Marchienne-au-Pont that all these troops retired later through Damprémy to the position behind Gilly. <sup>7</sup>

In the early morning the fuselier battalion of the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian nr.1) was in Montigny-sur-Sambre, but as soon as the alarm guns had fired, it got the instruction to defend the fords of the river Sambre. However, by 10 a.m. it was ordered to fall back to Gilly. <sup>8</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry.

In the early morning the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry had a position at Gilly, but after the alarm guns had been fired it was split in two: one company was sent to Roux and three companies to the bridge of the Piéton Damprémy. From Gilly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion moved straight to Gilly. <sup>9</sup>

Later that morning, however, the fall of the lower part of Charleroi was the signal for the withdrawal from Damprémy to Gilly as by now the Prussians at Damprémy ran the risk of being cut off. As soon as this was clear (by a report written by major Von Rohr), the companies left Damprémy and Roux, but the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment Westphalian Landwehr infantry was seriously delayed in doing so after taking in its skirmishers. As a result, the battalion marched off by the time the French were heading for Gilly. Eventually, it managed to reach the abbey of Soleilmont by way of Lodelinsart, after the French had taken Gilly. <sup>10</sup>

The company at Roux and the Piéton, however, did not manage to link up with the three other

companies of its battalion and it now waited for the brigade of Von Steinmetz to reach Gosselies – then it joined this brigade until the early morning of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June. <sup>11</sup>

Of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Westphalian Landwehr a company had been cut down at Hamsur-Heure, while the remainder of the battalion had come all the way from Thuin through Montigny-le-Tilleul and Marchienne-au-Pont.

Foot battery nr.3 had its bivouac at Lodelinsart. During the morning half of it was sent to a position near the church of Damprémy to support the 1st battalion 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Westphalian Landwehr. Later these troops went back to Gilly. In all probability, the remainder of the battery went back to the position of Gilly directly from Lodelinsart. It is not known whether Pirch II had any of his cavalry available near Gilly, that is the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment Westphalian Landwehrcavalry. These troops crossed the Sambre at Châtelet and Falisolle, but no details about their marches are available.

## Von Jagow's brigade. 12

According to the disposition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May, this brigade had to be collected in rear of Fleurus and to the right of the road which leads towards Point du Jour. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian nr.2) assembled at Fleurus in the morning. The skirmishers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, commanded by captain Von Berg, were sent off to Lambusart where they later linked up with the fusilier battalion in its withdrawal to Lambusart. The skirmishers of the 1st battalion, under captain Von Witten, occupied the last houses in Fleurus on the Charleroi road towards Martinroux, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> company covered the exits of the village. The remaining companies were placed in reserve on its market place. Later in the day, the moment the fusiliers pulled out from Lambusart to Fleurus, Von Berg withdrew his men alongside them. In the evening, the fusilier battalion, as well as the skirmishers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion led by captain Von Berg took over the occupation of Fleurus from Von Witten.

In the early evening both musketeer battalions advanced to receive the units of the 2nd brigade north of Lambusart [14] and then they pulled back beyond Fleurus where they spent the night.

The fusilier battalion of this regiment, however, did not collect there right away. It stood at Farciennes, Auvelais and Tamines in order to observe the Sambre-valley and to protect Pirch II's left flank. Due to the broken terrain here units had been scattered and communication was not easy; in case of a French attack serious resistance could therefore not be serious and a line of messengers was kept open towards the 2<sup>nd</sup> brigade to be informed about its situation.

As soon as major Von Stuckradt (commander of the battalion) had found out that Pirch II had evacuated Châtelet and had taken up a position near Gilly, he sent a captain to Pirch II with a request to maintain the communication with him. Pirch II, from his side, couldn't give him this guarantee, but he would at least inform Von Stuckradt in case he would retire from his position.

Meanwhile, Von Stuckradt collected his units in and around Farciennes. When Jagow got his orders to fall back at 6 p.m., he ordered Von Stuckradt to move through the woods on the left of the Sambre towards Lambusart, while leaving a rearguard of four skirmish platoons and the 1st platoon of the fuselier battalion, all led by captain Von Missbach, at Farciennes. Once the battalion had all but cleared the wood, French skirmishers suddenly appeared to its rear. Captain

Von Finance immediately took lieutenant Von Casimir's 2<sup>nd</sup> platoon against them, driving them back. The battalion was able to continue its movement unmolested until more French skirmishers came into action.

Von Finance's 2<sup>nd</sup> platoon and the skirmishers of the 6<sup>th</sup> company were sent in support so that captain Von Missbach with the rear-guard could finish moving through the wood. In the end, the battalion was able to withdraw with minimal losses, although the skirmish platoons of lieutenant count Rödern and Merker became separated from the main body. However, by taking to the side roads they were able to rejoin later. <sup>16</sup> The two companies of Silesian skirmishers, at Auvelais and Falisolle, formed part of the fusilier battalion led by major Von Stuckradt and acted with this unit accordingly. <sup>17</sup>

Before the concentration of the brigade took place, the 29<sup>th</sup> regiment was ordered to go to Gosselies to support the 1<sup>st</sup> brigade; it returned in the evening and took up its positions.

That evening the  $1^{st}$  battalion, as well as its Jäger-detachment, was at Saint Amand, with outposts stretching towards Heppignies and Fleurus. The  $2^{nd}$  battalion was north-east of Fleurus, to the east of the Fleurus-road. The fuseliers were between Brye and Saint Amand. The  $3^{rd}$  regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry was also east of the Fleurus road, near the  $2^{nd}$  battalion of the  $29^{th}$  regiment. <sup>18</sup>

During the night the brigade crossed the chaussée which leads from Charleroi to Point du Jour and there leaned with its right flank to this road (see below).

### Von Henckel's brigade.

This brigade had its headquarters at Moustier-sur-Sambre. <sup>19</sup> The 19th regiment infantry had its bivouacs at Jemeppe, Auvelais, St.Eustache, Leroux, Gougnies, Arsimont and Falisolle. <sup>20</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> regiment Westphalian Landwehr had its bivouacs at Spy, Fosse, Soye and Floriffoux. The foot battery nr.15 was at Jemeppe. That morning Henckel got orders to take up a position behind Fleurus. To carry out these instructions, however, Henckel had to concentrate his scattered troops. The moment the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr got its order to march towards Fleurus it sent her baggages to Perwez-le-Marchez through Gembloux. While the 1<sup>st</sup> assembled on the heights of Spy, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion (in outposts) went back through Mornimont to Moustier where it found the fusilier battalion assembled. The dispersal of the troops and posts only allowed Henckel to leave Moustier, the rendez-vous, in the evening.

The 19<sup>th</sup> regiment was on the north and south bank of the Sambre. This regiment was assembled near Jemeppe-sur-Sambre before being able to head towards Fleurus. In concentrating his brigade at Fleurus, Henckel left the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> company of the fuselier battalion of the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment under captain Von Borcke at Auvelais to guard the bridge over the Sambre and to defend it if necessary. <sup>21</sup>

The troops at Leroux went back on those at Falizolle, to continue their retreat from there onto Auvelais. Here, another part of the regiment was placed. The troops crossed the Sambre and took the road to Jemeppe-sur-Sambre. At Jemeppe-sur-Sambre was another part of the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment. In order to get to the position near the farm of Le Faijt the troops marched in all probability through Velaine. By night Henckel had placed his brigade in line in the fields in rear of the farm of Le Faijt, north of Wanfercée. <sup>22</sup>



A contemporary building at Wanfercée-Baulet.

## The cavalry-reserve. <sup>23</sup>

According to the disposition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of may, this body had to be collected in and around Sombreffe. However, as the French ofensive took place further to the west, Gosselies was assigned as the new place for the concentration of the cavalry. Most of the cavalry-reserve was assembled there by 9 a.m. <sup>24</sup> Yet, while some regiments were still underway there, the cavalry was ordered to leave for Fleurus after all. This change took place because of the concentration of the corps there and because the enemy advanced in the same direction.

Around 11 a.m. Von Röder left for Fleurus, but he left lieutenant-colonel Von Lützow (commander of the  $2^{nd}$  brigade) at Gosselies with the  $6^{th}$  uhlans with the task to receive the  $1^{st}$  brigade which would come from the Piéton.

It was around 11 a.m. that Von Lützow was reinforced by the 29<sup>th</sup> regiment of Von Jagow's brigade. The 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Kurmark Landwehr cavalry left its positions near Villeroux, Courtil and Gentinnes for Gosselies, but it was diverted towards the position near Fleurus while it was still underway for Gosselies. The same may have applied to the 3rd regiment of Brandenburg uhlans, which marched from Chasssart to the same position. <sup>26</sup>

The reserve cavalry initially took up a position south of Fleurus, but after the retreat of the brigade of Pirch II it came in a position north-east of Fleurus, near the *tombe de Ligny*; it was here that the 6<sup>th</sup> uhlans, having been in action near Gosselies and during the retreat of the 1<sup>st</sup> brigade, joined the cavalry after this had fallen back from Lambusart. <sup>27</sup>

#### The artillery-reserve.

According to the disposition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May, this unit was supposed to go along the Roman road towards the defiles of Gembloux. Yet, due to the French advance, it was by 10 a.m. that

lieutenant colonel Lehmann, commander of the reserve-artillery, got the order to leave its baggages behind and lead his unit from its positions in Gembloux to a position about 2000 paces in rear of Fleurus. <sup>28</sup> Accordingly, Lehmann placed the horse battery nr.10 to the right, having Wagnelée on its right flank. Further left, having the chateau de Ligny on its left, was the howitzer battery nr.1 <sup>29</sup>

The 12p.battery no.2 took up a position with five of its guns to the right of the road which leads from Fleurus to Point du Jour, while the other three were placed on their right on the tombe de Ligny under the command of lieutenant Klapperbein. <sup>30</sup>

To the left of the same road was the 12p. battery nr.6, and to its left was the 6p. battery nr.1. On the extreme left was the 6p. foot battery nr.15 (4<sup>th</sup> brigade), on both sides of the farm of Le Faijt. While the 6p. foot-battery nr.8 was in reserve near its brigade (the 3rd), the 6p. battery nr.3 (2nd brigade) was posted on both sides of the road which leads from Fleurus to Point du Jour; the horse battery nr.2 (Röder) was on the road further in front. All batteries were placed in large intervals. <sup>31</sup> That day, the reserve didn't see any action, apart from the horse battery nr.2 during the retreat towards Lambusart. <sup>32</sup>



Fields around Le Faijt.

#### The Prussian withdrawal after the action of Gilly.

It was immediately after the action at Gilly (it was 6.30 p.m.) that Pirch II wrote to Von Steinmetz:

Ich bin auf dem Rückzuge da Ich mit Übermacht angegriffen bin und werde mich hinter Lambusart aufstellen um meine Arriere Garde auf zu nehmen.

Pirch ½ 7 33

The Prussians withdrew over two roads which lead through the forests towards Lambusart and Fleurus. At least five battalions then followed the track leading to Lambusart. Coming from the abbey of Soleilmont, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 28<sup>th</sup> regiment took the road to Fleurus. On the other side of the woods, in front of Lambusart, it joined the other troops of the 2nd brigade, without having been attacked. This may have been caused by the fact that the road in the wood was blocked by an abatis. <sup>34</sup> It may be possible that the 2nd battalion of the 2nd regiment Westphalian Landwehr did the same, but this is not sure.

To receive his troops, Pirch II had a second line in rear of the wood. The 1st battalion of the  $28^{th}$  regiment was near the road which leads to Lambusart, while both musketeer battalions of the  $1^{st}$  6<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian regiment nr.1) were about 200 paces further to their left rear. Not long after, however,

Pirch II decided to cover his left flank and he placed the  $1^{st}$  battalion of the  $6^{th}$  regiment of infantry (West-Prussian regiment nr.1) led by major Von Rohr and the volunteers of the  $2^{nd}$  battalion of this regiment more to the south, just in rear of the wood near a track which led to the valley of the Sambre.  $^{35}$ 

The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion took over the rear-guard position of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion, and in this way the whole regiment was deployed in rear of the wood to receive the remainder of the brigade. In this way, they slowly went back towards the village, slowly pressed by the French cavalry. <sup>36</sup>

At least the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 28<sup>th</sup> regiment was charged by two regiment of French cavalry; a part of them broke the line of skirmishers and Jäger and turned it. However, major Von Quadt had the battalion halt and march up with the bayonets; in this action they succeeded in driving back the French cavalry, which came under the fire of Prussian skirmishers who were still in the wood and then halted further progress. <sup>37</sup>

It was on this side of the woods too that Pirch II found the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of dragoons of Brandenburg. This regiment had been left there by Zieten in order to cover the retreat of his second brigade.

As the brigade moved back further over the plain towards Fleurus, the dragoons advanced to cover its retreat. As the men of Pajol hesitated to leave the cover of the wood, the 3rd squadron of the Prussian dragoons got the instruction to observe them with two platoons (led by captain Von Puttkammer) and to follow later as the rearguard. By now, the French cavalry had assembled and started coming out from the wood, accompanied by a battery of horse artillery. However, before the French had actually developed, the dragoons charged them and drove them back into the wood. The French gunners of two guns were sabred before the battery had even started its fire, but the Prussians were unable to take the guns as there were no limbers and the French cavalry was still near. By now, the dragoons also slowly pulled back. Further to the left, a platoon of the dragoons led by lieutenant Von Borcke I had been successful in repelling some French cavalry as well. <sup>38</sup>

The French cavalry now advanced over the road leading to Lambusart. About this road colonel

Biot, aide de camp of Pajol, says: "La route que nous primes pour nous rendre à Lambusart est une levée fort étroite, bordée de bois des deux cotés. L'ennemi avait fait usage d'abattis d'arbres traversant le chemin pour retarder notre marche autant que possible, car nous le serrions de fort près; son artillerie nous envoyait même, de temps à autre, quelques bordées auxquelles nous ne répondions pas. Un aide de camp du général de division Pierre Soult y eut le bras emporté." <sup>39</sup>-<sup>40</sup> After reorganising at Lambusart, Pirch II's brigade took up a position south of this village. In addition, Pirch II drew back the detached 1st battalion of the 6th regiment of infantry (West-Prussian nr.1) and the volunteers of the 2nd battalion of this regiment. How far these troops could have gone while being detached is unclear, as the time between their detachment and their return was restricted. <sup>41</sup>

### By 6.45 pm Pirch II wrote to Zieten:

Der Feind hat mich mit sehr überlegenen Cavallerie und 16 Stück Geschützen genöthigt in den vor Lambusart liegenden Wald zurück zu ziehen. Ich habe eine Aufstellung hinter diesen Walde, Lambusart im Rücken habend, genommen. Die Batterie und 2 Bataillons stehen à cheval des Weges. 2 Canons have Ich Lambusart passieren lassen und werde Ich die Brigade hinter diesem Ort sammeln.

## Pirch II 42

In rear of the skirmishers to the right and the men of the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of Brandenburg dragoons, the units of the 2nd brigade had managed to reach Lambusart in good order – in this operation it was lieutenant colonel Von Stack (commander of the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry West-Prussian nr.1) who played a vital role. <sup>43</sup> The position, however, was a temporary one as the French now began emerging from the wood and thereby starting a strong gunfire.

To receive the units of Pirch II, Zieten had sent both museketeer battalions of the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian infantry nr.2) to Lambusart.

That afternoon, Von Röder sent out a reconnaissance to the front from his position north-east of Fleurus, near the tombe de Ligny. Having received its report, Von Röder wrote (probably to Zieten) at 6 p.m:

Hier auf der grossen Strasse nach Gilly vorgeschickte Patrouille meldet dass der Feind sich stark mit Kavallerie gegen die auf Lambusart führende Strasse wende.

15 Juni, nachmittags 6 Uhr F. von Röder <sup>44</sup>

Not long after, Von Röder advanced with three regiments of cavalry and horse battery nr.2 to the left of Fleurus towards Lambusart. These regiments were the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment uhlans, plus the 1st and 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Kurmark Landwehr cavalry. <sup>45</sup>

The 5<sup>th</sup> regiment Brandenburg dragoons was present, as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment dragoons (West-Prussia nr.1) (or rather, the remains of it). The 6<sup>th</sup> uhlans was then with the brigade

Steinmetz retreating through Heppignies. 46

While Von Röder developed his units under a French gunfire in battle-order, the brigade Pirch II went back, via Baulet, to Ligny. (see below).

By now, the horse battery no.2 led by captain Borowski, by now also in position south-east of Fleurus, was faced by a French battery which emerged from Lambusart and which took up a position on an opposite height. As a result, Borowski detached two of his guns under lieutenant Patzig to the left. Both guns advanced about 1200 paces and opened fire on the French artillery. Meanwhile, French units also emerged from the wood over the chaussée to Fleurus and Borowski was forced to detach another two guns under lieutenant Von Knobloch on the road; with his four remaining guns, Borowski slowly advanced in the centre through the fields. It soon became clear however that the French artillery was fully focused upon his detachment to the left and now Borowski speeded up his two guns on the chaussée to take the French battery in its left flank. He also moved his four centre guns more forward and made a quarter turn in order to be able to do the same. Soon after, however, a second French battery came up over the chaussée and gave a strong flanking fire on Von Knobloch's guns. Also a third battery had came up in the French centre which now bombarded the four Prussian centre guns. Due to this French superiority, Borowski now ordered a slow retreat by two's, starting to the right towards a position in the fields near Fleurus. Being fully exposed here, Borowski was now ordered to go back through Fleurus and take a position on the other side of this village. 47 Borowski was during his activities supported by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Kurmark landwehr cavalry.

Both regiments had advanced from their position in rear of Fleurus in order to receive the units of Pirch II and the pursuing French. They didn't make actual charges, however, but acted by moving in groups in all directions to the front. As the French advanced, the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment, in the right rear of the horse battery nr.2, was about to turn when its commander major Von Folgersberg noticed the actions of captain Borowski; he then detached his 3rd squadron, led by captain Von Schwerin, to cover the battery against the approaching French cavalry until it was relieved by the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Kurmark landwehr cavalry. <sup>48</sup>

This regiment then covered the artillery, and thereby lost some men and horses; however, after 30 men led by captain Von Bohlen had been detached to the French right, the French cavalry stopped annoying the retreating Prussians. At the same time, 40 men were sent to the front to skirmish with the enemy while the main body pulled back towards Fleurus. <sup>49</sup> Around the same time, the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of Brandenburg uhlans sent flankers to the front, which were supported by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> squadron. <sup>50</sup> The lancers were supposed to charge the French infantry, but were prevented from doing so by French gunfire. <sup>51</sup>With this action, the fight died down. By 10 p.m. Von Röder pulled his men in a bivouac behind Fleurus, but left strong outposts south of the village. <sup>52</sup>

The brigade of Pirch II would have gone back via Baulet, in the direction of Ligny. There it took up a position around 10 p.m. <sup>53</sup> It is not probable that the troops marched through Baulet as this village is to eccentric for a march towards Ligny. It would be more logical for the troops to march from Lambusart to the mill of Baulet which was located between Fleurus and the farm of Le Faijt. It was between 7 and 8 p.m. that the fighting died down in this sector. <sup>54</sup>

#### The Prussian retreat after the action of Gosselies.

Steinmetz went back with his brigade towards Heppignies where he took up up a position till dusk. Von Steinmetz marched there under cover of a rear-guard which covered a wide front as Von Steinmetz feared to be turned by French cavalry.

On his right flank he had posted the fuselier battalion of the 24<sup>th</sup> regiment and in his centre the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr, plus the two companies of Silesian sharpshooters under major Von Neumann; they were behind a hedge which crossed the road leading to Heppignies. These companies, as well as the fuseliers of the 24<sup>th</sup> regiment, made a successful volley at the pursuing French cavalry. <sup>55</sup>

The 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of uhlans was covered by the two companies of major Von Neumann; they did several feint charges, while the flankers of the 4<sup>th</sup> platoon of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Silesian hussars skirmished with the French cavalry and artillery, which fired and did do some harm to the Prussian rear-guard. <sup>56</sup>

Two platoons of skirmishers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 12<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (Brandenburg nr.2) commanded by lieutenant Rössel were ordered to cover the exit leading to Heppignies; they only were supposed to leave as soon as the skirmishers of the 1st regiment Westphalian Landwehr infantry had withdrawn.

Von Steinmetz had the musketeer battalions of the 12<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (Brandenburg nr.2), covered by their skirmishers, south of the road leading to Heppignies and Fleurus. Their line extended as far as the Bois de Lombuc. In addition to this, Von Steinmetz deployed the horse battery nr.7, probably near the 6th regiment of uhlans. <sup>57</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> Westphalian Landwehr infantry under captain Von Gillhausen, coming from the Brussels road, as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 29<sup>th</sup> regiment, had attached themselves to the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 29<sup>th</sup> regiment in the Bois de Lombuc. <sup>58</sup>

Heppignies itself formed a good position for Von Steinmetz: to the west it was covered by a stream, to the east it was open towards Saint Amand. The temporary position Von Steinmetz took up faced west and south, to the French coming from Gosselies and Ransart. He had the  $6^{th}$  regiment of uhlans on his extreme right flank, towards Wayaux, having its main body in the rear and outposts in front. Near the uhlans were the Silesian Schützen, plus the fuselier battalion of the  $24^{th}$  regiment of infantry. Both the  $2^{nd}$  battalion and the fuselier battalion of the  $12^{th}$  regiment of infantry (Brandenburg nr.2) were for a part in Heppignies itself, facing Ransart, while the 1st battalion of this regiment continued its retreat towards St.Amand. <sup>59</sup>

Also a part of the artillery took up a position there. Further south in the position were all the battalions of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry, stretching out as far as the mill of Barlaimont (west of Fleurus). By now, it was about 7 p.m. <sup>60</sup>

In occupying Heppignies, Von Steinmetz took into account that he had to receive the enemy without getting involved into a serious fight. For this reason, he chose a short position of his main body and the moment the French showed and attacked his skirmish line on his southern front, he retreated further. <sup>61</sup> This was possible by the vigilant action of colonel Von Othegraven, commander of the 12th regiment of infantry (Brandenburg mr.2) who carried out a

counter-attack to the advancing French, holding them off for about one hour and pushing them back for about 15 minutes distance. <sup>62</sup> The action, which was limited to skirmishing in extended order in a large area, started around 8 p.m. and ended around 9 p.m. <sup>63</sup>

It was from Heppignies that Steinmetz pulled back to a position in rear of Saint Amand where the brigade arrived around 11 p.m, though the last units reached their final destinations towards midnight. <sup>64</sup>

Von Steinmetz had his rearguard, consisting of the 1st regiment of Silesian hussars (which in its turn covered the horse battery nr.7), take up a position north of the defile of Heppignies to protect the brigade from the French which were now in Mellet. Here, some skirmishing took place. After the brigade had gone further east, the same regiment covered the area between Mellet, Heppignies and Saint Amand. <sup>65</sup> The distance between Heppignies and Saint Amand is more than four kilometres. The fact that it took the troops more time than normally needed to reach their positions was caused by their extreme fatigue: that day, they had covered 22 to 25 kilometres.

# The Prussian positions on the night of the 15<sup>th</sup> of June.

That night, the 1<sup>st</sup> corps formed a concave line stretching from Saint Amand on the right to Le Faijt on the left, while having cavalry posts securing its flanks towards Mellet and Heppignies on the one side and towards the Sambre on the other. In front it was covered by posts at Fleurus. While the 1<sup>st</sup> brigade was north of Saint Amand, the brigade of Pirch II was in position between Ligny and the road which leads from Fleurus to Point du Jour. <sup>66</sup>

Von Jagow was further in rear of the position as a reserve, its right side leaning against the *chaussée* which ran from Fleurus to Point du Jour. At Fleurus were two battalions of the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry (West-Prussian infantry nr.2). <sup>67</sup> The brigade had outposts towards Wangenies, Martinroux and Lambusart.

Von Henckel's brigade was to the left of the road which leads from Fleurus to Point du Jour in rear of the farm of Le Faijt, north of Wanfercée. The reserve cavalry was in position behind the interval which was between the brigades of Jagow and Henckel, to the left of the road of Fleurus. In case of a French attack it had orders to act according to circumstances: either to protect the extreme left flank or to pull back in rear of the position. <sup>68</sup> Von Röder placed a picket of about a hundered men in front of Fleurus; later this was reinforced with another hundred men of the regiment of Brandenburg uhlans. <sup>69</sup>

To the extreme left, the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr cavalry had patroles towards the passages over the Sambre at Tamines, Auveloix and Moignellée. This regiment was later reinforced over Onoz by the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Silesian uhlans and the 11<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars, both of the 2<sup>nd</sup> army-corps. The reserve artillery was in the positions as sketched before in this chapter.

Zieten himself had his headquarters near the Tombe de Ligny, covered by two 12-pounders (these may well have been those of the battery no.2 of the reserve artillery). The front and the flanks of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps (the last resting upon St.Amand and Le Faijt) were covered by a double line of outposts in the high corn. <sup>70</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Neff, W. - Geschichte etc.p.21

Von Reiche - Memoiren etc. Vol.II.p.157

Report about the 2<sup>nd</sup> brigade. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.64 in: GSA, VPH-HA, VI. nr. VII.3c.p.29

Zieten in his report dated 8th July 1815 mentions an action at Gerpinnes in which the battalion suffered high losses, but this is not correct. It was the action at Couillet which is meant here, though two squadrons of the 1<sup>st</sup> West-Prussian regiment of dragoons and the 6<sup>th</sup> of uhlans are mentioned as well. In: Reiche, L.von Memoiren p.416

5. Die Geschichte des 28. Regiments. In: Special ABN, nr.65 p.14 Report of major Von Quadt (28th regiment). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.74 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.nr.3C.p.23

Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI,nr.II.5.p.15

Neff, W. - Geschichte etc.22-23

- 7. Also see Reille's advance.
- Report of major Von Henne of the battalion. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.73 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.3C.p.21

Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI,nr.II.5.p.21

- <sup>9</sup> Report of captain Von Eberstein (2nd battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.77 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. VII.nr. 3C.p. 12
- 10. Report of captain Von Eberstein (2nd battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.77 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. VII.nr. 3C.p. 12 Von Damitz claims it was on the road which leads from Damprémy to Fleurus when the fight near Gilly took place. In: Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.88
- Report of captain Von Eberstein (2nd battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.77 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. VII.nr. 3C.p. 12 Report about the 2nd brigade. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.64 in: GSA, VPH-HA, VI. nr. VII.3c.p.29 Pflugk Harttung, J.von. In: GSA, VPH-HA VI,nr.II.5.p.20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> KA, nr.VI.E.15.II.p.23 in: GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.2.p.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> KA nr.VI.E.15.II.p.25 in: GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.2.p.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Report of major Von Müller, dated 18th June 1815 (fuselier battalion of the 28<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.76 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. VII.nr. 3C.p.25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Conrady, E.von - Geschichte des Königlich etc. p.241

- Von Pflugk Harttung, J. In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI.nr.II.7.p.4-5
  Report of Von Jagow, dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In KA.VI.E.7.I.116 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3D.p.10-11
- <sup>13</sup> Lewinsky& Brauchitsch Geschichte des etc. p.147-148
  Salisch, G.von Geschichte des königlich Preussischen siebenten Infanterie-Regiments p.196
- <sup>14</sup> Report of Von Jagow. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.116 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.7.p.7
- $^{15}\,$  Report of major Von Chevallerie (fuselier battalion of the  $2^{nd}$  regiment of West-Prussian infantry nr.7). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.135 In: GSA,VPH-HA VI, nr.II.6.p.20
- <sup>16</sup> Report of major Von Stuckradt (fuselier battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of West-Prussian infantry nr.7). In: KA, VI.E.7.I.135 In: GSA,VPH-HA VI, nr.VII.3D.p.8-9
- Cf. Hofschröer, P. 1815. The Waterloo campaign. Wellington etc. p.186 this is based upon the book of Lewinski and Brauchitsch. Geschichte etc. p.147-148, which is in its turn based upon the mentioned report.

The battalion had 2 men killed, 6 men wounded and 6 men missing. Cf. Report in KA,VI.E.7.I.195 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.7.p.6

17. Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.7.p.6

Cf. Hofschröer, P. - 1815. The Waterloo campaign. Wellington etc. p.185

Wagner, Plane etc. p.15

Salisch, G.von - Geschichte des königlich Preussischen siebenten Infanterie-Regiments p.196

The history of the battalion doesn't mention the whereabouts of the  $1^{st}$  and  $2^{nd}$  company of Silesian Schützen, but confirms they were near Fleurus on the night of the  $15^{th}$  of June. Cf. Otto, F.von Geschichte des 2.Schlesischen Jäger Bataillons nr.6 p.79

<sup>18</sup> Report of Von Jagow (former Kriegsarchiv), cited by R.Wellmann In: Geschichte etc. p.73-74

The Schützen of the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion, led by major Von Bismarck, formed a rear-guard which had been in contact with a French patrol near Wangenies. Cf. Diary Von Bismarck, in:

R.Wellmann - Geschichte des Infanterie-Regiments etc. p.71

Of the Westphalian regiment, the fuselier battalion would have been in outposts; both musketeer battalions were opposite Fleurus. Cf.Garrelts, Von – Die Ostfriesen etc. p.164

- 19. In Moustier-sur-Sambre was one large farm, now called the *ferme des Dames*. This farm might have been the headquarters of count Henckel von Donnersmarck.
- 20. Cf. Diary of the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment. In: Henckel von Donnersmarck, count Erinnerungen p.640 Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.I.p.127

The troops at le Roux were therefore near to the squadrons of Pirch II.

<sup>21</sup> Henckel von Donnersmarck, count - Erinnerungen p. 352

Diary of the regiment. In: KA,VI.E.11 and 14 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.8.p.3-4 and 23

Also in: Henckel von Donnersmarck, count - Erinnerungen p. 640-641

Leszczynski, R.von – 50 Jahr Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 2.Posenschen Infanterie-Regiments nr.19 p.153

Both companies joined the regiment on the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup>. The other companies were led to Le Faijt by major Von Schouler.

22. Henckel von Donnersmarck, count - Erinnerungen p. 352

Diary of the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment. In: KA,VI.E.11 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.8.p.3

Report of Henckel von Donnersmarck. In: KA,VI.E.7.I.144 In: GSA. VPH-HA.VI., nr.II.17.p.1 Henckel calls the farm the one of La Fries. Henckel also confirms his outposts had come from that far that they only got at Le Faijt in the evening.

Report of colonel Schutter (19<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: KA,VI.E.7.I.146 In: GSA. VPH-HA.VI., nr.II.7.p.1 Schutter calls the farm of "Le Fais".

Reiche, L.von - Memoiren etc. p.170

Diary of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 19<sup>th</sup> regiment. In: KA, VI.E.13 In: GSA,VPH-HA VI,nr.II.8.p.21 The farm is called here "La Foux".

Leszczynski confirms it took the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment a long time to take up a bivouac near Fayt due to the scattered state of its cantonments and remote outposts; by then it as 10 p.m. In: 50 Jahr Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 2.Posenschen Infanterie-Regiments nr.19 p.153

Report of captain Von Wildowski ( $3^{rd}$  regiment of Brandeburg uhlans). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.172 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.53

28. Report of lieutenant colonel Lehmann. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.197 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,3 E.p.20

Reports of several batteries commanders in Kriegstagebuch of the artillery of the 1st corps. In: GSA, Rep.15a nr.82

According to captain Reuter, his battery (footbattery no.6) left its bivouac at Soirlen, near

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI, nr. II. 12. p. 49-51

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf.Beleuchtung etc. In: MWB, 1846 p.43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI,nr.II.2.p.5,7

Report of major Von Folgersberg (1st regiment of Kurmark landwehr cavalry). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.179 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Report of the regiment. In: KA, VI.E.7.II.176 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.p.20-21

Charleroi, around 2 p.m. It has been impossible to determine what place Soirlen might be. Cf. Reuter, E.von - Erinnerungen etc. p.276

According to Von Reiche the main body of the artillery was in front of the positions. In: Memoiren etc. p.170

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Von Pflugk Harttung. In: GSA, VPH-HA,VI.nr.II.9.p.1 Another source claims the battery no.1 had a position near the road and detached two of its guns towards the fields near St.Amand. Cf.report of captain Voitus, howitzer battery no.1 In: Diary of the artillery of the 1st corps. In: GSA, Rep.15a, nr.82 p.34-35

- $^{\rm 31}$  Report of lieutenant colonel Lehmann. In: KA, VI.E.7.II.197 / VI.E.7.II.199 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,3 E.p.20 and VPH,GSA-HA,VI nr.VII.5.p.1
- <sup>32</sup> Von Pflugk Harttung also mentions the foot battery nr.3 as having seen action during this retreat. In: VPH-HA,VI.nr.II.9.p.3
- <sup>33</sup> Beleuchtung etc. In: MWB, 1846 p.49
- <sup>34</sup> Die Geschichte des 28.Regiments. In: ABN, special nr.65 p.17
- <sup>35</sup> Report of Pirch II. In: GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3c.p.32
- <sup>36</sup> Conrady, E.von Geschichte des Königlich etc. p.243
- $^{37}$  Report of major Von Quadt (1st and 2nd battalion 28th regiment), dated 22nd June 1815. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.74 in: GSA,VPH-HA VI.nr.II.6.p.15-16 and in VII,nr.3C.p.23-24
- 38. Cf. Briefe eines Preussischen Offiziers über den Feldzug etc. In: MWB, 1822 p.472 Report of the regiment. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.166 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.3 E.p.59-60 Kraatz-Koschlau, M.T. Geschichte des 1.Brandenburgischen Dragoner-Regiments nr.2 p.101 Report of the 5th regiment of Brandenburg dragoons, by Von Orley, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.166 In: GSA,VPH-HA VI, nr.II.6.p.19-20 Report of Von Zieten. In: KA, VI.E.3.15 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.2

Pajol had overtaken the columns of the 3<sup>rd</sup> corps of Vandamme. Cf. Grouchy's report of the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup> of June of 10 p.m. In: SHD, C15 nr.5

39. Biot, colonel H.F. - Campagnes et garnisons, p.239

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cf.report of captain Siemon, 12p. battery no.2 In: Diary of the artillery of the 1st corps. In: GSA, Rep.15a, nr.82 p.3-5

- <sup>40</sup> According to Houssaye, bodies of Exelmans cavalry would have driven a Prussian battalion out of the wood of Pierrerondchamp to Lambusart, but it is not clear which battalion this was and the Prussian sources do not mention this action at all. In:1815.Waterloo. p.127
- <sup>41</sup> Its skirmishers would have advanced as far as the southern edge of the wood. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI.nr.II.6.p.15
- <sup>42</sup> In: KA, VI.E.nr.3.Vol.II.p.81 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.6.p.17 And: KA, VI.C.3.II.p.81 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI, nr.VII.6.p.11
- Report of Pirch II. In: KA,VI.E.3.II. In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI.nr.VII.3c.p.1 Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA,VPH-HA VI, nr.II.6.p.22
- <sup>44</sup> In: KA, nr.VI.E.15.II.p.35 In: GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.2.p.9
- <sup>45</sup> Report of major Von Folgersberg (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Kurmark Landwehr cavalry). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.179 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.43
- 46. Die Geschichte des 28.Regiments. In: ABN, nr.65 p.17 Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.166 Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI,nr.II.6.p.22-23
- <sup>47</sup> Report of captain Borowski. In: Kriegstagebuch, artillery of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps. GSt.A Rep.15a.nr.82 p.36-37 Also in: KA, Nr.V.E.7.I.169 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,3 E.p.62 Report of lieutenant colonel Lehmann. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.197 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,3 E.p.21
- <sup>48</sup> Report of major Von Folgersberg (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Kurmark Landwehr cavalry). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.179 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.43
- $^{\rm 49}$  Report of major Von Kameke (2 $^{\rm nd}$  regiment of Kurmark Landwehr cavalry). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.185 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.3 E.p.35
- <sup>50</sup> Report of captain Von Wildowski (3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of Brandenburg uhlans). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.172 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.53
- <sup>51</sup> Goltz, G.F.G. Geschichte des königlich Preussischen dritten Ulanen-Regiments p.163
- Report of major Von Treskow. In: KA,VI.E.7.II.162 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.64-65
- Report of major general Von Röder. In: KA,VI.E.7.I.156 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.71

The post of the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of uhlans consisted of 100 men. Report of captain Von Wildowski (3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of Brandenburg uhlans). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.172 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.53

<sup>53</sup> State of the movements of the 2<sup>nd</sup> brigade. In: GSA, VI HA, NL Gneisenau, Kt.19 p.11 Pirch II claims it was 11 p.m. Cf.his report in the KA, VI.E.3.Vol.II. In: GSA, VPH-HA.VI.nr.VII.3c.p.1

Conrady claims it was at 11 p.m. Cf. Conrady, E.von - Geschichte des Königlich etc. p.243 Die Geschichte des 28.Regiments mentions a route " on the other side of Baulet ". See: ABN, special nr.65 p.17

- 54. According to general Petit the action took about one hour. In: Petits account of the Waterloo campaign. In: The English Historical Review. Vol.XVIII.1903. p.323
- <sup>55</sup> Report of major Von Neumann, commander of both companies. In: KA, VI.E.7.II.25 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII, nr.3B, p.3

Report of major Von Blücher (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 24<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.32 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,nr.3B p.17

Otto, F.von - Geschichte des 2.Schlesischen Jäger Bataillons nr.6 p.78 Zychlinski, F.von - Geschichte etc. p.262

Report of major Von Engelhardt (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Silesian hussars). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.53 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,nr.3B p.15
Report of captain Von Petersdorff (6<sup>th</sup> regiment uhlans). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.177 in GSA, VPH-

HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.56-57

57. Von Pflugk Harttung In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.3.p.9-12. He bases his account on the reports of the different units. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.59, and II.53, II.176, II.32, II.35, II.27

Major general Von Steinmetz himself confirms the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of uhlans, the 1st regiment of Silesian hussars and the horse battery nr.7 covered the retreat. Cf. Report of major general Von Steinmetz. In: KA, VI.7.I.26 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI, nr.VII,nr.3B.p.5

Lieutenant colonel Lehmann of the artillery of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps confirms horse battery nr.7 came into action that day. Cf. Report of lieutenant colonel Lehmann. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.197 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,3 E.p.21

Otto, F.von - des 2.Schlesischen Jäger Bataillons nr.6 p.78

Wechmar, H.von - Braune Husaren etc. p.61

<sup>58</sup> Major Von Steinmetz in: Beleuchtung etc. p.45 Report of captain Von Gillhausen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehrinfantry). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.35 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,nr.3B p.9

Both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and fusilier battalion of the 29<sup>th</sup> regiment came here under the command of

major Von Hymmen. In: Wellmann, R. Geschichte etc. p.71

<sup>59</sup> Major Von Götz, commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Brandenburg infantry nr.12. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.36 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI, nr.VII,3B p.1-2

Report of major Von Neumann, commander of both companies. In: KA, VI.E.7.II.25 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII, nr.3B, p.3

## 60. Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-VI HA, nr.II..3.p.13-16

Major Von Steinmetz. In: Beleuchtung etc. In: MWB, 1846, p.49

The report of the fuselier battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian landwehr claims it was the mill of Fleurus, but in our view this was too far east at that moment. Cf.. KA, VI.E.7.I.50 Lachouque, H.

Hofschröer, P. - 1815. The Waterloo campaign. Wellington etc. p.179

L.von Reiche says the brigade left Gosselies around 6 p.m. and an arrived at Heppignies one hour later. In: Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.167

### 61. Reiche, L.von - Memoiren etc. p.167

According to Harkort there was a short exchange of musketry fire with some French troops which approached Heppignies on the south-east side. In falling back to St.Amand, Von Steinmetz would have left a small rearguard on the churchyard of Heppignies. Cf.Harkort, F. Die Zeiten des ersten Westphalischen etc. p.42-43

<sup>62</sup> Pflugk Harttung, J. von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.3.p.19

Diary of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps. KA, II.M.207 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3.p.24

Hofschröer, P. - 1815. The Waterloo campaign. Wellington etc. p.179

Report of major general Von Steinmetz. In: KA, VI.7.I.26 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI, nr.VII,nr.3B.p.6

Major Von Götz, commander of the 2nd regiment Brandenburg infantry nr.12 claims the French were pushed back for about half to one hours distance. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.36 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI, nr.VII,3B p.1 and 2

Another source claims this French attack was hold back by the companies of Schützen and the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian landwehr, commanded by colonel Von Hoffmann. Cf. Otto, F.von - Geschichte des 2.Schlesischen Jäger Bataillons nr.6 p.79

<sup>63</sup> Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.3.p.17 Major Von Steinmetz. In: Beleuchtung etc. In: MWB, 1846, p.49 Prussian losses were small: the musketier battalions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Brandenburg infantry nr.12 lost 1 subaltern killed, 3 subaltens and 20 men wounded and 13 men missing. Cf. the report of both battalions. In: KA, VI.7.II.27 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.3.p.20

64. Otto, F.von - Geschichte des 2. Schlesischen Jäger Bataillons nr. 6 p. 79 Major Von Götz, commander of the 2nd regiment Brandenburg infantry nr. 12. In: KA,

VI.E.7.I.36 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI, nr.VII, 3B p.2 He says the musketier battalions left Heppignies by 10 p.m.

The fuseliers of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr reached the windmill of Fleurus, but left this position by 10 p.m. for a bivouac at St.Amand. Cf. report of Captain Von Grolman, commander of the battalion. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.50 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII, nr.3B, p.4

Report of captain Von Gillhausen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehrinfantry). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.35 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,nr.3B p.9

Report about foot battery nr.7 In: KA, VI.E.7.II.52 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII, nr.3B p.24 Report of captain Von Petersdorff (6<sup>th</sup> regiment uhlans). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.177 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.58

Harkort, F. - Die Zeiten des ersten Westphalischen etc. p.42

Major Von Reiche claims it was around 10 p.m. In: Memoiren etc. p.170

Major Von Steinmetz believes it was between about 830 p.m. and midnight that the 1<sup>st</sup> brigade was assembled at Satint Amand. In: Major Von Steinmetz. In: Beleuchtung etc. In: MWB, 1846, p.49

The fuselier battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr crossed Fleurus at 10 p.m. Cf. Report of the battalion in KA, VI.E.7.I.50 and II.40

The fuselier battalion of the 24<sup>th</sup> regiment plus the two companies of Schützen were at Heppignies during the night and only joined their brigade in the early morning of the 16th of June. Cf. Report of major Von Blücher (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 24<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: KA, VI.E.7.II.32 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII, nr.3B p.17 Cf. Zychlinski, F.von Geschichte etc. p.263

Major Von Jagow claims the 1<sup>st</sup> brigade reached St.Amand between 8 and 9 p.m. In: KA.VI.E.7.I.116 in GSA,VPH-HA,VI.nr.VII.3D.p.11

All other reports in: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.II.p.20-21

Major Von Götz, commander of the fuselier battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Brandenburg infantry nr.12 claims the battalion spent the night at Brye. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.36 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI, nr.VII,3B p.1

While most reports are not that specific (they merely mention at or near Saint Amand), Von Steinmetz indicates the brigade took up positions in rear of Saint Amand. In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.VII. nr.3B p.5, 23

This is confirmed by colonel Von Reiche. In: Über die Kriegsbegebenheiten des I.Armeekorps In: VI.E.7.I.p.1 In: GSA. VPH-HA. VI, nr.5.p.53

65. Major general Von Steinmetz. In: Steinmetz, major Von Beleuchtung etc. p.45 Report of major general Von Steinmetz. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.26 and II..18 In: GSA, VPH-HA VI, nr.VII. nr.3B p.5,23

And in: KA, VI.7.I.26 In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI, nr. VII, nr. 3B.p.6

Wechmar, H.von Braune Husaren etc. p.61

66. Conrady, E.von - Geschichte des Königlich etc. p.244

Cf. Zychlinski, F.von - Geschichte etc. p.263

Reiche, L.von - Memoiren etc. p.166

Damitz, K.von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.95

According to Von Plotho the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> West-Prussian regiment nr.6 and the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Westphalian Landwehrinfantry were at Ligny itself. In: Der Krieg des Verbundeten etc. p.31

According to Von Reiche the brigade was in this position from 11 p.m. onwards.

- 67. Report of the 3<sup>rd</sup> brigade. In: KA, VI.E.7.II.122 in: GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. VII.3D.p.1
- <sup>68</sup> Diary of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps. KA, II.M.207 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3.p.24
- <sup>69</sup> Report of Von Röder. In: KA.VI.E.7.I.156. Report of the Brandenburg uhlans. In: KA,.VI.E.7.I.165 Both in: GSA, VPH-HA.VI.nr.II.11.p.4
- 70. Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.170 Von Reiche. Report in KA, VI.E.7.I.7 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. VII.5.p.44