

The Prussian intervention. The corps of Bülow.

The French position.

Opposite the Prussian forces gathering in the Bois de Paris were the 2200 horsemen and 12 guns of the divisions of Domon and Subervie, in position between the complex of Fichermont and the Bois de Ranson. Of the division of Jacquinet the 7th regiment of hussars was involved here in the actions against the Prussians as it served as a link between Domon's and Jacquinet's cavalry. ¹ Around Fichermont were one or two battalions of Durutte, which Durutte sent there the moment the Prussians started to arrive. ²

By the time Lobau was informed about the massive Prussian presence in the Bois de Paris, he moved his corps from the intermediate ridge in a *pas de course* to his pre-reconnoitred position. ³As he moved there, both Domon and Subervie delayed the advance of the first Prussian units which emerged from the wood. ⁴ Having arrived towards 4.45 p.m., Lobau posted his 5700 men and 22 guns [⁵] on the heights in rear of the track which lies between the chateau of Fichermont and the Bois de Ranson, in rear of the cavalry, and by doing so he took a position which was in a square angle with the 1st corps. ⁶ The divisions were posted one behind the other, the one of Simmer in front and the one of Jeanin in rear. ⁷ They were formed up in close columns, with a strong skirmishing line in front. ⁸ Initially, both cavalry divisions with their 12 guns were in front of the infantry, thereby forming an integrated position of all arms flanked on both sides by woods. ⁹

By 4 p.m. , Prussian infantry had been massed in the Bois de Paris, on a wide front, the brigade of Von Losthin directly to the right of the road, and the one of Von Hiller directly to the left of it. At least Von Hiller tried to provoke the French cavalry by pulling back his fusiliers from the edge of the wood. The French cavalry did advance to about 100 paces from the wood but then halted and didn't send out patrols. ¹⁰

Though the entire 4th corps hadn't arrived yet on the other side of the valley of the Lasne, Blücher still decided to attack right away as the situation of Wellington's army seemed to be quite alarming. ¹¹ By doing so, he reckoned with the arrival of the complete 4th corps, the 2nd and the 1st corps. ¹²

It was 4.30 p.m. that the first Prussians started to emerge in numbers from the wood. ¹³ Bülow formulated the disposition thus: "Die 15. Brigade Losthin nimmt die Tête und entwickelt sich westlich vom Walde in Bataillonsmassen als rechter Flügel, die Tirailleurs vorgezogen. Es folgt die Brigade Batterie und die Reserve Artillerie, die bis zur nächsten Anhöhe vorgefahren, in der Front gedeckt durch das 2. Schlesische Husaren Regiment und die Brigade Kavallerie der 15. Brigade. Die 16. Brigade Hiller folgt, zieht sich links heraus und bildet den linken Flügel. Die Reserve Kavallerie Prinz Wilhelm formiert sich hinter der 16. Brigade. Die 13. Brigade V. Hacke wird Reserve." ¹⁴

In general, the Prussian frontline developed on the heights between Cheval de Bois and Aywiers, perpendicular to the French right flank and having La Belle Alliance as its central target. ¹⁵ On its left side were the low grounds of the Lasne while on its right were those around Fichermont.



View of the battlefield from the road connecting the Bois de Paris and Plancenoit.

The arrival of the 15th brigade.

The first battalions of 15th brigade of Von Losthin which got out from the Bois de Paris to the right of road which leads from Lasne to Plancenoit were, covered by their skirmishers, the 2nd (= fusilier) battalion of the 18th regiment and the fusilier battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry, to the right and left. They were led by major Von Krahn.¹⁶

In rear of them came a strong line of skirmishers which preceded the first line which consisted from right to left of the 1st battalion of the 18th regiment, the 3rd battalion of the same regiment, the 1st battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry and the 2nd battalion of the same regiment. In rear of both musketeer battalions of the 18th regiment were the 2nd and the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry, to the right and left.¹⁷

For the protection of the left flank of the 16th brigade, which was due to arrive, the 3rd battalion of the 4th regiment of Silesian Landwehr was sent out towards the extreme left flank towards Aywiers and Maransart. As soon as the 16th brigade had fully arrived, the battalion got back to the brigade and took up a position in the second line, probably about 75 metres in rear of the 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment Silesian regiment of Landwehr infantry.¹⁸ The left flank of the 15th brigade extended towards the road which leads from Lasne to Plancenoit. It was to the left that its foot battery nr.14 had taken up a position, facing south and thereby having Fichermont to its right front. Opposite, the French cavalry was developing and therefore no serious threat.¹⁹

Still further to its left was the horse battery nr.11 and which was in its turn on its left covered by the four squadrons of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry.²⁰ In the Bois de Paris, this horse battery - belonging to the reserve artillery - had been taken further to the front, as well as the 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr cavalry. Having trotted through the wood and initially covered by the high corn, the battery had advanced unnoticed for the enemy and took up a position on the height near the road Lasne-Plancenoit. There it opened a successful canister fire

on the French cavalry which was very near.²¹

The 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr cavalry (Von Sydow) was instructed to leave the wood, turn right towards Beau-Chêne for some distance and then to turn left in order to cover the 15th brigade. Having done that, it took up a position in squadrons with intervals near the wood which is northeast of Smohain.²²

The arrival of the 16th brigade.

While Von Losthin led his units forward and to the right, the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars, led by colonel Von Eicke, went straight ahead near the road towards the French position in order to cover the skirmishers and units of the 16th brigade which were now starting to leave the wood as well.²³ It was almost 5 p.m. In doing so, the hussars - supported by the 1st and 2nd squadron of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry - drove back a line of French skirmishers, as well as a French regiment of *chasseurs à cheval* which now pulled back, thereby drawing the Prussians to their supports. Now, these came up and charged the hussars and Landwehr in their flank and threw them back as far as the Prussian infantry. In this movement, the Prussian horsemen drew horse battery nr.11 along further to the rear, including possibly the extreme left flank of the Prussian skirmishing line of the 15th brigade. The battery now took up a position some 300 paces further to the rear, where just at that time foot battery no.2 of the 16th brigade arrived to its left. Not long after, all four squadrons of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry advanced, as well as horse battery no.11 and the hussars. By that time, however, the French cavalry had deployed its artillery which now opened a brisk fire on the Prussian cavalry which again yielded; horse battery no.11, now back in its original position, suffered under the French artillery fire. Having advanced for about 500 paces, however, the battery was able to silence the French guns.²⁴ After this, the Prussian cavalry advanced again and the result was that the French cavalry now pulled back behind or on the flanks of the artillery and the infantry of Lobau.²⁵

Before entering the fields, Von Losthin had waited until the 16th brigade had collected in the wood, so that he had a cover in his rear and flank. Now, as Von Losthin advanced, he allowed Von Hiller to develop his brigade out of the wood, to the left of the road.

Von Hiller did so first with his artillery (battery nr.2) , covered by skirmishers and their supports. The development of these was possible by the effective fire of the 1st or 2nd battalion of the 15th regiment. As soon as this battalion had spent all its ammunition, it was relieved by the 3rd battalion of the 2nd regiment of Silesian Landwehr led by captain Von Dubschütz.²⁶ Not long after the development of the Prussian artillery, an artillery duel ensued.²⁷ The foot battery nr.2 had taken up a favourable position somewhere near the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars and the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry, near the road which leads from Lasne to Plancenoit.²⁸

As the skirmishers gained space to their left front, Von Hiller advanced with his battalions in columns in two lines. Though the units advanced slowly and methodical, they suffered from French gunfire. In front here, Von Hiller had the musketeer battalions of the 15th regiment which were soon to their left joined by those of the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr, coming up from behind. In the second line was the 2nd regiment of Silesian landwehr infantry.²⁹

During the development of his brigade, and ordered by Von Gneisenau, Von Hiller sent two of his battalions (the 3rd battalion of the 15th regiment of infantry and the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry), led by major Von Keller, to his left flank.

Initially, the French cavalry of Domon and Subervie kept on threatening the Prussian line of skirmishers, but did not push through any charges upon them. Yet, as the Prussian forces

progressed, the French horsemen pulled back in rear or on the flanks of the infantry units of Lobau behind them.

Yet, as the Prussians kept up a steady pressure in their advance, Lobau yielded slowly upon the fields north of Plancenoit, in particular when it became clear to Lobau that Bülow put his weight on Plancenoit in an attempt to cut off his opponent. By now it was 5.30 p.m.³⁰ Lobau slowly pulled his corps back to a position immediately north of Plancenoit, resting with its right flank in the north part of the village and its left flank upon the units of Durutte, which were in front of Fichermont and Papelotte. At that time, Plancenoit itself was not occupied by the French.³¹ It had not slipped Napoleon's attention that his right flank was impaired. As a result, he sent for the Young Guard to occupy Plancenoit right away; this force comprised 4000 men and 16 guns. There are no details available about their march, their formation or how they were located in and around the village.³² It was now between 5.30 and 6 p.m.³³ After the Young Guard had left its position to the right of the Brussels-road, near La Belle Alliance, the remaining battalions of the Imperial Guard advanced, taking up its former position. Here, they were formed in squares, en echelon.³⁴

The arrival of the Prussian reserve cavalry.

Towards 5.30 p.m., the remaining regiments of the reserve cavalry of the 4th corps started to arrive on the battlefield.³⁵ They did so to the left of the road, in two columns, in rear of the brigade of Von Hiller. The regiments involved were the 1st regiment of West-Prussian uhlans (brigade of Von Schwerin), the 8th regiment of hussars (brigade of Von Watzdorff), the 1st regiment of Neumark Landwehr cavalry, plus the 1st regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr cavalry (brigade of Von Sydow).³⁶

By advancing in this way the regiments supported the 16th brigade and secured the left flank of the corps by extending this flank further south towards the Lasne as the infantry did, and that is what they had to accomplish. With them was prince Wilhelm.³⁷

However, very shortly after, the 1st regiment of West-Prussian uhlans was sent to the right wing of the corps opposite Fichermont by order of Bülow himself through captain Von Below. While going there the regiment (having left the wood and entering the fields for about hundred metres) crossed the firing line of a French battery and it was then that count Von Schwerin (who then was near the regiment and its commander, lieutenant colonel Beier) fell by an exploding shell; a splinter entering his head almost instantly killed him.³⁸

The Prussian right wing.

The 15th brigade: front and early actions.

As mentioned before, both battalions which were in front of the brigade, the 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment (to the right) and the 3rd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry (to the left), led by major Von Koschkull, turned to the right towards the complex of Fichermont.³⁹ The skirmishers platoons of these battalions deployed in front, under captain Von Osten and 1st lieutenant Von Wedelstädt.

While the 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment took a direction upon the slopes to the right of the chateau towards Smohain, the 3rd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry took a course just passing the complex to its left.

The instruction for the 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment was to advance in the low ground to the right and then to attack Smohain with its skirmishers, while the battalion itself would take a covered position on the slope of the low ground. As the skirmishers approached the village it

soon became clear that it was partly occupied by the French (Durutte's division). Now, both Nassau and Prussian forces cleared it from the French. The battalion itself, by now, had now descended into the low ground as well, following the skirmishers who kept in contact with the enemy.⁴⁰

After having detached some troops towards Fichermont and Smohain and with this battery here, Von Losthin, now had developed a front between Fichermont and the road Lasne – Plancenoit which essentially consisted of two wings. The right one consisted of the 1st and the 3rd battalion of the 18th regiment, as well as the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment Silesian Landwehr infantry and was led by colonel Von Massow.

The left wing, led by major Von Krahn, was composed of the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr (in front) and of the 3rd battalion of the 4th regiment Silesian Landwehr infantry in the second line at 150 paces.⁴¹

The 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr cavalry covered the right wing. However, the regiment had hardly advanced as a heavy French bombardment hit the regiment. Yet, it advanced with intervals into a position in rear of the infantry.⁴²

By 5.30 p.m., the 1st battalion of the 18th regiment followed both battalions led by Von Koschkull and in doing so directed its march towards Fichermont and the area immediately south of it. The skirmishers, led by captain Von Pogwisch, carried out a bayonet attack on Durutte's forces in and around the complex of Fichermont and took it – then the Nassau troops also re-occupied it. As the French left their positions in and around Fichermont, the battalion crossed the small road in rear of it and descended into the low ground. It was here that it got to the right of the 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment.⁴³

The 3rd battalion of the 18th regiment, led by captain Von Biberstein, had got forward towards the small wood south of the complex of Fichermont, while being covered by skirmishers. However, due to the vegetation and its speed the battalion got too far (about 40-50 metres) forward from the second line and too far left as well; in this situation Von Biberstein asked major Von Krahn for orders – meanwhile, his skirmishers were in close combat with the French skirmishers and drove them back. But as the Prussians had gone too far ahead here too, they were forced back with high casualties in men and ammunition. Now, the whole battalion was forced to fall back to the original second line, where it formed again. After that it made another attempt to drive the French away, but also this failed. By now, the Prussian firing-line was reinforced by the 1st and 8th platoon and now the French were driven back. But not for long: as soon as they got reinforcements, they advanced again, also in combination with cavalry; a bitter fight ensued in which the whole battalion became engaged in a line of skirmishers.⁴⁴

The right wing of the 15th brigade was soon to be reinforced by the two battalions which came from the 13th brigade, the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian infantry nr.10 (leading) and the 1st battalion of the 2nd Neumark regiment of Landwehr infantry. Both battalions turned to the right and advanced towards Smohain and entered the fray by 6 p.m.

The 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment Silesian infantry nr.10 was the leading battalion and was preceded by its skirmishers, which were commanded by captain Von Monsterberg. Initially, while approaching the village, they mistook the Nassau troops for French – soon after, however, they saw they shared the village with the 18th regiment of the brigade of Von Losthin. Both battalions entered the village, while their skirmishers were in front, getting into contact with the French who were immediately out in front of the village, in gardens and behind hedges. Meanwhile, a party of the fusiliers of the 1st regiment of Silesian infantry nr.10 had joined the Prussian skirmishers. In front of them were, apart from the French skirmishing line, two regiments of cavalry (probably of Jacquinet) but they, though threatening, didn't charge.⁴⁵

The foot battery nr.14 had been one of the first batteries to arrive on the field. Having taken up a position south east of Fichermont, it was explicitly ordered to stay there though the front battalions of infantry had gone towards the front on the right. It was left there to cover a possible retreat, facing a strong force of French artillery and cavalry.⁴⁶

Horse battery nr.11 had got under French artillery fire and now advanced about 250 metres from which position it silenced a French battery and forced it to fall back.⁴⁷ As the French had deployed a strong artillery, the need for artillery in Von Losthin's line was seriously felt. Twelve pounder battery nr.3 (reserve artillery of the 4th corps) was now pulled in the front and got a position between the 3rd battalion of the 18th regiment and the 1st battalion of the 3rd Silesian regiment of infantry.⁴⁸ Having a position at about 1600 paces from the enemy, it fired grenades on the French cavalry and round shot on the French infantry and artillery. The French artillery fired grenades as well, but most of these burst in the air and did no harm. For that reason the battery was able to advance another 400 paces to fire round shot on the French squares and artillery.⁴⁹

Major Von Ziegler initially kept the foot battery nr.11 (reserve-artillery) after its arrival upon the field of battle in reserve, but after a lapse of time it was committed towards Fichermont, against the French who were on the heights south of this complex. Due to the broken state of the ground the battery was not able to advance here in a line, and therefore split up in three groups which were posted on the heights: one of four guns and two of each two guns. From here they bombarded the enemy with round shot and grenades until about 8 p.m. The battery's position was somewhere to the right of the horse battery nr.11⁵⁰

The arrival of the 13th brigade.

In this stage of the battle - it was between 5.30 and 6 p.m. - the Prussians received reinforcements.⁵¹ Around 5.30 p.m. the 13th brigade of Von Hacke reached the battlefield and developed to the right of the road, in rear of the 15th brigade of Von Losthin.⁵²

In front Von Hacke had the 3rd battalion of the 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry (left) and the 3rd battalion of the 1st Silesian regiment of infantry nr.10 (right); in comparing their positions to the other battalions which followed they were in reversed order (left – right instead of right – left).⁵³

In his first line, on the right Von Hacke had the 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry, having its 1st battalion on the right and the 2nd battalion on the left. The 1st regiment Silesian infantry no.10 was to the left, having its 1st battalion to the right and the 2nd battalion to the left. In second line was the 3rd Neumark Landwehr regiment of infantry (from left to right: fusileers, 2nd battalion, 1st battalion), while the foot battery nr.21 and the brigade cavalry were to the left.⁵⁴

The first thing Von Hacke did was to send his two front battalions, the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian infantry nr.10 and the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry, both led by major Von Braunschweig, towards Smohain.⁵⁵

Both battalions, the fusilier battalion leading, advanced towards the village, having their skirmishers in front, but by the time they reached it had already been occupied by the 15th brigade and the Nassau troops (see below).⁵⁶ Both squadrons attached to the brigade (the 1st and 3rd of the 2nd regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry) were somewhere in the frontline of the left wing of the brigade, covering the infantry. Shortly after the fighting got stronger, the horsemen went back to the rear for about 100 paces in order to avoid too much losses. Later, however, they advanced again and covered the skirmishers up to the end of the battle.⁵⁷

The arrival of the reserve artillery

As the different units of the reserve-artillery of the 4th corps reached the battlefield, they moved up and were gradually assigned positions in the front-line (see below). With the arrival of the brigades of Losthin, Hiller, the reserve-artillery and the reserve-cavalry the Prussian forces now counted 11.950 men infantry (18 battalions), 3350 men cavalry (26 squadrons) and 1400 men artillery with 70 guns (9 batteries).⁵⁸

The Prussian left wing. The arrival of the 14th brigade.

Towards 6 p.m. the brigade of Von Ryssel, the rear-guard of the 4th corps, arrived on the battlefield.⁵⁹ The brigade, while coming from the left part of the wood developed itself some distance in rear of the one of Von Hiller, leaning to the left on the Lasne stream and to the right on Von Hacke's brigade, thereby forming a wide front.⁶⁰ It did so in order to cover the 4th corps to its left on the one side, and to reinforce its centre on the other.

This didn't apply to the cavalry which was attached to the brigade (the 2nd and 4th squadron of the 2nd regiment of Silesian Landwehr). Both these squadrons got separated from the brigade while leaving the wood and then captain Lautier, its commander, joined the reserve cavalry of the 4th corps as soon as it moved from the left part to the centre of the line. Sometime later, Lautier again tried to join his brigade by reporting to the regiment commander, colonel Von Eike. Von Eike sent him with his men to a position in rear of the right wing of the 4th corps, but where is not known. Here both squadrons linked up to some infantry and supported it by moving along with it.⁶¹

Its battery, foot battery nr.13, took up the former position of the 12p. battery nr.5, and this was somewhere north-east of Plancenoit. In this position it supported the action in Plancenoit.⁶²

With the arrival of the brigade, the Prussian forces now counted about 14.000 men with 16 extra guns (18 battalions, 4 squadrons and 2 batteries).

It was also towards 6 p.m. that Blücher was informed by general Thielmann (through lieutenant Von Wussow) that he was under attack at Wavre.⁶³ Blücher realised that the decisive battle was at Mont Saint Jean and therefore ordered Thielmann (through Von Wussow) to hold his position as long as he could.⁶⁴ It was right then that Blücher decided to attack Plancenoit.

The first attack on Plancenoit.

Initially, horse battery nr.12 (six guns, attached to the reserve-cavalry) had followed the 8th regiment hussars towards Plancenoit in the centre of the Prussian front-line, but after that it took up a position on the wide, protruding height opposite Plancenoit, to the right of 12p. foot battery nr.13 (reserve-artillery).⁶⁵ The 12p. battery nr.13 (reserve-artillery) stood to the left of horse battery nr.12, at a distance of 1000-1200 paces from the enemy.⁶⁶ It was probably to the left of this 12p. battery that horse battery nr.1 (reserve-cavalry) took up a position.⁶⁷

Under their heavy bombardment (⁶⁸), of which cannon-balls also reached the Brussels road and the general staff around Napoleon which was at that time near the house of Decoster (⁶⁹), the attack was prepared. It was now almost 6.30 p.m.⁷⁰

General Von Hiller formed three columns of attack, each consisting of two battalions. From his first line, Von Hiller formed the right hand column which consisted of the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 15th regiment of infantry led by major Von Wittich. The centre column was led by major Von Fischer and he led the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehrinfantry, preceded by four platoons of skirmishers. From his second line, Von Hiller formed his left

hand column, which consisted of the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 2nd regiment of Silesian Landwehr, and which was led by lieutenant colonel Von Blandowsky.

The right hand column had to approach Plancenoit through a small road which ended near the church, while the centre had to penetrate into the village head on along an alley to the left of the church, while the left hand column had to penetrate into Plancenoit from the south after having crossed a tiny side-stream of the Lasne.⁷¹

Still further to the left, at least the 3rd battalion of the 15th regiment, led by major Von Keller, was advancing in the Bois de Virère. Further to the rear the brigade of Von Ryssel followed as a reserve, in which advance the 1st battalion of the 11th regiment of infantry, as well as the 1st battalion of the 1st Pommeranian regiment of Landwehrinfantry were sent forward on the request of colonel Von Hiller. This had to do with the fact that the brigade of Von Losthin operated further to the right and Von Hiller was afraid of being too weak for the attack.

Colonel Von Hiller had issued a general and urgent order to take the village by bayonet only and to fire at the other side of it; the use of fire-arms was only permitted for artillery and skirmishers. As a precaution, Von Hiller also placed captain Von Osten, the commander of his cavalry, in the low ground of the Prussian position with the instruction to receive and collect all the men who went back.⁷²



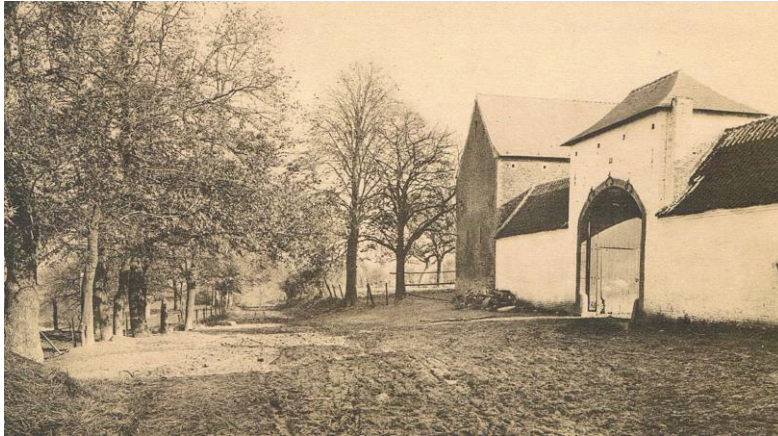
Plancenoit, seen from the east, just south of the road connecting it to the Bois de Paris.
To the left, the low grounds of the Lasne.

Before the actual attack however, Von Hiller took a few scattered houses which lined the hollow road further to the south east of the village (and which not seem to have been occupied by the French) with the skirmishers of the 2nd regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry.⁷³ These skirmishers were supported by the 1st, 5th and 6th platoons of the 3rd battalion of the 15th regiment which was at that time to the left of the brigade.⁷⁴

Not long after, however, this battalion was detached, with the 3rd battalion of the 1st Silesian Landwehr regiment in its wake, to cross the Lasne stream, enter the Bois de Virère, and guard the left flank of the army by observing the left bank of the Lasne and to try to set up a communication with major Von Falckenhausen, who was patrolling the same bank with his detachment of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehrcavalry. Further, it had to act according to

circumstances. In order to do this, Von Keller moved – unnoticed by the enemy - deeper south-west into the Bois de Hubermont with his battalion in column, having his skirmishers in front. The fuseliers of the battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr do not seem to have followed properly.⁷⁵

The 3rd battalion of the 15th regiment was preceded by its two Schützen-platoons of the 9th and 10th company, led by lieutenant Wittcke, as well as by three platoons (the 1st, 5th and 6th) as skirmishers.⁷⁶ A platoon of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry was attached to the detachment to facilitate the transmission of information.⁷⁷



The farm of Hubermont.

The infantry started its attack on Plancenoit, skirmishers in front, at about 1000 paces from the village in a storm pace through a hail of artillery and musketry-fire.⁷⁸ Despite this, the infantry reached the outskirts of the village with relatively low losses. The column led by major Von Wittich bumped into the hollow road on the right side of the village, while both other battalions led by major Von Fischer took one howitzer, two guns, some ammunition-waggon, two staff-officers and several hundreds of prisoners.⁷⁹

As soon as Von Hiller, who had joined the attack himself, saw the churchyard, he took it and occupied it with a battalion and with his other forces he attempted to take the remainder of the village. The success here was such that during this action, the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian infantry (centre column) almost reached the exits on the west side of the village.⁸⁰ The result was that units of the French Young Guard were driven here from the village.

As Napoleon witnessed from a distance what was happening, he ordered the situation to be restored by part of his guard. The French reinforcement was the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of chasseurs of the Old Guard, led by general Pelet (about 500 men).⁸¹ Shortly before the battalion marched off to its right from its position in rear of La Belle Alliance, general Pelet had sent a detachment of 50 men led by 1st lieutenant Lepage to the most western houses of Plancenoit in order to receive the Young Guard which streamed back from the village. Then, Pelet also sent out a detachment led by 1st lieutenant Gourahel to give direct support to the Young Guard. Not long after that, Pelet was ordered by general Morand: "Allez avec votre 1er bataillon à Plancenoit, où la Jeune Garde est toute renversée. Soutenez la, soutenez ce point (..) Tenez vos troupes réunies et en main; si vous abordez l'ennemi, que ce soit avec une seule division et à la baïonnette." It was now about 7 p.m.⁸² As Pelet approached the village with his battalion in a closed column per platoons, he recalled the detachment of lieutenant Gourahel,

and he ordered lieutenant Lepage to occupy the houses on the extreme west side of the village. Now, Pelet tried to collect the units of the Young Guard here which were in disorder in rear of his men, while he advanced towards the centre of the village. Pelet succeeded in driving off the Prussians, by involving his men in single companies. ⁸³

At the outer perimeter of the village, the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian infantry now got under a strong musketry fire at close range and the attack of Pelet's men. Apart from that, they got musketry fire on their left rear flank which made their position got untenable. As a result, the battalion withdrew. ⁸⁴



The centre of Plancenoit.

Von Hiller now tried to entrench the churchyard, but the walls were too high to fire over them and too solid to cut loopholes through them. Now, the Prussians opened the church itself, took out the benches in order to create platforms in rear of the churchyard wall and to bar the entrances; also they tried to break down the top of the wall – and all this under a sharp French fire which came from the adjoining houses. By now, Von Hiller was informed by major Von Fischer that he could no longer hold his position; as a result, Von Hiller ordered the battalion in the churchyard to hold its ground until the signal for the retreat would be given; Von Hiller then went forward, accompanied by major Von Fischer. Shortly after that, his horse was hit and the units further to the left also started to yield. To make things worse, a French column approached "tambour battant" to the entrance of the churchyard and drove the Prussians off. These French reinforcements were those of the Imperial Guard, even though most of them got extended into swarms of skirmishers, which was against the orders of general Morand. ⁸⁵

The Prussians now evacuated the place by an opening in its east wall and the French took and entrenched it further. The guns which the Prussians had taken were thrown over, as they didn't have the means to spike them or to bring them back to their own lines.

Further to the right, the 15th regiment almost reached the churchyard, but somewhat later had to yield for the French pressure, then offering a fierce resistance and thereby losing many men. Somehow, the skirmishers of the 15th regiment of infantry kept their positions in a few houses at the extreme left flank of the Prussian front, in the southern part of Plancenoit. ⁸⁶

In the same sector here, the French skirmishers emerged from the village thereby pursuing the

15th regiment up to their reserves and the artillery, about 600 metres from the village. However, it was major Von Wittich who succeeded in getting the support of the 4th squadron of the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars led by captain Von Wolff (further to the right) which now advanced and drove the enemy back to the village.⁸⁷



Hanogrune, at Plancenoit.

To the left, Von Hiller had pulled the musketeer battalions of his 2nd regiment of Silesian Landwehr – led by Von Blandowski- to the left in order to turn the village and attack it from there. The 1st battalion was to the right, having two companies going down into a low ground while having the two other companies about 600 paces further to the left in rear of a height; the 2nd battalion was even further to the left. After their advance, both battalions had to detach their skirmishers and then marched up with lowered bayonets towards the village. Though the attempt initially succeeded, the 2nd battalion held to its left and was seen by the French, who now reinforced Plancenoit here. After that, the Prussian units would have lingered in their advance and the units got too far separated thereby getting involved into extended fighting in the broken area here south of Plancenoit; finally they pulled back. As a result, the movement failed altogether.⁸⁸ Colonel Von Hiller succeeded in carrying out a successful evacuation in reasonable good order.⁸⁹ The Prussian units which had now evacuated the village were assembled under cover of the 14th brigade in the low ground east of Plancenoit.⁹⁰

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¹ Cf. Colonel Marbot (7th hussars). In his report dated 26th June 1815. In: Mémoires etc. p.375
Dupuy, chef d'escadron. In: Souvenirs militaires etc. p.287-294
Mauduit, H. de – Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.309
Also see: Durutte, général - Mouvemens [sic] de la 4^e division du 1er corps d'armée, le 15
Juin jusqu'au 18 au soir. In: La sentinelle de l'armée 4 (1838), nr.134 p.78

² Durutte, général - Mouvemens [sic] de la 4^e division du 1er corps d'armée, le 15 Juin
jusqu'au 18 au soir. In: La sentinelle de l'armée 4 (1838), nr.134 p.78

³ One of Napoleon's aide de camps, colonel Bernard, had been sent out (probably around
3.30 p.m.) with an escort to find out about the Prussian advance. As he had witnessed from a
covered position that the forces moving up were actually Prussian skirmishers, he returned to
general headquarters where Napoleon was informed about the situation. By the time Bernard
got there, it didn't take long before Lobau changed his position.
Cf. The account of colonel Van Saxon Weimar, who spoke with Bernard in or after 1825. In:
NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

⁴ Gourgaud explicitly states it was 4.30 p.m., after Lobau first had reconnoitred the position at
the same time as that Domon and Subervie were detached. In: La campagne etc. p.76, 79, 80
Von Hiller says Lobau moved at the time he arrived on the battlefield with his brigade. Cf.
Hiller, Von Denkwürdigkeiten p.246

Gneisenau also confirms that the French reserves moved the moment the first Prussian units
left the wood. In a letter to Hardenberg, dated 22nd June 1815. In: Delbrück, H. Das Leben
etc. Vol.IV p.531

Cf. the official Prussian report. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de
1815 Vol.III p.486

Janin, *sous-chef d'état-major* of Lobau's corps, also confirms that his corps moved from the
intermediate ridge to the right as the Prussians were already in touch with the extreme right
French wing, and after a personal check-up there by Durrieu first and Janin and Lobau
himself a little later. In: Coppens, B. Les mensonges etc. p.242

Durutte also makes it clear that Lobau got in his right rear *after* the attack of the 1st corps, so
after 3 p.m. Cf. Durutte, général - Mouvemens [sic] de la 4^e division du 1er corps d'armée, le
15 Juin jusqu'au 18 au soir. In: La sentinelle de l'armée 4 (1838), nr.134 p.78

Prussian accounts state that the French cavalry gained time for the French infantry (Lobau) to
advance towards the flank position and that initially only a lot of cavalry and a bit of infantry
protected the French right flank. This bit of infantry were units of Durutte. Cf. GSA, VPH-
HA,VI nr.V.4E.2.p.4 and 10, V.4E.1.p.30, V.4A.1.p.5

It is also captain Von Rettberg, commander of a battery of Hanoverian artillery, who could
see from his position a considerable French force move out from the intermediate ridge [in
his mind at 4 p.m.] to oppose the Prussians, who were just arriving. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704
p.229-234

The same was the case with captain Gardiner (battery Gardiner), who perceived from his
position [he says at 5 p.m.] "the heads of several reserve columns starting forward one
beyond the other as far as the eye could discern and their supports of artillery covering their
formation to meet the Prussian attack." Cf. his letter dated July 1815. In: former

www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NLS, MS3615

Colonel Combes-Brassard, assistant chief of staff of the 6th corps, also confirms that the Prussians had arrived the moment the corps wheeled to protect the right flank of the army. Cf. Colonel Combes-Brassard. In: Souvenirs et correspondance etc. p.20-23

In this account, Combes-Brassard claims he was the chief of staff of Lobau, but he wasn't, even though the real chief of staff, Durrieu, had got wounded in the initial stage of the actions of the 6th corps.

Combes-Brassard claims his account dates from 22nd June 1815, but in the same one he relates about events of the 25th of June. Cf. Houssaye, H. La garde meurt et ne se rend pas etc. p.14

The fact that by 3 p.m. only French cavalry and artillery were facing the Bois de Paris is also confirmed by the report which was at that moment written by Von Witoswki.

An hour of 4 p.m. is also corroborated by the account of corporal Wagré (11th regiment of the line). In: Mémoires d'un caporal de grenadiers p.284

It is suggested that Lobau left shortly after the cavalry, by 1.30 p.m. but this is incorrect. Cf. Mémoires pour servir etc. p.140

In a *pas de course* (250 paces per minute) it took Lobau about 20 minutes to reach his new position (distance 2400 metres).

⁵ Two batteries were absent: one was with the division Teste with Grouchy's detachment and the other one, a 12 pounder, was in the grand battery near La Belle Alliance. He was assigned a horse battery of the imperial guard though.

6. Houssaye, H. - 1815. Waterloo p.379

Demiau, H.M. - Historique du 5^e régiment d'infanterie de ligne p.227

Gourgaud, C. - Campagne de dix huit cent quinze etc. p.80

According to Gourgaud, the corps was in a position "à portée de fusil" and parallel to the Brussels road. This would mean the corps was between the wood which lies south of Fichermont and the other one, south of this one in a straight line, over a distance of about 600 metres.

Janin says the position was "en potence derrière la droite du premier corps". Cf. Janin, M.E.J. Campagne de Waterloo etc.

Durutte confirms a position in the second line in rear of his division, though he doesn't say it was "en potence". Cf. Durutte. In: Sentinelle de l'armée. 8th March 1836 p.78

7. Cf. General Tromelin's account. In: Lachouque, H. – Sous la République etc. p.227

Adkin, however, believes they were next to each other, the 19th south and the 20th north of the road, with Domon in front of the 19th division and Subervie in front of the 20th division. Cf. Adkin, M. The Waterloo companion p.381

⁸ Cf. sergeant-major F.Marq (107th regiment of line infantry). He adds that the voltigeurs of his regiment were ordered to advance as skirmishers; they did so in front of the cavalry the moment the enemy approached they fell back. Cf. Marq, F. Description des campagnes de guerre (1817) In: Bulletin of the SBEN, nr.29 (1997), p.48-49

According to general Tromelin, the division of Jeanin – three regiments, in rear of the division of Simmer – was split in two groups, of which one was led by Tromelin. This group was

composed of the 10th regiment of the line and one of the battalion the 107th regiment of the line and occupied one of the small woods on the flanks of the corps. The other group was in the open field, but here Tromelin gives no further details. Initially, the divisions were deployed [in columns] and some time later, as the Prussian cavalry developed, in four brigade squares. In: Lachouque, H. – Sous la République etc. p.227

According to Von Pflugk Harttung, the corps stood in three columns on a wide front, but there is no proof for that. Cf. GSA, HA-VI, nr.V.3.p.20

Perhaps he based himself upon Gourgaud who states that the corps moved into its new position in three columns. In: La campagne de 1815 p.80

⁹ GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.1.p.5

General Von Grolman, as cited by Von Pflugk Harttung. In: Zu den Ereignissen etc. p.200

This force of all weapons comprised about 8200 men, under the command of comte Lobau.

10. Colonel Von Hiller. Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.242

¹¹ Gneisenau in a letter to ms. Von Clausewitz and the countess Dohna, dated 24th June 1815. In: Delbrück, H. Das Leben etc. Vol.IV p.536

According to colonel Von Loebell, commander ad interim of the 15th brigade, Bulow seemed to hesitate to attack until he had more troops available but the moment Blücher arrived, he was ordered to attack immediately. Cf. the account of colonel Von Loebell, commander ad interim of the 15th brigade. In: MWB 1904 nr.29 p.739

12. Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.526

Report of Von Gneisenau. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.484

Ensign Batty (1st Foot Guards) later spoke with several officers of the Prussian vanguard who told him they had to wait for some time before being able to enter the battlefield. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.211-213

13. Report of Von Losthin. In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.1.p.10

Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.526

Report of Von Gneisenau. In: Bas,F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.486

Prince Thurn und Taxis, Bavarian plenipotentiary at the Prussian headquarters. Memoirs In: Aus drei Feldzügen etc. p.333

Von Nostitz confirms it was between 4 and 5 p.m. that Blücher decided to attack. Cf. Nostitz, Von Das Tagebuch etc. p.40

Gourgaud, C. La campagne de 1815 p.79

Von Clausewitz, Von – Campagne de 1815 p.124

C von W. - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.33

Von Müffling – Esquisse de la bataille de Waterloo p.87

Drouet d'Érlon - Le maréchal Drouet, comte d'Erlon etc. p.97

Colonel Von Hiller - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.243

Mauduit, H. de - Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.377

Marchand. In: Mémoires p.163
Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.633
Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.290

Others mention 5 p.m. Cf.

Sir Robert Gardiner in his journal. In: NLS, MS3615 p.70

Assistant QMG colonel Hervey. Cf. Hervey in a letter to Mr.Carroll (1815) in: Leeds, F. A contemporary letter on the battle of Waterloo. Nineteenth Century 1893 p.434

Baron Vincent. In: The battle of Waterloo also of Ligny and Quatre Bras etc. by a near observer Vol.I p.214

Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms. 34.703 p.266-271

In his diary he says it was between 4 and 5 p.m. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.94-95

Hussar J.Marshall (10th regiment of hussars). In his letter dated 1th July 1815. In: USJ Part I 1831 p.314

Captain Dyneley (battery Gardiner) In his letter dated 23rd August 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI, nr.MD 1051

Sir Gomm, W.M. In his diary. In: Letters and journals etc. p.360

General Guyot thinks it was 5.30 p.m. In: Carnets de campagne p.295

Captain Gardiner claims it was 6 p.m. Diary in RAI, nr.MD 1178

According to Von Müffling, the Prussians opened gunfire at 5 p.m. Cf. Von Müffling in a report annexed to a letter of count Rechberg to fieldmarshal Wrede. In: Bayerisches Kriegsarchiv München. Published by: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Archivalische Beiträge etc. Jahrbücher für die Deutsche Armee und Marine 1906 p.518

Von Müffling also says it was at 4 p.m. that the Prussian gunfire started. In: Recollections p.247

¹⁴ GSA, VPH-HA, VI, nr. V.4E.1.p.1

Cf. Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.242

¹⁵ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4A.1.p.6

¹⁶ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.2.p.3 and 4A.1.p.28

¹⁷ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4A.1.p.13, 4 E.1.p.13-14 and 4 E.2.p.10

¹⁸ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.1.p.3-8, 4 E.1.p.56, 4A.1.p.32 and 4F.1.p.31

¹⁹ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4A.1.p.11, 4D.p.10

²⁰ Originally, the 1st and 2nd squadron were attached to the 15th brigade and the other 3rd and 4th to the 16th brigade – now they were all joined into one regiment, led by captain Von Altenstein. Of the first two squadrons, major Von Falckenhausen had been detached with about 100 men. Cf. GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.1.p.18 and 4C.p.2

²¹ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.1.p.12 and 4D.p.13

²² GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.1.p.19 and 4 E.1.p.42

²³ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.1.p.15-16, 19

Lippe-Weissenfeld, E.Graf zur – Geschichte des Königlichen Preussischen 6.Husaren Regiments p.241

²⁴ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4D.p.13

Lippe-Weissenfeld, E.graf zur Geschichte des Königlichen Preussischen 6.Husaren Regiments p.241

General Tromelin (6th corps) confirms the French horse artillery opened fire upon the Prussians emerging from the wood. Cf. his account. In: Lachouque, H. – Sous la République etc. p.227

²⁵ Cf. Wedell, R.von - Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments von 1813 bis 1847. P.166

Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F. de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.528

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr. V.4 E.1.p.20-30, 4A.1.p.12-13, 4C.p.2 and 4F.1.p.33

Von Hiller claims the charge was led by prince Wilhelm of Prussia, though he doesn't mention the name of the regiment involved. But as he situates the charge before his brigade got out of the wood it may have been the hussars. Cf. Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.242.

According to Houssaye, the initiative for the offensive lay with the French cavalry. In: 815.Waterloo p.379

26.Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.246

27. Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.530

Major Von Ziegler (reserve artillery), report in Kriegsarchiv, Berlin, as referred to by De Bas. In: La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.223

Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.244

Ollech, Von - Geschichte etc. p.242

Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.290

C von W – Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.33

²⁸ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4D.p.15

29. Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.528-529

Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.244

30. Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.530

Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.243-249

Lieutenant Von Gerlach of the Prussian general staff in his diary. In: Aus den Jahren Preussischer Not etc. p.152

General Tromelin (6th corps) states his corps fell back in four brigade-squares “*en echiquier*”. In: Lachouque, H. – Sous la République etc. p.228

31. Mémoires pour servir etc. p. 147
Gourgaud, C. – La campagne etc. p.80
Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.381
Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.297
Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.243
Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.382
Houssaye believes Lobau occupied Plancenoit with one of his brigades, but there is no real proof for this assertion. In: 1815. Waterloo p.381

32. Gourgaud, C. La campagne de 1815 p.80-81
Charras. Histoire de la campagne etc. Vol.I p.316-317
General Tromelin (6th corps). In: Lachouque, H. – Sous la République etc. p.228

Von Damitz believes the Young Guard was accompanied by 24 guns. In: Geschichte etc. p.297
The distance the Young Guard had to cover was 700-800 metres.

Adjutant D.Fleuret, a member of the 55th regiment (division Quiot, 1st corps), claims his regiment was that weak after the assault on the Anglo-Netherlands-German position that its remains were used as skirmishers for the Young Guard during its actions at Plancenoit. Cf. Fleuret, D. - Description des passages de Dominique Fleuret p.151

33. Some claim it was 6 p.m. Cf. Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.297
Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.385, 393
Gourgaud, C. – La campagne de 1815 etc. p.81
General Petit mentions a time of 2 p.m. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. - General Petit's account of the Waterloo campaign p.324
In another account he mentions a time of 4 p.m. In: d'Avout, vicomte. L'infanterie de la garde etc. p.108
Sir H.Vivian says, shortly before he left for the right centre (at 6.15 p.m.) that a large French reserve formed in rear "en potence" of the French right wing in order to receive the Prussian attack. This was the movement of the 6th corps and the Young Guard. In: BL, Add.ms.73.708 p.351-356

34. Cf. journal of general Pelet (towards 5 p.m.), chef de bataillon Guillemin (1st battalion 3rd regiment of grenadiers) (he mentions between 4.30 and 5 p.m.) and captain Prax (3rd regiment of chasseurs). In: d'Avout, vicomte. L'infanterie de la garde etc. p.38, 114, 120

³⁵ The fact that these regiments got to the battlefield later may have had to do with the fact that they had to wait for the other regiments to come up (which they didn't). These were the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry and the 2nd regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr cavalry. Cf. GSA, VPH VI-HA nr.V.4C p.22

³⁶ This would mean that all these of Von Sydow's regiments (except for the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry and the 2nd regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr cavalry) went ahead in the column of the 4th corps, to join the other brigades of the reserve cavalry.

37. Report of prince Wilhelm of Prussia from the former Kriegsarchiv, Berlin. In: GSA, VPH-

HA, VI nr.V.4F.1.p.32, 4C.p.19, 4C, p.6 and 25

General Watzdorf would have stated to colonel Nostitz that his cavalry here was suffering from French skirmishing fire from the edge of the wood. It would have been major Von Keller who would have driven them away. Cf. GSA, VPH-HA VI nr.V 4F.2 p.2

38. Lieutenant colonel Beier and others in: Vor hundert Jahren etc. p.634-636,639-646.

Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.299

Ollech, Von Der Feldzug etc. p.243

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4C.p.17

Later that day, Von Schwerin was retrieved from the field and interred under an oak-tree in rear of the wood, where the grave can still be found.

In remembrance of colonel Von Schwerin, a monument was erected in 1818 at 800 metres west of the church of Lasne at the right hand side of the road (coming from Lasne) just where it entered the Bois de Paris. In former times it could be reached by a footpath, but now it can be accessed through the "rue du Vieux Monument".

The monument is composed of a column of blue limestone upon a octangular base and is surrounded by a high hedge. The inscription reads: "Wilhelm Graf Van Schwerin Koenigl.Preus.Obrist und Ritter gefallen dem Siege am 18.Juni 1815 in der Fremde für die Heimath."

In 1963, the monument and the adjacent grounds were handed over to the municipality of Lasne-Chapelle Saint Lambert. Until that time, the church of this community had been the owner, after the family had given the ownership to the church.

Legend has it that Von Schwerin was interred in a small wood and that his body was excavated 2 to 3 years later and was re-interred under the monument.

Cf. Uffindell, A. On the fields of glory p.210

Each year, until her death, Von Schwerin's widow donated an amount of 100 guilders to the priest of Lasne for the poor and for the maintainance of the monument. She also donated the church three gilted oil-cans, and which can still be found there. They bear the inscription: "Gewidmet der Kirche zur Lasne von Sophie (R.Gr.) Schwerin."

Cf. Correspondence of the author and Mr.Stiernet, the mayor of Lasne Chapelle Saint in 1984.

Logie, J. Waterloo, l'évitable défaite p.165

Fierens Gevaert, H. Waterloo légendaire. In: Revue de Paris. 15 september 1900 p.402-448

Aerts' verion that Von Schwerin was killed during a skirmishing action east of the wood is incorrect. The site of the monument may have given rise to this assertion. Cf. Aerts, W. – Waterloo. Opérations etc.p.212

Bleibtreu makes a similar mistake by stating that Von Schwerin fell in an action near the Lasne-stream. In: England's grosse Waterloo-Lüge p.243

39. Cf. Wedell, Von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments p.164-165

Report of Von Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.526

Bülow himself mentions major "Von Kowsky".

⁴⁰ The fact that the units of the 15th brigade participated in the retaking of a part of Smohain is confirmed by the Koschkull himself and by major Von Loebell (commander ad interim of

the brigade) in his diary. In:

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleon's Untergang Vol.III p.429

MWB 1904, nr.29 p.239

Also see: Wedell, Von - Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments p.165

GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.33 and 4A.1.p.21

Lieutenant Alberti (2nd battalion, 18th regiment). In: Alberti, W.Kriegsbriefe p.173-74
Alberti, being with the skirmishers out in front, was wounded twice. He calls Smohain "Geneve"

J.von Pflugk Harttung erroneously puts the battalions in and around Cheval de Bois. Cf. GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.33 and 4A.1.p.21

⁴¹ Cf. Wedell, Von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments p.166-167

GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.4 E.1.p.45

Hofschröer, P. 1815. The Waterloo campaign. The German victory p.118

⁴² GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4C.p.11

⁴³ GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.4 E.1.p.49 and 4A.1.p.17

⁴⁴ GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.34-37, 51-52 and 4A.1.p.25-27

⁴⁵ Report of the 1st battalion. In: Schulze, M. Das 2^e Neumarkse Landwehr Infanterie Regiment p.177

GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.4B.p.11, 4 E.p.69-70

⁴⁶ GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.43,75 and 4A.1.p.11

⁴⁷ GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.43

⁴⁸ GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.43

⁴⁹ GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.44

⁵⁰ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4D.p.11-12

51. GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.4F.1.p.33

52. Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.532

Report of Von Hacke. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.224

Report of Von Losthin. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.224

Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.243

Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.296

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleon's Untergang Vol.III p.431

According to the regimental history of the 28th regiment it was 6 p.m. Cf. Die Geschichte

des 28.Regiments. In: Special ABN, nr.65 p.25

The same hour is claimed by M. Schulze. In: Das 2.Neumärkische etc. p.175

The diary of the 13th brigade itself (Kriegsarchiv, Berlin nr.VI.E.38) says it was 5 p.m. In: Schulze, M. - Das 2.Neumärkische etc. p.176

Also see Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: Die Verzögerung der Schlacht bei Belle-Alliance p.325

⁵³ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4B.p.1-2

⁵⁴ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4B.1.p.1-2

55. Report of the 1st battalion in: Schulze, M. Das 2^e Neumarkse Landwehr Infanterie Regiment p.177-178

GSA, VPH, HA, VI nr.V.4F.1.p.33, 4B.,p.7-9

⁵⁶ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.39,68

⁵⁷ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4C.p.4

⁵⁸ In these figures, the presence of the *complete* 3rd regiment of Landwehr cavalry and the absence of two guns of horse battery nr.12, and of the 2nd regiment Pommeranian Landwehr cavalry and the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr cavalry is taken into account.

59.Colonel Von Hiller. Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.247

Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.243

Schulze, M. - Das 2.Neumärkische etc. p.175

According to Von Pflugk Harttung it was after 5.30 p.m. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: Die Verzögerung der Schlacht bei Belle-Alliance p.325

According to the diary of the brigade it was at 5.45 p.m. that the brigade emerged from the Bois de Paris. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.629 (VI.E.38.26) Von Ryssel arrived at Chapelle Saint Lambert around 3 p.m., but left some time later. This means it covered the distance between this village and the Bois de Paris in two and a half hours, that is in the same speed as the other units of the 4th corps.

Von Tippelskirch adds his brigade reached Chapelle Saint Lambert at 4 p.m., by the time the 14th brigade had left from there. Cf. report of major general Von Tippelskirch. In: Former KA. VI.E.15.12 in GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.5.p.13

60. Reports of Bülow, Von Ryssel and Von Hiller. In: Former Kriegsarchiv. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol. II p.224

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4B.p.23, V.4C.p.5

Cf.Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.296

Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.243

Eberts, G.W. von Hundertjährige Geschichte etc. p.200

⁶¹ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4C.p.5, 22

⁶² GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4D.p.23

⁶³ Prince Thurn und Taxis, Bavarian plenipotentiary at the Prussian headquarters. In: *Aus drei Feldzügen etc.* p.334-335

64. Report of Gneisenau, dated 20th June 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - *La campagne de 1815 Vol.III* p.486
Gneisenau's letter to Hardenberg, 22nd June 1815 In: *Ein Leben in Briefen* p.323
Damitz, Von – *Geschichte etc.* p.298
The fact that Von Wussow was the messenger comes from Bleibtreu. In: *England's grosse Waterloo-Lüge* p.247

⁶⁵ Cf. Diary of major Von Pfeil. In: diary of Von Pfeil. In: *Militärarchiv der DDR, PR.19/109 (Bl.20-22R)*
It had two guns in the detachment of Von Ledebur. Cf. GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4D.p.26

⁶⁶ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4D.p.28

⁶⁷ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4D.p.30

⁶⁸. Von Ollech says there were nine batteries. In: *Geschichte etc.* p.243
Von Damitz mentions eight batteries. 6p foot-batteries nr.2, nr.14, nr.13; 6p. horse batteries nr.11 and 12, 12p.foot-batteries nr.13 and 5. In: *Geschichte etc.* p.297

⁶⁹. Mauduit, H.de - *Les deniers jours etc.* Vol.II p.390
Gourgaud, C. *La campagne de 1815* p.80
Siborne, W. *History of the war etc.* Vol.II p.134
Captain Guillemin (3rd regiment of grenadiers). In: *d'Avout, vicomte. L'infanterie de la garde etc.* p.114
Pelet claims that the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of chasseurs suffered more casualties as the 2nd battalion of the same regiment. In: *d'Avout, vicomte. L'infanterie de la garde etc.* p.39
In this connection baron Petiet, staff-officer of the emperor, points out that the staff was split up in three or four separate groups earlier that day, but so, that they could easily transmit their information to either Soult or Napoleon. In: *Souvenirs militaires etc.* p.218

⁷⁰. Von Pflugk Harttung. In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI.nr.V.4A..2.p.5,22 and 4F.2.p.9
Damitz, Von – *Geschichte etc.* p.298
Mauduit, H.de – *Les derniers jours etc.* Vol.II p.398
According to major Von Pfeil it was still before 5.30 p.m. Cf. his diary. In: *Militärarchiv der DDR, PR.19/109 (Bl.20-22R)*
Lieutenant Ingilby (battery of Gardiner) claims the first major Prussian attack took place at 6 p.m. In: *BL, Add.ms.34.703* p.266-271
According to Dörk it was after 6 p.m. Cf. Cf. Dörk, G.M. - *Das Königlich Preussische etc* p.130

⁷¹ Cf.GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4A.2.p.6 and p.23; V.4F.2.p.9

⁷². Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - *La campagne de 1815*

Vol.III p.530

Report of colonel Von Hiller. In: Ollech, Von - Geschichte etc. p.248-249

Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.247

Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.298

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleon's Untergang Vol.III p.431

⁷³ Cf.GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.2.p.5 and 22, 4F.2.p.9

The skirmishers of the 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr (15th brigade) had joined the 16th brigade in the course of the battle, but it is unknown what they did for the fighting for Plancenoit.

⁷⁴ Cf. Dörk, G.M. Das Königlich Preussische etc p.133 Dörk clearly makes a distinction between these platoons aiding some skirmishers taking some scattered houses before the actual first assault on Plancenoit. He demonstrates that the main body of the fuselier battalion of the 15th regiment actually was detached further to the left (see below) just after that, so around the time the first assault started (6.30 p.m.).

⁷⁵ GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.2.p.19, V.4F.2.p.40
Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.245

⁷⁶ Cf. Dörk, G.M. Das Königlich Preussische etc p.129,133

⁷⁷ Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.245

Major Von Keller. In: Narrative of the particular circumstances etc. In: A description of the costly and curious etc. p.11

It is Von Nostitz who claims to have sent the battalion to the extreme left flank, in order to protect colonel Von Watzdorffs cavalry. Cf. Nostitz, Von - Das Tagebuch etc. p.41

⁷⁸ GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.2.p.23 and 4F.2.p.10

⁷⁹ Cf.GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4A.2.p.6, 4A.2.p.14, 4F.2.p.10

⁸⁰ GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.2.p.13, 4F.2.p.10

⁸¹. This battalion was actually led by colonel Colomban, but it was here superior, general Pelet, who led the action.

Also see: Major Pelet. In: d'Avout, vicomte. L'infanterie de la garde etc. p.39

Captain De Stuers (1st battalion 2nd régiment of chasseurs). In: Pawly, R. & Courcelle, P.– Mémoires etc. p.34

Captain Heuillet (2nd regiment of chasseurs). In: Journal de Toulouse 24th October 1845 p.2

Mauduit., H.de – Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.394

Houssaye, H. - 1815.Waterloo p.394

⁸². General Petit thinks it was 6 p.m. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. - General Petit's account of the Waterloo campaign p.324

General Christiani (2nd regiment of grenadiers) claims it was between 5 and 6 p.m, maybe later.

In: In: d'Avout, vicomte. L'infanterie de la garde etc. p.112

⁸³ Journal and memoirs of Pelet. In: In: d'Avout, vicomte - L'infanterie de la garde etc. p.42

⁸⁴ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4F.2.p.10

It may have been at this time that the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of grenadiers, in position to the east of the Brussels road and north of the Decoster-house felt threatened to its right and therefore detached 100 men to its right to hold back the enemy. A confrontation with the Prussian skirmishers would have taken place, in which adjudant major Faré was wounded and taken prisoner.

Cf. Mauduit, H.de Les derniers de la grande armée Vol.II p.395

Martinien, M. - Tableaux par corps et par batailles des officiers p.68

Friant, J.F. - Vie militaire etc. p.388

⁸⁵ Journal and memoirs of Pelet. In: In: d'Avout, vicomte - L'infanterie de la garde etc. p.42

⁸⁶ Cf. Dörk, G.M. Das Königlich Preussische etc p.133

⁸⁷ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4F.2.p.17, V.4C.p.7 (report prince Wilhelm), V.4C.p.19 Sometimes it is erroneously being asserted that this charge took place after the second attack on Plancenoit. Cf.

Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.534

Report of colonel Von Hiller. In: Ollech, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.248-249 (see below)

Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.250

Eberts, G.W. von - Hundertjährige Geschichte etc. p.200

⁸⁸ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4A.2.p.17, 4F.2.p.13

⁸⁹ Colonel Von Hiller. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.247-249

Cf. Dörk, G.M. Das Königlich Preussische etc p.130

Colonel wrote a report which was probably in the former Kriegsarchiv and from which Von Ollech cites as follows:

"[...] Die Truppen des 15. Infanterie- und 1.Schlesischen Landwehr-Regiments drangen, alle Schwierigkeiten überwindend, mit nicht geringem Verlust durch Kartätsch- und Kleingewehrfeuer, bis an den mit einer hohen Mauer umgeben Kirchhof vor, den die französische junge Garde besetzt hielt. Es gelang hierbei diesen beiden Kolonnen, eine Haubitze, zwei Kanonen, mehrere Pulverwagen zu erobern und zwei Stabs-Offiziere nebst einigen Hundert Mann zu Gefangenen zu machen. Der freie Platz um den Kirchhof war von Häusern umgeben, aus denen der Feind, trotz der tapferen Versuche dazu, nicht zu verdrängen war. Auf 15-30 Schritt wurde hier ein Feuergefecht unterhalten, welches die preussischen Bataillone unvermeidlich decimiren musste. Hätte ich in diesem Augenblick nur die Unterstützung einiger frischen Bataillone zur Hand gehabt, so würde dieser Angriff doch geglückt sein. Eine französische Reserve nöthigte uns aber zum Rückzuge.[...]" In: Ollech, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.248-249

Cf. the report of Bülow which was most probably partly based upon this report. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III nr.31.3.D1

Striking difference with his memoirs is that, in this report, Hiller doesn't mention his taking the churchyard.

⁹⁰. Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleon's Untergang Vol.III p.432