

Grouchy's retreat.

The 19th of June.

Somewhere in Rosières Grouchy wrote the following report to the emperor:

à Rosieren, le 19 Juin 1815

Sire,

Le 18 à 5 heures du soir, j'ai reçu la lettre du duc de Dalmatie qui me prescrivait de marcher sur St.Lambert et d'attaquer Bulow. J'avais rencontré l'ennemi en me portant sur Wavres, à hauteur de la Baraque. Je l'avais sur le champ fait aborder, pousser jusques dans Wavres, et le corps Vandamme attaquait la ville et était fortement engagé. La portion de Wavres sur la droite de la Dyle était emportée, mais on éprouvait de grandes difficultés à déboucher de l'autre coté. Le Gal. Gérard essayait d'enlever le moulin de Bierge et de passer la Dyle; il ne pouvait y réussir; il avait été blessé d'une balle dans la poitrine, blessure qui heureusement n'est pas mortelle.

Dans cet état des choses, impatient de pouvoir déboucher sur Nevy [¹] et St.Lambert, je dirigeai à Limale la cavalerie de Pajol, la division Teste et deux des divisions du Gal.Gérard afin de forcer le passage de la Dyle et de marcher sur Bulow. Le corps du Gal.Vandamme renforcé d'une des divisions de Gérard, continua l'attaque de Wavres, et du moulin de Bierge, dont l'ennemi semblait vouloir déboucher, mais ce que je jugeai qu'il ne pourrait faire, la position et le courage des troupes répondant qu'il n'y parviendrait pas.

Mon mouvement sur Limale prit du temps, à raison de la distance; cependant j'arrivai, j'effectuai le passage, et les hauteurs furent emportées par la division Vichery et la cavalerie, mais la nuit ne permit pas d'aller loin, et le canon du coté où Votre Majesté se battait, avait cessé. Dans cette position, j'attendais le jour, et le feu se ralentit à Bierge et à Wavres, dont le Gal.Vandamme n'a pu réussir à s'emparer.²

In absence of news from the emperor in combination with the sudden retreat of the enemy in front of him, Grouchy felt the need to discuss the situation with the main commanders of his detachment and therefore asked them to join him. As they had done so and had decided to move upon Brussels, it was just then – it was around 10.30 a.m. – that an imperial messenger joined the group. He and his charger were both exhausted. It was captain Dumonceau who had been sent by Napoleon from Quatre Bras to Grouchy to inform him about the loss of the battle at Mont Saint Jean.³ There is no doubt that, as he delivered Napoleon's note, Dumonceau was questioned extensively about the details of what had happened. Apart from the news itself, the note instructed Grouchy to cross the Sambre, but a location was not indicated.

Grouchy decided to do so at Namur and to reach Givet (through Dinant) from there.⁴ To reach France safely, speed was vital. Grouchy therefore divided his forces in two columns which would move in a parallel way. The one on the left consisted of the 3rd corps and the one on the right of the 4th corps; both were covered by cavalry in front and in their rear.

By now, it was between 11 a.m. and noon. At that moment Grouchy's forces were situated thus: of the 3rd corps, the divisions of Habert and Lefol were near Bavette and the Brussels-road, while the division of Berthézène was near Bierges. The 4th corps was between the Bois de Rixensart and the Brussels-road, while its cavalry-division of Vallin, as well as Pajol's corps, were in the vicinity of Rosières. The division of Teste was near Bierges, while Exelmans's

corps was near the 3rd corps, while having posts from there towards Ottenbourg.

To secure the crossing of the Sambre at Namur, the majority of Exelmans' corps was sent out ahead immediately. Exelmans left his 20th regiment of dragoons behind with the 3rd corps of Vandamme, and left for Namur, having the brigade of Bonnemains with two batteries of horse artillery in front and somewhat ahead of the rest.⁵ As these units probably passed through Wavre, l'Auzel, Corbais and Walhain, it was beyond Gembloux that they encountered ten squadrons of Prussian cavalry. As these deployed, Bonnemains had them observed by a few of his and then moved off as soon as he could towards Namur. It was a stretch of about 40 kilometres and Bonnemains' first units reached the city in the early evening.⁶ The moment the 40 men of the *garde bourgeoise* had learned about the French approaching, they went out towards Belgrade to meet them. As they met them near Moriveaux, they took them towards the *porte de Bruxelles* where they came under fire of gendarmes, who pulled off right after, accompanied by the commander of the city, de Villers-Masbourg. Though hungry and tired, the French horsemen were not demoralised or in disorder.⁷ The French were cordially received by the local administration and the inhabitants: the wounded soldiers were taken care of and evacuated, and supplies distributed.⁸

Grouchy himself was with the 4th corps, of which the vanguard was formed by the division of Vallin; its rear-guard was composed of the division of Hulot, plus some platoons of Vallin.⁹

This vanguard left its position in the early hours of the afternoon, while the divisions of Pécheux and Vichery left around 3 and 4 p.m.; Hulot's division did so by 5 p.m.¹⁰

The corps crossed the Dyle where it had come from, at Limale, and from there continued its course towards l'Auzel, through La Baraque and the Chapelle Notre Dame de Bon Secours to Nil Pierreux. In doing so, their right flank was secured by cavalry posts stretching as far as the defiles of Mont Saint Guibert.¹¹ The way the units moved was not as it had to be, as they suffered from confusion. It necessitated Grouchy, who was moving with the front units of the corps, to write general Vichery the following instructions:

Nid-le-Perreux, 19 Juin 1815

Mon cher général,

Le désordre qui règne en ce moment dans la marche, rend nécessaire que vous preniez position avec votre arrière-garde, pendant quelques temps, à la Baraque, afin de laisser filer les parcs et autres voitures. Je voulais d'abord vous y attendre, mais je préfère suivre la colonne, pour tâcher de remédier aux inconvénients de la marche.

Le général Vandamme fait garder Wavre jusqu'à dix heures du soir; ainsi il est nécessaire que vous teniez la position de la Baraque (faisant soigneusement surveiller le défilé de Limale) assez longtemps pour que l'ennemi ne puisse pas se déplacer entre vous et lui. Mettez votre artillerie au centre des divisions, et qu'elles marchent serrées et à distance, afin que le 4^e corps donne une nouvelle preuve du bon esprit qui l'anime, en déployant une grande énergie dans ces mouvements difficiles.

Mon intention est qu'on pousse, sans arrêter, jusqu'à Temploux, en passant par Gembloux; vous ferez seulement faire des haltes, de temps en temps.

J'ai fait filer une de vos divisions à mon passage à la Baraque, afin qu'elle appuie la cavalerie qui fait tête de colonne.

*Le maréchal Grouchy*¹²

From Nil Pierreux, Vichery led his corps through Ernage, Gembloux, Feroz and Isnes-les-

Dames to Temploux, where his first units started arriving by daybreak.¹³ It was at Temploux that Grouchy established his headquarters; the units of the 4th corps were in bivouacs in and around the village. Initially, having reached Gembloux deep into the night, Hulot halted his division there, but not long after he was instructed to follow the other two divisions towards Temploux, at which place he collected his men by 5 a.m. on the 20th of June. Despite several short halts all along the way, the men were extremely fatigued due to the long marches through darkness and over bad roads.¹⁴

Vandamme's 3rd corps (plus the 20th regiment of dragoons) took a course which was more or less parallel to the one of the 4th corps, but further east. It left from its positions just north of Wavre, having the division of Habert in front and the one of Lefol in the rear between 4 and 6 p.m.¹⁵

Having crossed the Dyle at Wavre, it took a course through Dion le Mont, Tourinnes and Sart-à-Walhain to a position near Sauvenières, probably between Liroux and Bassebodecé.¹⁶ Here, the divisions made a halt for some time until about 1 a.m.¹⁷ General Vandamme himself spent the night at Gembloux.¹⁸

The division of Teste was attached as rear-guard to the 3rd corps and as such initially moved to the left of the division of Vichery towards La Baraque, and from there followed the trails of Vandamme. Deep into the night it turned south-east and probably took a position somewhere north of Temploux.¹⁹ Outposts of Exemans' dragoons acting as a screen remained in front of Ottenbourg to the very last moment in order to deceive the Prussian leadership.

The 20th of June.

That morning, Grouchy issued further orders for the retreat upon Namur from his headquarters at Temploux. Those for Vandamme read:

Temploux, 20 Juin 1815

Veillez, mon cher général, envoyer de suite à Namur, pour faire réunir sans retard les blessés et les éclopés qui se sont déjà portés sur cette ville et les diriger sur Charlemont. Donnez des ordres à vos commissaires des guerres pour qu'ils réunissent des moyens de transport et organisent le convoi de blessés, de manière qu'il soit pourvu à tout ce qui leur est nécessaire.

Donnez ordre à votre ordonnateur de se rendre de suite à Namur, afin de fabriquer 100.000 rations de pain, de frapper une réquisition d'autant de rations d'eau de vie et pour les objets qui pourront être nécessaires à l'armée. Ne perdez pas un moment à faire exécuter ces divers ordres, afin qu'en arrivant dans la ville, la distribution puisse être faite aux soldats.

Je compte marcher vers 1 heure de l'après-midi sur Namur avec votre corps et la division Teste. Ayez soin que l'artillerie marche avec les divisions auxquelles elle appartient; que votre parc soit entre la 1^{re} et la 2^e division et que l'ordre s'établisse dans la marche. Envoyez-moi, je vous prie, toutes les fois que je me trouve avec votre corps d'armée, une compagnie de grenadiers pour la garde de mon quartier général.

*Grouchy*²⁰

And to general Teste, Grouchy sent the following order:

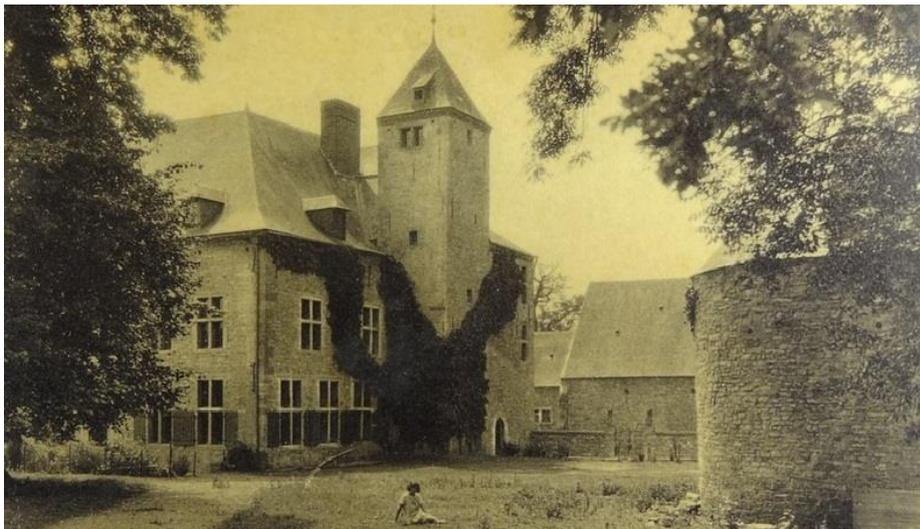
Temploux, le 20 Juin 1815

Veillez, mon cher général, partir de Temploux au reçu du présent ordre, et vous porter avec votre division à Namur. Vous camperez hors de la place, à cheval sur la route de Louvain, en vous gardant soigneusement dans toutes les directions. Vous recevrez de nouveaux ordres demain à Namur.

Mille amitiés,

*Le maréchal Grouchy*²¹

As the units of the 3rd corps had passed a few hours of rest in and around Gembloux, its vanguard, the division of Habert, left by 3 a.m. The confusion within this unit was such however, that it was halted at 5 a.m. in order to restore some order.²² As this was accomplished by 7 a.m., it resumed its march upon Namur, in front of which town it got by 11 a.m.²³ The other divisions, those of Berthézène and Lefol had left their bivouacs at 5 and 6.30 a.m.²⁴ All of these divisions passed through the abbey of Argenton, St.Denis, Bovesse, the chapelle Notre Dame de Liesse (Rhisnes), the chateau of La Falise and Saint Servais.²⁵ The rear-guard division of Lefol passed the chateau of La Falise by 12 o'clock.



The chateau of La Falise

Whether Pajol's regiments (the 4th and 5th of hussars) were in front of Vandamme's corps is unclear, but that morning they would have passed along the farm of Beauvant, St.Denis, the chateau of St. Martin, the farm of Hulplanche and the hamlets of St. Marc and Le Moulin à Vent in their march towards Namur.²⁶ It is not known how long it took them to cover this distance.²⁷ As a result of the orders he had received, Vandamme himself left during the morning for Namur to prepare the replenishment of the supplies of Grouchy's forces and a smooth evacuation of all the wounded.²⁸

It was Grouchy's intention to have the 4th corps to enter the city of Namur first, under cover of the 3rd corps. As its vanguard had just left, its rear-guard, the division of Hulot, was attacked by the first units of Pirch's corps. Right at the same time, Von Thielmann's vanguard fell upon the

3rd corps near La Falise. It was about 12 o'clock.

Thielmann's corps.

It was on the 19th of June at about 4 p.m., at St.Achtenrode, that Thielmann received reinforcements. They were a detachment of about 700 Saxon hussars of the 12th regiment led by lieutenant colonel Von Czetztritz (seven squadrons). These men had come from Aachen, through Hannut and Chapelle St.Laurent and had crossed the Dyle at Laurensart.²⁹ During their march, the first two squadrons of the 9th regiment of hussars led by major Von Hellwig (brigade Von Lottum), coming from Dinant, had joined them.³⁰ As they reached the 3rd corps, their arrival caused a momentary alarm which brought a part of it to stand to their arms.³¹ They were all attached to Von der Marwitz' cavalry.³²

Later that afternoon, the chief of staff of the 3rd corps, colonel Von Clausewitz, wrote a disposition for the 20th of June. It reads:

Da die gänzliche Niederlage der feindlichen Armee sich bestätigt hat, so ist der Angriff des bei Wavre stehenden feindlichen Korps auf morgen den 20.Juni, und im Fall dasselbe seinen Rückzug schon angetreten hätte, die schnelle Verfolgung beschlossen.

Die Kavallerie des General-Majors Von Hobe steht um 4 Uhr früh Morgens zum Abmarsch bereit. Die Sächsische Kavallerie bricht um 2 Uhr nach Mitternacht auf und rückt zu der Brigade des Obersten Van der Marwitz. Die Kavallerie wird in zwei Treffen gegen die Brüsseler Strasse vorrücken und den Feind angreifen. Zu dem Ende formirt sich der Oberst Von der Marwitz in zwei oder drei Kolonnen nebeneinander hinter der Höhe, wo die (Uhlanen) Eskadron des Rittmeisters Graf Dohna (auf Vorposten) steht. Sobald diese Kavallerie formirt ist, rückt sie, soviel es das Terrain erlaubt, mit den Teten der Kolonnen in gleicher Höhe über Ottenburg vor, wirft die feindlichen Feldwachen zurück, formirt sich, wenn das Terrain ebener wird, und wartet die Formation der zweiten Brigade unter Oberst Graf Lottum ab, welche in gleicher Art geschieht. Die Landwehr-Kavallerie, soweit Sie hier ist, bricht um 2 Uhr auf und vereinigt sich bei dem General Von Hobe zu einer Brigade unter dem Befehl des ältesten Staboffiziers. Sie ist zur besonderen Disposition des Generals Von Hobe. Die Infanterie bricht um 5 Uhr auf und marschirt in folgender Ordnung ab: 9.,12.,10. und 11.Brigade, und zwar in einer Kolonne, hinter der Kavallerie. Die Brigade-Batterien bleiben bei ihren Brigaden. Die Reserve-Artillerie folgt der Infanterie. Oberst Von Borck wird ersucht, sich dem General-Major Von Hobe anzuschliessen.

*Von Clausewitz*³³

Although Grouchy's forces had started to pull off during the afternoon of the 19th of June, it was only the next morning by 5 a.m. that Von Thielmann started to move from his positions in pursuit.³⁴ He did so with his cavalry, consisting of the brigade of Von der Marwitz (7th and 8th regiment uhlanen and seven squadrons of Saxon hussars), followed by the brigade of Von Lottum (5th regiment uhlanen, 1st squadron of the 7th regiment of dragoons, plus the 1st and 3rd squadron of the 9th regiment of hussars³⁵); they were accompanied by horse battery nr.20 At some distance further this vanguard was followed by the 9th, 12th, 10th and 11th brigade; the reserve-artillery formed the rear-guard.³⁶

Of these infantry brigades, the 9th, of Von Borcke, had spent the night of the 18th of June at Chapelle Saint Lambert. Von Borcke, upon his request what to do, had been instructed by high command to await further instructions there. Having been informed about the whereabouts of units of the 2nd corps at Maransart etc., Von Borcke also informed its commander, Pirch I, about

his situation (see below). By 7.a.m. Von Stengel's detachment, coming from the Bois de Rixensart, also reached Chapelle Saint Lambert.³⁷

It was through major Von Stengel that Von Borcke learned some more about the situation of the 3rd corps and as a result he took up a covered position in the Bois du Hurant, east of Chapelle Saint Lambert and west of Neuf Cabaret. He did so by locating the 1st and 3rd battalion of the 8th regiment and the foot battery nr.18 in the eastern edge of the wood; the three remaining battalions were placed in reserve. It was from this position that Von Borcke noticed enemy cavalry (Pajol and Vallin) operating towards the Bois de Rixensart and Chambre. By bombarding it from a large distance, the result was that it detached part of their forces to oppose him, covered by some infantry. As both sides kept their distance, no further confrontation ensued though. By then, it was about 8 a.m.

As Von Borcke kept his position, it was in the afternoon that an officer coming from the main army passed by; as he was unable to push through to Thielmann as he was supposed to do, he came back again. It was by 5 p.m. that Von Borcke noticed the French retreat over the Dyle through Limale. Under cover of falling darkness, Von Borcke sent a patrol there, to find out that the village had been abandoned by the enemy.

As Von Borcke now had learned about Grouchy's retreat, he sought communication with Von Thielmann with the request what to do next. Accordingly, he was ordered to advance towards the Namur-road through Limale. By then it was on the early morning of the 20th of June. Von Borcke accordingly set his forces on the move through Profond Sart and Grand Sart to Limale, crossed the Dyle here and joined Thielmann's corps south of Wavre, probably in the vicinity of La Baraque.³⁸ Thielmann's vanguard moved swiftly through Wavre south towards Gembloux where it picked up the trail of Vandamme's corps. Eventually, it was south of Rhisnes, in front of the chateau of La Falise (5 km north-west of Namur) that the Prussian horsemen bumped into the division of Lefol, Vandamme's rear-guard. By then it was between noon and 1 p.m.³⁹

Pirch I's corps.

The moment Pirch I, commander of the 2nd corps, had informed Blücher about the arrival of the majority of his reserve-cavalry and the brigades of Von Tippelskirch and Von Krafft in the Bois de Paris, Blücher ordered him to direct one brigade through Les Quatre Hurées and Couture to Maransart in order to cover the forces on their left flank. Accordingly, Pirch I used the brigade of Von Brause and the 4th regiment Kurmark Landwehr cavalry (brigade Von der Schulenburg) to this end.⁴⁰

At that moment, about 7 p.m., the brigade of Von Brause was near Neuf Cabaret, from where it continued its course through Quatre Hurées, Renivat and the Bois de Palante to Maransart, where it eventually halted for the night.⁴¹

Behind Von Brause followed Von Reckow's brigade. This brigade reached the grounds west of the Bois de Paris by 11 p.m. where it halted.⁴² The extreme rear-guard of the 2nd corps was formed by the brigade of Von Sohr (2nd Brandenburg hussars and the 1st Pommeranian hussars nr.5) and this unit reached the battlefield by 11.30 p.m. In conjunction with the brigade of Von Krafft, the one of Von Reckow, plus the 11th regiment of hussars and two squadrons of the regiment Neumark dragoons, it was collected between Plancenoit and the Brussels-road.⁴³

Just as Pirch I had sent colonel Von Aster, his chief of staff, away to get permission from general headquarters to go for Grouchy, he received this assignment from Gneisenau through captain Von Scharnhorst.⁴⁴

It was towards midnight that the first units of the 2nd corps, (the brigade of Von Langen) [⁴⁵] moved off from Plancenoit along the abbey of Aywiers towards Maransart. It was here that the brigade of Von Brause and the 4th regiment Kurmark Landwehr cavalry rejoined the 2nd corps.

⁴⁶ Pirch's general direction was the village of Bousval, at the Dyle. ⁴⁷ He took a route which led his forces along Sauvagemont, the farm of Agnissart, the hamlet of Sclage, the cabaret Point du Jour, the hamlets of Tangisart and Bas Heuval, and from there to Mellery (18 kilometres), where Pirch halted his forces. ⁴⁸ It was at Mellery that his vanguard (Von Sohr) arrived by 8 a.m. The remainder of his forces finished their movements there by 11 a.m. ⁴⁹



The road to Bousval.

During the afternoon, Pirch I sent out patrols of Von Sohr towards Mont Saint Guibert to find out about an enemy's presence here. ⁵⁰ It proved right, as between 3 and 4 p.m. the hussars bumped into French cavalry forming the right flank of advance guard of the 4th corps (division of Vallin).

As his patrol towards Mont Saint Guibert had returned from its mission, Pirch I wrote to Gneisenau the following report from Mellery:

Auf die von Ew.Excellenz erhaltene Ordre von gestern (Abend) habe ich die Ehre gehorsamst zu melden, dass die von hier nach Mont St. Guibert abgeschickten Patrouillen sowohl, als die durch den General-Major Von Borke [sic] erhaltene Nachricht, den zu erwartenden Abmarsch des Marschalls Grouchy von Wavre noch nicht bestätigen. Allem Anschein jedoch ist sein Rückzug auf Namur anzunehmen. Mont St. Guibert ist vom Feinde stark besetzt. General Von Borke [sic] steht mit 6 Bataillonen zwischen Ohain und Wavre, hat aber die Verbindung mit dem General Thielmann verloren, der am 18. nach einem bei Limal gehaltenen Gefecht auf Brüssel zurückgegangen sein soll. Ich glaube unter diesen Umständen, die mir in der Marschdisposition gestattete Freiheit für heute dazu benutzen zu müssen, dass ich den Abmarsch des Marschalls Grouchy abwarte, um möglichst nachtheilig auf ihn zu wirken. Bringen die Patrouillen keine näheren Nachrichten, so bin ich Willens, heute noch eine Rekognoszirung gegen St.Guibert zu unternehmen. Mit dem General Von Borke [sic] werde ich die Verbindung unterhalten.

Pirch I ⁵¹

During the night, Pirch I ordered the 11th regiment of hussars to send out patrols in an attempt to link up with Thielmann. Instead, he found out in the very early morning that Thielmann had

retreated and that Grouchy was falling back upon Namur. ⁵² Now, Pirch I decided to leave for Gembloux right away. By then it was 5 a.m. and he immediately ordered his forces to depart for Gembloux. ⁵³

Pirch's vanguard was formed by Von Sohr's brigade, one horse battery and three battalions (the fusilier battalions of the 9th regiment, the 14th regiment and the 23rd regiment). The skirmishers of all three battalions had been merged into one leading unit, led by captain Von Klaette of the 23rd regiment. ⁵⁴ Von Krafft was immediately in rear of Von Sohr. ⁵⁵

By 9 a.m., Von Sohr approached Gembloux and it was here that he learned that further to his left, Von Hobe was in pursuit of the enemy. ⁵⁶ It was for this reason that Von Sohr decided to wheel to his right. At that moment it was reported to Von Sohr by a scouting party that the enemy had taken up a position north-west of Temploux. ⁵⁷ Von Sohr now proceeded from there through the village of Feroz south-east with the main body of his brigade. ⁵⁸ A detachment led by lieutenant Von Wedell was sent to the Namur road. ⁵⁹

By noon, the Prussian vanguard closed upon the French rear-guard near the village of Isnes les Dames, about 1500 metres west of the chateau of Boquet. ⁶⁰ By then, the French vanguard of the 4th corps had just started its retreat upon Namur. As the Prussian vanguard closed in upon the French and bombarded them where the situation allowed it, the French gradually fell back from one position to the other. Meanwhile, the main body of the 4th corps pulled off and it was at Boquet that the French took up a position on and along the road to cover the retreat. ⁶¹





The chateau and farm of Boquet.

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¹ What is meant here is unclear. Here is in brackets, in another handwriting: "Mousty".

² Cf. Copy in SHD, nr.C15/5

Also see the extensive note titled "Grouchy's reports to Napoleon, dated 19th and 20th June 1815"

3. Cf. Hulot. In: Documents inédits p.32

He states Grouchy received the news not long after 10 a.m.

Grouchy himself gives a time of 11 a.m. In: Réfutations du livre Gourgaud etc. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy, Vol.V p.126

Lieutenant Le Gouest and colonel De Bloqueville. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy, Vol.V p.144, 146-151 Both these men give a time of 10 a.m.

Aide de camp Bella. In: Relation succincte p.57

Grouchy himself. In: Relation succincte p.44

Aide de camp Biot. In: Campagnes et garnisons p.256

⁴ Vandamme would have proposed to Grouchy to send all the equipment into safety beyond the Sambre and to move with all the forces through Brussels, replenish the supplies there and to move from there through Alost, Gand and Courtrai to Lille. There, they would then – under cover of the strongholds there – reform themselves.

Cf. Vandamme himself in his letter dated 9th February 1830 to colonel Simon Lorieère and his conversation with Bernhard van Saksen Weimar, at Gand. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

It is very doubtful whether Vandamme has actually launched this very bold and at the same time rather naive proposal as no one else as Vandamme himself refers to it. It would also have been an easy instrument for Grouchy to criticize Vandamme in his turn, and the fact is that he never did so.

5. Baron Bonnemains' account. In: SHD, nr.C15.5

Berton, J.B. – Précis etc. p.68-69

Grouchy in his report to Napoleon of the 20th of June. In: SHAT, nr.C15/5

6. Menuau also claims the first units got in Namur around 6 p.m. and the remainder around 9 p.m. Cf. Menuau, H. - Historique du 14^{me} régiment de dragons p.295

Berton gives 4 p.m., which is not possible because of the distance involved. In: Précis etc. p.69

⁷ Borgnet, J. – Promenades dans Namur p.335-337

8. Baron Bonnemains. Cf. his account. In: SHD, nr.C15.5

General Berthézène. In: Souvenirs etc. p.400

Lieutenant Putigny (33rd regiment, division Berthézène). In: Le grognard Putigny p.21

Captain Francois (30th regiment, divisie Pécheux). In: Journal etc. p.890-891

Ph. Gerbet (37th regiment, division Lefol). In: Souvenirs etc. p.21

Colonel Biot. In: Campagnes et garnisons etc. p.260

General Lefol. In: Souvenirs etc. p.22

General Fantin des Odoards (70th regiment)

Houssaye claims 100.000 pieces of bread and 100.000 rations of brandy were distributed and bases himself here upon Grouchy's order to Vandamme, dated 20th of June. This is no proof though that this actually took place in that way. In: 1815.Waterloo p.481

9. Cf. Hulot. He adds that his division marched without the 50th regiment of line-infantry, as this regiment was assigned to escort the artillery and the parks. In: Documents inédits p.33

¹⁰ Captain Francois (30th regiment line-infantry, division Pécheux) states his unit left after 2.30 p.m. In: Journal etc. p.890-891

¹¹ Cf. Pirch's report from Mellery of that afternoon (see below).

12. In: SHAT, nr.C15/5

In: Ordres donnés par le maréchal Grouchy ou transmis etc. p.13

Lachouque dates the document at 3 p.m.. In: Le secret de Waterloo p.

13. Hulot. In: Documents inédits p.32-33

Captain Francois (30th regiment line-infantry). In: Journal etc. p.890-891

¹⁴ Hulot. Documents inédits etc.p.33

Captain Francois (30th regiment line-infantry) adds that the speed was high, despite the state of the roads. In: Journal etc. p.890-891

Hulot claims his division reached Gembloux by 9 p.m., but this – in connection to the distance – must have been deep into the night. In: Documents inédits p.32

The total distance from its original position beyond Wavre to Gembloux is about 23 kilometres, which would take Hulot some eight hours to cover.

¹⁵ Berthézène claims his division left at dusk, but this is impossible in terms of time and space. Cf. Souvenirs etc. p.398-399

Ph. Gerbet (37th regiment, division Lefol) mentions a departure of 9 p.m. as well. In: Souvenirs etc. p.21

16. General Lefol – Souvenirs etc. p.82

General Berthézène. Souvenirs etc. p.398-399

Captain Fantin des Odoards (70th regiment) – Journal etc. p.436-437

The distances involved were: position near Wavre to Dion le Mont: 6 km. Dion le Mont - Tourinnes: 7 km. Tourinnes - Sart-à-Walhain: 3 km. Sart-à-Walhain - Sauvenières: 4 km.

17. Captain Fantin des Odoards (70th regiment). In: Journal etc. p.436-437

General Berthézène speaks of a time of arrival of 11 p.m. In: Souvenirs etc. p.398-399

18. Berthézène. In: Souvenirs etc. p.398-399

He claims Vandamme initially was in a barn amongst his men, but that he moved some time later to Gembloux.

¹⁹ Teste claims he got at Temploux by midnight, but this was probably later. In: Souvenirs

etc. p.243

For the fact that Teste was attached to Vandamme, see Grouchy's order to Vandamme below and the fact that Teste reported at midnight of the 20th of June to Vandamme.

Cf. Grouchy's statement about the division, dated 12th February 1834. In: General Teste. Souvenirs etc. p.245

20. In: SHAT, nr.C15/5

Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV, p.309

Lachouque, H. - Le secret de Waterloo, p.273 He dates the document at 1 a.m.

21. Copy. In: SHAT, nr.C15/5

Les mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy, Vol.IV p.310

22. Captain Fantin des Odoards (70th regiment). In: Journal etc. p.436-437

23. Ph.Gerbet (37th regiment). In: Souvenirs etc. p.21-22

24. General Berthézène speaks of 7 a.m. In: Souvenirs etc.p.398-399

²⁵ Berthézène confirms the passage of the 3rd corps along the abbey of Argenton. In: Souvenirs etc. p.398

26. Cf. Pajol. Général en chef Vol.III, p.242-243

His sources for this version remain unknown. He claims the division of Teste was with Pajol initially, but there is no proof for that, the more as Teste most probably spent the night somewhere towards Temploux, which would in this case not have been the same as Pajol did. Ph.Gerbet (37th regiment, division of Lefol) speaks during the retreat of the presence of red hussars, and this might be an extra indication for Pajol's presence with the 3rd corps. In: Souvenirs etc. p.21

27. The distance between a position two kilometres north of Sauvenièrès to St.Denis is 9 kilometres, from St. Denis to St.Marc 8 kilometres and from there to Le Moulin à Vent more as two kilometres.

²⁸ Cf. Berthézène. In: Souvenirs etc. p.398-399

²⁹ Cf. Förster, Von - Geschichte des königlich preussischen Ulanen-Regiments Graf zu Dohna nr.8 p.74

General Von der Marwitz. He believes they could also have crossed the Dyle at Florival. In: Aus dem Nachlass e etc. p.123

According to Förster the appearance of the Saxon cavalry had aroused some confusion, the Prussians thought, because of their uniforms, they were French. In this context, Von Hobe praises colonel Czettritz. He would have been asked by general Von Leyser not to join the Prussian army after the disaster of the 16th of June, but Von Czettritz refused and joined it in the situation mentioned. Cf. the diary of Von Hobe, cited in: Bredow, Von - Geschichte des 2. Rheinischen Husaren-Regiments Nr.9 p.13

30. Röder, C.von - Erinnerungen etc. p. 327

General Von der Marwitz. In: Aus dem Nachlass e etc. p.123-124
Cf. Bredow, Von - Geschichte des 2.Rheinischen Husaren-Regiments Nr.9 p. 13
Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.358
Militärisches Zeitschrift (1820) p.307
Von Lettow Vorbeck. He uses the name "Zettwitz", while Von Ollech uses the name of "Czettwitz".
In: Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.460
Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.269

³¹ Militärische Zeitschrift (1820) p.307

³² General Von der Marwitz. In: Aus dem Nachlass e etc. p.124

33. Ollech, Von – Die Geschichte des Feldzugs p.269-270
Colonel Von Borck was the commander of two squadrons of the 6th regiment Neumark Landwehr-cavalry, which had come from the outposts at Givet and which now had to join Von Hobe.

34. Cf. Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.365

³⁵ Von Hobe had left one squadron of the 9th hussars, probably the second, at Wavre to protect some guns. They were accompanied by a small Jäger-detachment of the same regiment. Cf. Bredow, Von Geschichte etc. p.14

36. Cf. the disposition above.

Major Von Bornstedt states his unit (the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment Kurmark Landwehr-infantry) passed through Wavre at 10 a.m. In:

37. Taking a march through the Bois de Rixensart, Froidmont and north of the Bois de Hurant, the detachment had to cover about 6,5 kilometres; in connection to its time of arrival and its departure (before 3 a.m.), the men must have had a bivouac somewhere along this track.

38. Cf. Von Borcke himself. In: Lettow Vorbeck, Von – Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.461
Captain Von Schlieffen (adjutant of colonel Von Borcke). In: Lettow Vorbeck, Von – Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.461
Major Von Bornstedt (commander of the 3rd battalion 1st regiment Kurmark Landwehr infantry) and lieutenant Hobauer (same battalion). In: Das Gefecht bei wavre etc. p.30-40, 132-141
Major Von Holleben (commander of the fusilier battalion of the 8th regiment). In: Aus den hinterlassenen Papiere p.143
Militärische Zeitschrift 1820 p.307
Von Pflugk Harttung. In: GSA, HA VI nr.V.8.p.36-37

39. The total distance through Wavre, Dion le Mont, Tourinnes, Sart-à-Walhain, Sauvenière and St. Denis was about 40 kilometres.
According to Förster it was 1 p.m. Cf. Förster, Von - Geschichte des königlich preussischen Ulanen-Regiments Graf zu Dohna nr.8 p.75

40. General Von Pirch I in his report. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La

campagne de 1815 Vol.III nr.31c

Cf. Bericht über das Arriergarden gefecht bei Wavre den 18.Juni 1815. In: Militär Wochenblatt, 1836 p.3

Geschichte des 1.Oberschlesischen Infanterie-Regiments Nr.22 p.116

41. According to 1st lieutenant Becker (22nd regiment) his regiment got as far as Lasne at at 7 p.m. and then to turn left towards Maransart [!] Cf. Geschichte des 1.Oberschlesischen Infanterie-Regiments Nr.22 p.116-117

⁴² Of the skirmishers-detachments of the 21st and the 23rd regiment, the one of the 1st battalion of the 23rd regiment has crossed the Dyle at the mill of Bierges, while the others had crossed it at Wavre. They met somewhere between Wavre and Chapelle Saint Lambert from where they continued their march to the west. Cf. Busse, Von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 23.Infanterie-Regiments etc. p.182

43. Cf. the above mentioned report of Pirch I.

The reserve artillery would have been left behind at Chapelle Saint Lambert. Von Sohr had got the instruction to join the reserve-cavalry of the 2nd corps, and despite the trot it used to reach the battlefield in time, it arrived too late be of any assistance. Cf. Schöning, K.W. Geschichte etc. p.491

A member of the 1st regiment of Pommeranian hussars, however, claims the regiment arrived somewhere in the evening during the battle and that it charged the French cavalry once. In: Wedel, C.von - Geschichte eines Offiziers etc. p.252

44. Cf. the report of Pirch I.

⁴⁵ Stuckrad, B.von - Geschichte etc. p.115

46. Cf. the report of Pirch I.

The fact that the corps marched through Maransart is confirmed by captain Von Borcke (3rd battalion, 1st Elbe Landwehr infantry regiment, brigade Von Krafft). In: Kriegerleben etc. p.319

47. Report of Pirch I.

Count Von Wedel of the 1st regiment of Pommeranian hussars nr.5 In: Wedel, C.von Geschichte eines Offiziers etc. p.252 Von Wedel also confirms his brigade passed through Maransart.

Cf. Captain Von Borcke (3rd battalion 1st Elbe Landwehr infantry regiment). In: Kriegerleben etc. p.319

48. Report of colonel Von Schön (7th brigade). In: Former KA,VI.E.15.93. In GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.5.p.19

Captain Von Borcke, 3rd battalion 1st Elbe Landwehr infantry regiment. In: Kriegerleben etc. p.319 According to Von Stuckrad it was south of Mellery that the corps had its positions. Cf. Stuckrad, B.von Geschichte etc. p.115 The 22nd regiment of infantry had its position at Villers-la-Ville (west of Mellery). Cf. Geschichte des 1.Oberschlesischen Infanterie-Regiments Nr.22 p.118

49. Report of Pirch I.

Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.362

Count Von Wedel of the 1st regiment of Pommeranian hussars nr.5 In: Wedel, C.von - Geschichte eines Offiziers etc. p.253

Ardenne, A.von - Geschichte des Zieten'schen Husaren-Regiments p. 494

Von Ardenne also believes the 2nd Brandenburg regiment hussars nr.3 left at 3 a.m.

Near Mellery the hussars took some Frenchmen prisoner.

Stuckrad, B.von - Geschichte etc. p.115

Beitzke, H. – Aus dem Leben des königlich Preussischen General-Leutenants Fr.von Sohr p.139

Schöning confirms it was in the early morning of the 19th of June. Cf. Schöning, K.W. Geschichte etc. p.492

⁵⁰ Schöning, K.W. - Geschichte etc. p.492

51. Former KA, Berlin (VI E II.BI.283). In: Ollech, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.263
Lettow Vorbeck, Von – Napoleon's Untergang Vol. III p.462-463

⁵² Eck, Von Geschichte des 2.Westfälischen Husaren Regiments nr.11 p.151

53. Cf. Report of Pirch I.

The forces Pirch had with him at that time were:

+ 6th brigade Von Krafft (9th and 26th regiment of infantry, 1st regiment Elbe Landwehr infantry)

+ 7th brigade Von Brause (14th and 22nd regiment infantry and the 2nd regiment Elbe Landwehr infantry, with two squadrons Elbe Landwehr cavalry)

+ 8th brigade Von Reckow (21st and 23rd regiment infantry, 3rd regiment Elbe Landwehr infantry and two squadrons of Elbe Landwehr cavalry)

+ the 11th regiment of hussars (four squadrons of brigade cavalry of the 5th and 6th brigade)

+ of the reserve cavalry of Von Wahlen Jürgass:

Brigade Von Sohr (2nd regiment Brandenburger hussars, 1st regiment Pommeranian hussars)

Brigade Von Thümen (2 squadrons of the 6th regiment Neumark dragoons, as the other two were with Von Hobe of the 3rd corps)

Brigade Von der Schulenburg (4th regiment Kurmark Landwehr cavalry)

In total 20 squadrons.

+ of the reserve artillery, no data are available.

⁵⁴ Busse, Von - Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 23.Infanterie-Regiments etc. p.184

Beitzke, H. – Aus dem Leben des königlich Preussischen General-Leutenants Fr.von Sohr p.141

Bagensky, Von – Geschichte des 9ten Infanterie Regiments genannt Colbergsches p.242

55. Count Von Wedel of the 1st regiment of Pommeranian hussars nr.5 In: Wedel, C.von Geschichte eines Offiziers etc. p.254

Lettow Vorbeck, Von – Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.463

56. Von Pirch I speaks of 10 a.m. and Von Lettow Vorbeck of 8 a.m.

In: Napoleon's Untergang Vol.III p.462

The fact that Von Sohr had linked up with the 3rd corps is confirmed by Von Eck. Cf. Eck, Von Geschichte des 2.Westfälischen Husaren Regiments nr.11 p.151

57. Lettow Vorbeck, Von – Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.463

According to Von Eck, Von Sohr (the 11th regiment of hussars included) drove back some French rearguard units from the vicinity of Gembloux towards Namur, while threatening them from the right by a detachment, which consisted of three squadrons of all his hussars regiments and which was led by captain Von der Recke (of the 11th hussars). Eck, Von - Geschichte des 2.Westfälischen Husaren Regiments nr.11 p.152

58. Cf. Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.367

Ardenne, A.von - Geschichte des Zieten'schen Husaren-Regiments p. 494

⁵⁹ Ardenne, A.von - Geschichte des Zieten'schen Husaren-Regiments p. 494

60. Count Von Wedel of the 1st regiment of Pommeranian hussars nr.5 In: Wedel, C.von Geschichte eines Offiziers etc. p.254

Von Damitz claims it was at Boquet. In: Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.367

According to Berthézène it was then 10 or 11 a.m. In:

For a contemporary plate of the chateau of Boquet: Vasse, A. La province de Namur pittoresque Vol.I p.5

61. Cf. the report of Von Pirch. He gives the suggestion as if he pursued the French from Gembloux, but this was not the case.