

The flank-march of the Prussian forces on the 18th of June 1815

Somewhere between 11 p.m. and midnight of the 17th of June, the following general disposition for the army was issued from general headquarters:

Das 4te, 2te und 1te Armee-Corps marschiren in zwei Kolonnen so ab (von Wavre), dass sie den Herzog Wellington, der heute von der französischen Armee angegriffen wird, und der mit seinem rechten Flügel bei Braine la Leud, mit seinem linken Flügel bei Mont Saint Jean stehet [sic], unterstützen, und Bonaparten eine Diversion in seiner rechten Flanke und Rücken machen können.

Das 4te und 2te Armee-Corps machen die Kolonne des linken Flügels, sie marschiren über Neuf Cabaret bis St.Lambert. Das 1ste Armee-Corps hat die rechte Flügelkolonne, es marschirt über Fromont gegen Ohain

Das 3te Armee-Corps ist bestimmt, in Fall eine feindliche Kolonne vorrückt, die Stellung bei Wavre zu vertheidigen, oder im andern Fall dort nur ein paar Bataillone stehen zu lassen, und gleichfalls rechts bis nach Couture abzumarschiren, um jenen beiden Kolonnen als Reserve zu dienen, und nach den Umständen gebracht zu werden. Der Rückzug des niederrheinischen Kriegsheeres soll im Fall eines unglücklichen Ausganges über Ober-USchke [sic] nach Louvaines [sic] gehen. ¹

The 4th corps.

The orders for Bülow were sent out from general headquarters around midnight and read as follows:

Wavre, 17th June, midnight

According to a report just received from the duke of Wellington, he has taken up the following position: the right wing on Braine l'Alleud, his centre near Mont Saint Jean, his left wing near La Haye. The enemy is in front of him, the duke expects to be attacked and has asked us for our assistance. Your Excellency will therefore depart at daybreak from Dion le Mont with your 4th corp, march through Wavre and take the direction of Chapelle Saint Lambert, where you will take up a covered position in case the enemy is not yet strongly engaged with the enemy; in case he is, you will throw yourself briskly on the enemy's right flank. The 2nd army-corps will directly follow Your Excellency in order to support you. The 1st and 3rd corps will hold themselves also into readiness to follow, if needed. Your Excellency should leave an observation detachment near Mont Saint Guibert, which, in case it is driven, slowly falls back upon Wavre. All baggage, trains and everything which is not strictly needed for military actions, has to be sent to Louvain. ²

Bülow probably received his orders between midnight and 1 a.m. ³ As a result, Bülow wrote his disposition for the brigade commanders in his corps shortly before sunrise. ⁴ The document reads:

The 4th army-corps is to move off immediately through Wavre to Chapelle Saint Lambert, marched off to the right, and in the following order:

The brigade Von Losthin as vanguard, accompanied by the regiment Silesian hussars and a battery 12 pounders, the first marching in front, the other in front of the last battalion in the

column; next is the brigade Von Hiller, the brigade Von Haak, then the reserve-artillery, and upon this one the reserve-cavalry, to which the 2nd Neumark Landwehr cavalry regiment is attached again.

The brigade of Von Ryssel forms the extreme rear-guard, except for the detachment led by lieutenant colonel Von Ledebur, which remains near Mont Saint Guibert, until pushed by the enemy, to fall back in that case upon Wavre. I will be with the vanguard.

All baggage trains move towards Louvain; lieutenant colonel Von Schlegel will organise their departure from Chapelle Saint Laurent [sic], no waggon is permitted in the column.

The men must be provided with as much food as possible. Any outposts which cannot be pulled in swiftly attach themselves to the brigade Von Ryssel.

The brigades have to turn their front units on the road for Wavre right away, and thus break up one after the other, without any intervals.

Those regiments which have perhaps not yet received supplies will have to do so immediately.

(signed) Bülow von Dennewitz

*Für gleichlautende Abschrift chief of staff general major Von Valentini*⁵

By reading this document the sequence of the units within the corps for its march becomes clear. The vanguard consisted of the brigade of Von Losthin, the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars and 12p.battery no.13 (12p). The regiment of hussars marched in front and the battery was in front of the last battalion of the brigade.⁶

Then followed the brigade of Von Hiller, Von Hacke, the reserve-artillery and two brigades of the reserve-cavalry, i.e. those of Von Schwerin and Von Watzdorff.⁷ In rear of these units were the ones of Von Ryssel (⁸) and the one of Von Sydow. In rear was the baggage.⁹ Bülow had to leave at dawn, and his vanguard accordingly did so by 4 a.m. The weather was grey and a drizzling rain was falling.¹⁰

The march to Wavre

The conditions for the march itself were not very favourable: first of all, all the roads the troops had to use were sand-tracks and the rain of the night had turned them into mud. Apart from the fact that, the area was much cut up and hilly and the units had to cross other units' bivouacs.¹¹ Bülow's disposition said: "Die Brigaden müssen sich aus dem Lager mit ihren Teten sogleich in den Weg von Wavre drehen, und dergestalt nach einander aufbrechen, dass sie sich unmittelbar folgen."

In presuming this has been done, one can assume that the units left from the central point of "à tout vend", then using a road through the hamlet of Gripelette, along the southwest edge of Dion-le-Mont, via the Chapelle Saint Antoine, the two chapels under the name of Chapelle Sainte Anne, to Aisémont.

As the units marched in a single column and as Bülow had insisted on the brigades of well closing in each other, there is no reason to believe the reserve-cavalry took a more northern route, though she was placed further north.¹²

The vanguard reached the Dyle at Wavre between 6.30 and 7 a.m.¹³ The march through Wavre went from the suburb over "Place du Sablon" (nowadays the "Place Bosch"), over the bridge over the Dyle (the Pont du Christ) to the street which leads to the north-part of Wavre, where it makes a strong bend to the left, near the "Ermitage Saint Jaques". This point was about 400 metres north of the Dyle.¹⁴

The moment the 15th brigade had passed the "Place du Sablon" and the vanguard had left Wavre, a fire broke out in a bakery which was located at the Place du Sablon and which rapidly

spread to adjacent houses.¹⁵ It was around 7 a.m.¹⁶ As the heat of the fire was blown into the street from the west, people panicked due to the presence of ammunition-carts which were drawn through the street.¹⁷

Eventually, some civilians led by the local magistrate Debiegne, as well as by members of the 1st battalion of the 14th regiment led by major Löwenfeld, plus the 7th company of pioneers were able to extinguish the fire.¹⁸ Both these units were of the 2nd corps, which was still in bivouacs here, between Sainte Anne and Aisémont. While the brigade of Von Losthin was able to continue its march [¹⁹], the remainder of the 4th corps was delayed by this fire (see below).²⁰



The view from Chapelle Saint Robert towards Chapelle Saint Lambert.

The march to Chapelle Saint Lambert.

The march to Chapelle Saint Lambert was taken on the road which leads from Wavre, south of Bierges, towards the inn of Neuf Cabaret. It was here that Bülow sent out a detachment led by major Von Falckenhausen to Céroux (see below). From here to the Chapelle Saint Robert, and from there – south of the Bois du Hurant - to Chapelle Saint Lambert.²¹

Bülow's vanguard reached Chapelle Saint Lambert by 10.30 a.m.²² As the fire at Wavre had created a gap in the column, the 16th brigade got at Chapelle Saint Lambert around noon, while the 13th did so about 1 p.m. After that, the reserve-artillery and cavalry did so, possibly by 2 p.m.²³ Then, again, the column of the corps had a gap, at the tail of which followed, the rear-guard, the brigade of Von Ryssel. It reached Chapelle Saint Lambert by 3 p.m.²⁴

On the 17th of June, the 1st regiment of KGL hussars (Vivian's brigade) had sent out patrols to its left towards the Prussian army. As a result of the communication between both headquarters, it was now on the morning of the 18th of June that the regiment was ordered to send out small patrols to find out about the development of the Prussian advance. It was probably towards 10 a.m. that two officers managed to get in touch with a Prussian patrol of Bülow's vanguard somewhere near Chapelle Saint Lambert. From them they found out about Bülow's approach and communicated this back to their superiors.²⁵

In terms of communication between both armies - having assembled the brigades of Von Losthin and Von Hiller around Chapelle Saint Lambert - Bülow decided to write to Von Müffling. By then it was about 11.30 a.m.

As the messenger of Von Müffling's original disposition had passed along Bülow and had

communicated the document to him, Von Bulow now wrote his variation upon it thus:

Im Fall, dass die Mitte oder der linke Flügel des Marschall Wellington angegriffen wird, so ist der General Bülow willens, mit dem Korps bei Lasne die Lasne zu passieren und sich auf dem Plateau zwischen La Haye und Aywiers zu formieren und so dem Feinde in seine rechte Flanke und Rücken zu gehen.

*Mein Rath ist, dass dann ein anderes preussisches Korps über Ohain geht, um nach Umständen den am meisten bedrohten Punkt der englischen Stellung unterstützen zu können. Ein drittes preussisches Korps könnte über Maransart und Sauvagemont vorgehen, um die linke Flanke und den Rücken des IV.Armeekorps zu decken. Das noch übrig, bleibende vierte Korps würde bei Couture als Reserve aufzustellen sein.*²⁶

At the same time, Bülow told the carrier of the letter to report to Von Müffling that he had two brigades in and around Chapelle Saint Lambert and that he expected his last units to be there only after 4 p.m.

Having dwelled on the right bank of the Dyle, the detachment of colonel Von Ledebur reached these surroundings much later. Late that afternoon it probably took up a position near Chapelle Saint Robert and spent the night there.²⁷



Chapelle Saint Robert (1983)

According to his orders, Bülow himself, accompanying the vanguard of his corps, halted at Chapelle Saint Lambert.²⁸ Having arrived at Chapelle Saint Lambert, Von Losthin occupied it with his Silesian hussars and the 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment and the 3rd battalion of the Silesian Landwehr regiment. The main body of the brigade took up a position just in rear of it in two columns, on both sides of the road. Apart from the fact that supplies were very short, cooking was not allowed as the length of the halt couldn't be predicted. In addition, any smoke would have indicated its position.²⁹ According to the local tradition, it was at Chapelle Saint Lambert that Bülow met Blücher in the rectory, opposite the church.³⁰ It was then about 1 p.m.



Chapelle Saint Lambert.

Sometime after his arrival at Chapelle Saint Lambert, Blücher sent his aide de camp count Nostitz and colonel Von Pfuel to the front to find out about the French positions and the situation on the battlefield. Both men rode to the Bois de Paris and chose a position somewhere on its south-west side to have a good view over the French positions. Having determined that it would be the most efficient to attack the French army from here, in its right rear flank, Von Nostitz made a sketch of the French positions and got back to Blücher as soon as he could. Von Nostitz made his report and convinced the Prussian general staff to go to the same spot where he had been to oversee the situation for themselves.³¹

From Chapelle Saint Lambert, general Bülow had sent out major Von Witowski with a small detachment of the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars to Couture, with the task of surveying the defiles of the Lasne from there.³² Either they had met Von Witowski or they had asked him to join them, as it were colonel Von Pfuel and count Von Nostitz who met Von Witowski and together they observed the battlefield.³³ As a result, Von Witowski wrote a short pencil-note for Blücher about what they had seen; by then it may have been around 3 p.m. It reads:

*Der Feind steht links auf der Höhe von Planchenoi [sic] und die Engländer auf der Höhe vorwärts Mont St.Jean. Frischermont [sic] scheint unbesetzt. Feindliche Cavallerie und Artillerie ist vorgerückt.
Von Wykowsky [?]*

*Durch Fernrohr beobachtet von Oberst Von Pfuel, von Höhe Frischemont*³⁴

Later, the detachment proceeded towards Maransart where it bumped into a French patrol.³⁵ There is no indication at what time the first report of colonel Von Ledebur reached general Bülow and Blücher, but it may have been between 1.30 and 2 p.m.³⁶ Both two other reports probably arrived at St.Lambert at 2.30 and 3 p.m.³⁷ It was also at Chapelle Saint Lambert - probably around 1.30 p.m. - that Blücher received Von Müffling's disposition for the advance of the Prussian army.³⁸ As a result, Blücher now sent lieutenant Von Gerlach of his staff to Thielmann with the order to follow the army towards Couture.³⁹



Chapelle Saint Lambert, seen from the south.

The passage of the valley of the Lasne by the Prussian units on the 18th of June 1815.

From shortly before 10 a.m. onwards, Von Lützow had, accompanied by lieutenant Von Massow and a detachment of the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars (⁴⁰), observed the positions of Wellington and Napoleon from a covered position in the western edge of the Bois de Paris. ⁴¹ Von Lützow reported to Blücher that the Bois de Paris was not occupied and that the French right flank wasn't secured. Before he did so, Von Lützow left lieutenant Von Massow with the hussars behind in the wood. Some patrols had entered the valley of the Lasne. One of them reported:

Der Weg nach La Haye durch Lasne führend geht ziemlich sanft herunter, das diesseitige Ufer ist bei weitem steiler. Der Weg ist, so lang das Defilée, mit 20 Fuss hohen Wenden eingeschlossen. Bei Couture, auf dem rechten Ufer der Lasne, durch welches der Weg nach Braine-la-Leud führt, habe ich eine Cavallerie-Feldwache bemerkt (ob feindlich, weiss Ich nicht. Der Bach der Lasne ist nur unbedeutend 2 bis 3 Fuss tief.

[..] Block ⁴²

It was Von Valentini himself, who, accompanied by a farmer and a private called Dieterichs, also acquainted himself with the fact that both the village of Lasne and the Bois de Paris were not occupied by the enemy. ⁴³ After the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars had entered Chapelle Saint Lambert, it detached one squadron to Lasne to verify whether it was occupied. Further to the rear, the remainder of the regiment advanced towards Couture. As soon as it became clear that Lasne itself wasn't occupied, Bülow had it occupied by two companies of the 2nd battalion of the 18th regiment, led by major Von Koschkul. ⁴⁴

The advance from Chapelle Saint Lambert was not only screened by the cavalry towards Couture and by the two companies towards Lasne, but also by two battalions of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry under the command of major Von Krahn as they covered it towards the south by taking up a covered position in a small wood to the south of Chapelle Saint Lambert.

Starting off from Chapelle Saint Lambert towards 2 p.m. , the vanguard of the 4th corps slowly descended the valley of the Lasne, to take up a position in rear of the Bois de Paris.⁴⁵

Von Grolmann now ordered the battalions of major Von Koschkull and the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars forward to occupy the Bois de Paris.⁴⁶ By now, the brigade of Von Losthin was reinforced by the horse battery nr.11 and the 2nd Neumark Landwehr cavalry of Von Watzdorff, as it lacked cavalry after detaching major Von Falckenhausen's detachment. Both battalions which had been detached to the south were pulled in again. The first brigade to enter the wood was the one of Von Losthin and then Von Hiller's. At Chapelle Saint Lambert, the reserve-cavalry brigades of Von Schwerin and Von Watzdorff were pulled through the 13th brigade in order to follow these two infantry-brigades to the battlefield; the 13th brigade was to follow the cavalry accordingly.⁴⁷

As the 13th brigade of Von Hacke had halted somewhere between Lasne and the Bois de Paris, Prince Wilhelm was allowed to proceed further towards the front and to take up a position in rear of the 16th brigade.⁴⁸ The reason for doing so was that Blücher would have all weapons available in sufficient numbers during the battle.

As Von Hiller was in the immediate rear of Von Losthin, this brigade only halted at Chapelle Saint Lambert for about one hour.⁴⁹ Hacke's brigade left Chapelle Saint Lambert around 2.30 p.m. Having passed through Lasne it halted for a short time and then waited at the Bois de Paris for the brigade of Von Ryssel to come up (this brigade would have left Chapelle Saint Lambert around 4 p.m.). Von Hacke arrived at the east side of the wood around 5 p.m.

At that time the 13th brigade entered the wood and the 14th brigade followed in its rear; both brigades arrived at the battlefield between 5.30 and 6 p.m. Von Ryssel had been delayed by the presence of the reserve-artillery in front and by the fact that it carried the baggage of the whole corps.⁵⁰

Somehow it doesn't become clear when the reserve-artillery arrived at the battlefield: though it followed the 13th brigade, it seems as if the 14th brigade had overtaken it in order to reach the wood immediately after Von Hacke.⁵¹

The area.

The Lasne streams north-east; its valley had a plateau to the left on which stood the Bois de Paris; on its right hand side were the heights on which the village of Chapelle Saint Lambert is located.

The road which led from Chapelle Saint Lambert to the battlefield was a sand-track which led to the hamlet of Le Culot (at one kilometre of Chapelle Saint Lambert). Then the road continued along the farm De la Porte Verte (to the left of the road) and the chateau De la Kelle (to the right⁵²), to go down into the low grounds of the Lasne. Here, the road crossed the Lasne stream by a stone bridge.⁵³



The farm of la Kelle, and the road descending from Chapelle Saint Lambert towards the Lasne.

Because of the continuous rain during the previous night, the road was in a dreadful state. On top of that, the Lasne had swollen and the low ground was marshy. From the low ground, the road continued to the left, on the height, towards the Bois de Paris by a steep slope. There it led through the wood to the battlefield.⁵⁴

On regular intervals the road was reinforced by tree-trunks, placed horizontally. The distance between Chapelle Saint Lambert and to the east side of the Bois de Paris was 2.5 kilometres.

It was over this road that Blücher led his men towards the battlefield.⁵⁵ The Prussians had a very tough job to cross the Lasne: it was not only the area itself, but the men were tired from the previous march. To get the heavy material forward was particularly difficult, though Blücher in person would have encouraged his men.⁵⁶

The brigade of Von Losthin had taken up a position in rear of the Bois de Paris [⁵⁷] by 3.30 p.m., it was between 3.30 and 4 p.m. that the first units entered the wood.⁵⁸ As they arrived they were carefully placed in the wood, the one of Von Losthin first, then the one of Von Hiller. They did so as silently as possible.⁵⁹

Meanwhile, Bülow had kept Von Müffling up to date about the situation of his corps by sending him messages around 1, 2 and 3 p.m., all arriving about one hour later at their destination.⁶⁰

The brigade of Von Losthin came to the right of the road which leads to Plancenoit [⁶¹] and the one of Von Hiller to its left; both brigades had their infantry in closed columns.

The reserve-cavalry had passed the reserve-artillery as well as the brigade of Von Hacke.⁶² By doing so it had got to the rear of the 16th brigade [⁶³] and now it took up a position behind the wood, ready to follow. Prince Wilhelm was missing his 1st regiment of Silesian and the 2nd Pommeranian Landwehr, but now the 2nd Silesian hussars as well as the 2nd Neumark Landwehr cavalry regiment (both from the 16th brigade) joined him in exchange. They took up their positions in front of the other regiments of the reserve-cavalry.⁶⁴

By 4.30 p.m. Bülow had his 15th and 16th brigade, as well as his reserve cavalry, available at the Bois de Paris.⁶⁵ To prevent anybody from entering or leaving the wood, all entrances of the wood were guarded by outposts.⁶⁶

Blücher and Von Gneisenau themselves had gone to a position on the western edge of the wood to observe the enemy.⁶⁷ From this post, the French right wing, centre as well as the reserves near La Belle Alliance could be observed.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, Bülow himself had also ridden to the western part of the Bois de Paris and observed the situation. Blücher sent him the order to attack

through Von Nostitz but Bülow sent Nostitz back with the remark that he had only two infantry-brigades and the reserve-cavalry available. Nostitz was however immediately sent back again to Bülow by Blücher with the explicit order to attack.

The remaining troops of Bülow and Pirch I got instructions to speed up their march towards the battlefield.⁶⁹

The 2nd corps.

Shortly after writing his orders for Bülow, Blücher wrote his orders for general Pirch I. It was around midnight.⁷⁰ They read:

Ew.Hochwohlgeboren benachrichtige Ich, dass das 4.Armeekorps den Befehl erhalten hat, morgen mit Tagesanbruch sich über Wavre in der Direktion auf Chateau [sic] Saint Lambert in Marsch zu setzen. Ew.Hochwohlgeboren schliessen sich mit dem 2.Armeekorps unmittelbar an das 4.Armeekorps an und folgen der Marschdirektion desselben. Sie wollen bei Ihren Truppen alle diejenigen Massregeln treffen, die als Vorbereitung zum Gefecht nöthig sind. Die Bagage,Trains usw. werden nach Löwen dirigirt,und zwar auf dem rechten Ufer der Dyle, damit der Durchzug durch Wavre vermieden werde.

*Blücher*⁷¹

It was shortly after midnight that Pirch I received this order.⁷² Resulting, Pirch issued the following order:

“Bivouac bei Wavre, den 18. Juni 1815

Die Brigaden sind zum Aufbruch bereit und zwar nach folgender Ordnung:

1. *Reserve-Cavallerie*
2. *5. Und 6. Brigade*
3. *die Reserve-Artillerie Brigade*
4. *7. Und 8. Brigade, sämmtlich rechts abmarschirt*
5. *2 Cavallerie-Regimenter unter dem Obrist v.Sohr*

Das Corps folgt dem über Wavre gehenden 4.Armeekorps, daher der Obrist Graf Schulenburg sich der Queue desselben anschliesst. Die Herren Brigade-Chefs werden genau darauf achten dass diese Marschordnung streng befolgt wird. Der zur Arriere-Garde kommandirte Obrist V.Sohr hat nur die gewöhnlichen Sicherheits-Massregeln zu nehmen, da der General V.Hobe noch hinter ihm ist. Alles wird zum Gefecht vorbereitet sein. Die zum Empfang der Lebensmittel beauftragten, vorausgeschickten Offiziere werden von hier aus nach einem Platze gewiesen werden, wo die Vertheilung der Lebensmittel vorgenommen wird.”⁷³

The march to Chapelle Saint Lambert

Though the corps was ready at 5 a.m. to leave and follow the 4th corps, the passage of this corps only allowed it to leave towards noon.⁷⁴ At Wavre the 1st battalion of the 14th regiment (brigade Von Brause) was relieved by a battalion of the 30th regiment (brigade Borcke, 3rd corps).⁷⁵

Those who marched towards Wavre left in the following order: the reserve cavalry (brigade of Von Von der Schulenburg in front), the reserve-artillery, the brigade of Von Tippelskirch and

the brigade of Von Krafft.⁷⁶

Having been kept on the right bank of the Dyle because of the approach of the enemy, the remaining units - the brigades Von Brause, Von Reckow and Von Sohr - crossed the Dyle towards 4 p.m.

Von Brause and Von Reckow did so via Wavre (Von Brause first) and Von Sohr via the bridge near the mill of Bierges.⁷⁷ The detachment of Von Ledebur also crossed the Dyle at Wavre.

As soon as Von Sohr had passed the defile, he got the instruction to join the reserve-cavalry (which was in front) and he tried to do so by passing the columns of the other troops, but arrived on the battlefield too late to play any role of importance.⁷⁸

Of the rear-guard of Von Sohr, the 11th regiment of hussars as well as the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Elbe Landwehr infantry moved to a position somewhere between Limale and Chapelle Saint Lambert. The hussars, led by major Simolin, kept up a communication from there with Thielmann, and it was a post of these hussars, posted near Limale, which saw the French approaching the bridge. As a result, the detachment remained in its post till about 8.30 p.m. Then it moved to Chapelle Saint Lambert and spent the night there.⁷⁹

As the reserve cavalry proceeded towards the battlefield, the reserve-artillery halted near Chapelle Saint Lambert in order not to delay the further advance of the other units of the corps. The only units which reached the battlefield were the horse battery nr.6 and foot battery nr.10

As Pirch was moving his units towards the battlefield of Waterloo, it was after 4 p.m. that an adjutant of Von Thielmann joined him with his request to return, as he was under attack of the French. In doubt what to do, Pirch sent his adjutant captain Von Willisen to Blücher with a request what to do. Von Willisen found the Prussian commander who insisted Pirch should proceed to support Bülow.⁸⁰

From the battlefield, Blücher had ordered Pirch I to send one of his brigades to his left to cover the army from here. Pirch I used the 7th brigade for this. The brigade had succeeded in reaching the main body of the corps, but was now sent from Chapelle Saint Lambert towards Maransart. The 4th regiment of Kurmark Landwehr cavalry (brigade Von der Schulenburg) was now attached to the brigade and used as an advance guard. Between the 7th and 8th brigade there was a gap, as the latter brigade reached the battlefield much later that evening, far too late to contribute to the allied victory.⁸¹

The 1st corps.

At 2 a.m., general Von Zieten received the following orders from Blücher:⁸²

Headquarters Wavre, 17th June Midnight

Your Excellency is to have the troops cook their breakfast as early as possible, so that they are ready to leave at the first sign. The 2nd and 4th army-corps leave tomorrow at dawn and move through Wavre in the direction of Chateau St.Lambert [sic], in order to operate on the right flank of the enemy in case that he, as he probably will, attacks the duke of Wellington in his position. The baggage, the trains etc. are sent to Louvain, and those of the 1st corps on the left bank of the Dyle, so as to avoid the centre of Wavre.

*Blücher*⁸³

Between 11 and 12 a.m. Zieten also received the order to leave his positions immediately.⁸⁴ It was issued by Blücher shortly before he left Wavre. As a result of this, Zieten wrote this

disposition for the movements of his troops:

The 4th, 2nd and 1st army-corps are to march in two columns in such a way that they can support the duke of Wellington, who will probably be attacked still today by the French and who stands with his right wing near Braine l'Alleud, with his left near Mont Saint Jean, with a diversion against Bonaparte's flank and rear. The 4th and 2nd army-corps are to form the column on the left; they move through Neuf Cabaret onto St.Lambert.

The 1st army-corps forms the column on the right; it moves through Froidmont towards Ohain. The order of march is as follows:

The vanguard: the 1st brigade with one foot and one horse battery. In support of the vanguard, the reserve cavalry, then the 2nd, 3rd and 4th brigade and as last the reserve-artillery. The 1st army-corps moves off to the right.

I request to march as much as possible by sections, and where the terrain allows it, by divisions.

I will consider it as the happiest day in my life if on the 18th of June the same Prussian courage is shown as on the 16th, but with greater success. Under the orders of such brigade-commanders and higher officers, as in the 1st corps, I am convinced that my arduous wishes will be fulfilled.

Major Von Dedenroth of the general staff will lead the head of the column of the 1st army-corps.

The Westphalian Landwehr-cavalry regiment will be divided among the brigades according to the issued ordre de bataille.

The reserve cavalry maintains contact with the column on the left wing.

Signed Von Zieten

*Für gleichlautende Abschrift the chief of staff lieutenant colonel Von Reiche.*⁸⁵

Before leaving, Zieten pulled his 12th regiment back from the right towards his corps again.⁸⁶ Zieten's advance guard comprised the brigade of Von Steinmetz, the reserve-cavalry and a horse and foot battery. In rear of them would follow the brigades of Pirch II, Von Jagow, Von Henckel and the reserve-artillery.⁸⁷ All these brigades were ordered, as soon as they had crossed the low ground of the Lasne, to collect and immediately follow the advance-guard.⁸⁸ The reserve-cavalry was instructed to maintain the communication with the columns of the 4th and 2nd corps.

The advance guard of the 1st corps probably left its positions towards 2 p.m.⁸⁹ In its march the units turned northward and then, about one kilometre north of Bierges, to the left. Here the road carries towards the Bois de Rixensart, then in a straight line right through this wood and to turn south at its exit towards the hamlet of Fromont.⁹⁰ From here the road turns west for about one and a half a kilometre, to turn south-west from Bourgeois towards the Lasne.

As soon as the 1st brigade had occupied the Lasne-valley, Zieten had the reserve cavalry (plus two horse batteries) advance. After that, the 1st brigade formed and resumed its course as soon as the vanguard of other brigades (the 2nd brigade) had arrived. The other brigades followed further to the rear, while each had the instruction to assemble itself as soon as it had passed the valley of the Lasne and to follow the vanguard.⁹¹ The road continues further south and west along the farm of Delbrire towards Ohain, which is in the hollow ground to the left, and then on to the Chapelle Notre Dame de Bon Secours.⁹² From there the road led in a straight line along the Chapelle Jacques to the heights in rear of Wellington's extreme left flank.⁹³

The roads and grounds where the 1st corps had to pass through were very tough. Chief of staff Von Reiche writes: " Der Marsch zum Schlachtfelde war äusserst beschwerlich. Grundlose,

durch tiefe Defileen durchschnittene Wege mussten passiert werden; das Terrain war zu beiden Seiten fast durchgehends waldig, daher an kein ausweichen zu denken war und der Marsch nur sehr langsam von Statten gehen konnte, um so mehr als Menschen und Pferde an vielen Stellen nur einzeln und die Geschütze nur höchst mühsam durchzubringen waren. Die Kolonnen kamen dadurch sehr auseinander, und wo es das Terrain gestattete, mussten die Teten derselben Halt machen, damit die Abtheilungen sich wieder sammeln konnten.[...] Die ganze Kolonne geschlossen zusammen zu halten, musste aufgegeben werden, und man war befriedigt, wenn nur die Brigaden und Regimenter in sich zusammen blieben. " ⁹⁴ The route from Bierges to Chapelle Saint Jacques covers about 12 kilometres. The advance guard got north of Ohain around 6 p.m. ⁹⁵ Around 6.30 p.m. the advance guard reached at Chapelle Notre Dame de Bon Secours. ⁹⁶

The reserve-cavalry was followed by the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th brigade. While Von Jagow left its bivouacs around 3 p.m. Henckel left Bierges between 3 and 4 p.m. ⁹⁷ The reserve-artillery formed the rear-guard. The moment Pirch II reached the Lasne he took the opportunity to collect his brigade and then he proceeded towards Ohain and it was on its other side, at the crossing with the road which runs from Haut-Ransbeek to Cheval de Bois, that he turned left to join the forces of Bülow. Pirch II now led his regiments into the valley towards the stream of Smohain until his brigade had almost entirely left the Ohain-road, when he received the contra-order to march towards the battle-field along the Ohain-road. The 3rd brigade, which was under his orders as well, being the senior commander, was about to turn left too, but now Pirch II took the opportunity of collecting this brigade. He decided to let the 3rd brigade continue its march towards the battlefield while the 2nd brigade now followed, also in close column. ⁹⁸ As soon as both these brigades were about to reach the battlefield, Pirch II formed them and he sent his 1st regiment of Westphalian Landwehr cavalry (three squadrons) forward in a trot. The infantry also accelerated its march but both units reached the battlefield too late to take a share in the fighting. As Von Henckel was on his way, he received Zieten's request on behalf of general Thielmann to support him as he felt too weak beyond Bierges. Von Henckel therefore decided to leave a detachment of three battalions and three squadrons at Bierges, with the instruction to cover the right flank of the 3rd corps and to keep up a communication with the 1st corps to cover its rear while it would be on its way towards the battlefield of Waterloo. ⁹⁹

The units which Von Henckel reserved for this detachment were the 19th regiment of infantry (brigade Von Henckel), two squadrons of the 6th regiment of uhlans and one squadron of the 1st regiment of Westphalian Landwehr-cavalry, led by major Von Stengel. ¹⁰⁰ Its total strength (excluding the losses on the 16th of June) was 2475 men.

Initially, the 19th regiment faced about and followed the road, but soon it turned right to move through the fields towards Bierges. Of the 19th regiment, the 1st and 2nd battalion were posted in the low grounds in such positions so as to be able to act offensively from flanking positions; the fusilier battalion was placed in Bierges itself. Major Schouler of the 1st battalion sent the Schützen-division led by caprain Von Schachtmeijer forward to occupy the south-east edge of the village, while the battalion was placed near the village in support. ¹⁰¹

The other regiment of the brigade of Von Henckel, the 4th regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry, plus the foot battery nr.15 were detached by Zieten towards a position in the vicinity of Froidmont. The purpose of this detachment was to observe the enemy, while this was approaching Limale as long as the battle at Mont Saint Jean had not been decided. ¹⁰²

The mission of major Von Falckenhausen.

It was near Neuf Cabaret around 10 a.m. that general Bülow sent out major Von Falckenhausen (of the 3rd regiment Silesian Landwehr cavalry) with 100 of his men to Céroux, From there, Von

Falckenhausen was to establish a communication with the detachment of the the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars at Couture and of colonel Von Ledebur at Mont Saint Guibert. Next to this, he had to gain as much information as he could about the whereabouts of the French army. The remainder of the regiment was kept in the brigade under colonel Von Eicke

Von Falckenhausen accordingly went to Céroux and from there he sent patrols to Mont Saint Guibert and Couture. The distance between Chapelle Saint Lambert and Céroux is about 4.5 kilometres. ¹⁰³ Having found any enemy forces, Von Falckenhausen rode through La Hütte to a place called Les Flamandes. Here, he took a few French soldiers prisoner. ¹⁰⁴ Through them, Von Falckenhausen learned that Napoleon's main forces were fighting Wellington; it was now about 12.30 o'clock. Von Falckenhausen transmitted this news, as well as a French sergeant-major as prisoner, to Bülow. In order to get a better idea of the French position Von Falckenhausen now moved to the north to the other side of Maransart from where he could see the French line extending towards Fichermont. He reported this to Bülow as well.

Meanwhile, the patrol which had been sent out towards Mont Saint Guibert returned with a picket (consisting of an officer and 20 horsemen) of the detachment of Von Ledebur, which had been cut off by the sudden withdrawal of Von Ledebur. About 300 French horsemen would have been present. Von Falckenhausen, now went there, surprised the French, drove them off and took 27 horsemen and an officer prisoner. They were dragoons of Exelmans' brigade of general Vincent. ¹⁰⁵

Von Falckenhausen informed Bülow of this situation and now continued towards the Brussels road through La Hütte and Les Flamandes. ¹⁰⁶ At La Hütte, at 4 p.m., Von Falckenhausen wrote the following report to Gneisenau:

Der Major Falckenhausen meldet dass der feindliche linke Flügel zu retirieren scheint. Mont Saint Gubert [sic] hat der Oberst Ledebur verlassen. Eine Feldwache, die er stehen liess, und meine Parti sind dort von c.300 M.frz.Cav. verjagt worden. Es scheint nun aber durchaus nicht [...] etwas zu befürchten ist. Alle unsre [sic] Nachrichten stimmen dahin überin dass Napoleon auf der Strasse gegen Brüssel concentrirt ist. So wie Ich es hier beurtheile ist Chateau de Fickemont [sic] der wichtigste Punkt.

Hutte, [...] um 4 Uhr

On the rear is written:

Der Major Falckenhausen bittet dem [...] Leppel [?] zu befehlen ob nicht zu schnell marschiert wird. ¹⁰⁷

After that, in the evening, Von Falckenhausen took up a covered position near the farm of Passavent, near the Brussels road.

The 3rd corps.

The orders for general Thielmann for the early morning of the 18th of June prescribed him to hold himself with his corps into readiness, if needed, to follow the other corps to the battlefield of Mont Saint Jean. Thielmann was also informed that all the baggage and trains had to be directed towards Louvain. ¹⁰⁸

Further instructions came at 1 p.m. At that time Von Grolmann told the chief of staff of the 3rd corps, general Von Clausewitz, that the 3rd corps was intended either to defend the position at Wavre or to leave some battalions there and to march off towards the battlefield of Mont Saint

Jean, to act as a reserve and a rear-guard.¹⁰⁹

Eventually, by 3 p.m. Thielmann received the order to march off towards Couture.¹¹⁰ In leaving, Thielmann was convinced the enemy would only keep him occupied and that he wouldn't push through any attack.¹¹¹

Thielmann had started his march when circumstances however forced him to change his intention. Therefore, he decided to halt his troops and to take up positions in and around Wavre. His main reason to do so was the fact that the enemy was deploying in front of him. Further, he wasn't able to continue his march as the 1st corps filled up the road of Bierges, while the 2nd was doing the same towards Neuf Cabaret.¹¹²

While the brigade of Von Kemphen hadn't moved at all, the brigade of Von Stülpnagel was already moving and the one of Von Lucke had just started its march.¹¹³ Both brigade were now ordered to return to their positions.

At 8.30 .a.m. Thielmann had ordered Von Borcke (9th brigade) to occupy the defile at Wavre with two battalions and to keep them there until further notice so as to cover the retreat of the rear-guard across the Dyle here. Von Borcke received the order by 10 a.m.¹¹⁴ The battalions Von Borcke used to accomplish this were the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Kurmark Landwehr-infantry (led by major Von Bornstedt) and the 3rd battalion of the 30th regiment (led by major Von Sprenger). At Wavre, both battalions came under the command of the brigade major Von Zeppelin.¹¹⁵ While the units of Bülow crossed Wavre, both battalions arrived there.

It was Thielmann's intention that Von Borcke would follow the 3rd corps in its course towards Couture. Of the 2nd corps, two brigades of infantry (those of Von Reckow and of Von Brause) and one brigade of cavalry (Von Sohr) were still on the right bank of the Dyle, forming a rear-guard. Eventually, Von Brause and Von Reckow crossed the Dyle at Wavre, while Von Sohr did so at Bierges. Von Borcke crossed the Dyle at Basse Wavre in order not to obstruct the units of the 2nd corps moving through Wavre.¹¹⁶ It was here that Von Borcke left the Schützen-platoons of the fusilier battalion of the Leib-regiment, led by captain Von Steinäcker, as well as those of the 1st battalion of the 30th regiment, under the command of major Von Bornstedt.¹¹⁷

Before ascending the north bank of the Dyle, Von Borcke reinforced the garrison of Von Zeppelin at Wavre with the 2nd battalion of the 30th regiment (led by major Grolman) and the two squadrons of the brigade (the 1st and 2nd squadron of the 3rd regiment of Kurmark Landwehr-cavalry) which came in observation at the crossing of the Dyle at the chateau de Lorensart, further north.¹¹⁸

Now, Von Borcke moved his remaining forces (of five and half battalion and a battery) further in a northwest direction, through Champles as he had got the order to take up a position on the other side of Wavre, on the road which leads to Brussels and to await further orders there.¹¹⁹

As Von Borcke had original orders to move to Couture, he yet wheeled from the Brussels road to his left and by doing so eventually bumped in the early evening into the right flank of the 1st corps which was moving towards Wellington. This may have been in the vicinity of Bourgeois or Froidmont. In fact, by passing through a gap in the column, it seriously delayed the 4th brigade of Von Henckel in its course towards Mont Saint Jean.¹²⁰ As the brigade continued its course towards Couture it was informed of the success at Waterloo and then halted at Chapelle Saint Lambert.¹²¹

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1. Von Plotho - Der Krieg des verbundeten etc. p.62-63

2. Former Kriegsarchiv, nr.VI.E.3.II.191 In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.422

3. According to Von Pflugk Harttung, Von Bülow got it at midnight. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.422

4. Von Hiller claims he got his orders before daybreak. Cf. Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.240

5. In former Kriegsarchiv nr.VI.E.38.I.31 Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.423

In this copy Von Pflugk Harttung adds after the text: "Der Hauptmann Reyher bleibt bey dem Detachement des Oberst Lieutnants Von Ledebur, hat ein aufmerksames Auge auf die feindlichen Bewegungen und besorgt dass mir schnell von allem berichtet wird." This maybe only in the copy for Von Ryssel.

Also in:

Plotho, Von – Der Krieg des verbundeten etc.p.64

Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.191

Von Plotho erroneously speaks of Chapelle Saint Lambert, in stead of Chapelle Saint Laurent.

6. Also see: Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.258

Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

Within this sequence were in front the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars, with general Von Bülow, the 2nd battalion 18th regiment and the 3rd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehr. Cf. Wedell, Von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments p.163-164

The 12p. battery nr.3 was in the rear of the brigade, as well as the 3rd battalion of the 4th regiment Silesian Landwehr. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance, p.505 Von Pflugk Harttung bases his assertion on documents of the former Kriegsarchiv in Berlin, like the report of the brigade.

The fact that the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars was detached from its brigade (Von Schwerin) is confirmed by another source. Cf. Vor hundert Jahren etc. p.635

The complete vanguard contained about 7750 men, with 16 guns (9 battalions, 6 squadrons and 2 batteries).

7. It was to Von Watzdorff that the 2nd regiment Neumark Landwehr cavalry attached itself again.

According to colonel Von Hiller his brigade followed the reserve-cavalry. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc.p.242

⁸ In this brigade both the squadrons of Silesian Landwehrcavalry followed the 3rd battalion of the 2nd Pommeranian Landwehr regiment. See Bericht 38 in former Kriegsarchiv. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance, p.505

Another source gives the following sequence in the march of the brigade: 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr cavalry [?], the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Silesian regiment of infantry nr.11, the foot battery nr.13, the 2nd battalion of the 2nd regiment of Silesian regiment of infantry, a horse battery (which had reinforced the brigade), the 1st and 2nd regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr infantry. Cf. Eberts, G.W.von Hundertjährige Geschichte etc. p.198

9. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance, p.504-505

10. Bericht der 15.Brigade. In: former Kriegsarchiv (nr.38) in : Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.424, 504

Schulze claims the corps left at 3 a.m. Cf. Schulze, M. Das 2.Neumärkische landwehr-Infanterie-Regiment etc. In: Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark. Heft XXI p.171

Von Clausewitz believes it was 7 a.m. In: Campagne de 1815 en France p.122

The 15th brigade would have received the order at 2 a.m. (VI.E.38.71), the 16th brigade at 3 a.m. and the 14th brigade at 4 a.m. (Tagebuch.26 in former Kriegsarchiv). Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.424

¹¹ Cf. the account of colonel Von Loebell, commander ad interim of the 15th brigade. In: MWB 1904 nr.29 p.738

12.This is not completely certain for the brigade of Von Ryssel's brigade: this one stood in Vieux Sart and could march directly through Dion-le-Mont or Louvrance.

13. The distance between Tout vend and Wavre is 5 kilometres.

Houssaye claims it was at 7 a.m. In: 1815. Waterloo p.289

Von Ollech, however, claims it was between 5 and 6 a.m. Cf. Ollech, Von – Geschichte etc. p.91

Schulze claims it was 5 a.m. Cf. Schulze, M. Das 2.Neumärkische Landwehr-Infanterie-Regiment etc. In: Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark. Heft XXI p.171

14. According to Houssaye the troops crossed the Dyle at several bridges; but this was not the case. He also asserts the street was very narrow and steep, which is also not true. Cf. Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.289

For this correction, see: Navez, L. La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.138

15. Nostitz, Von –

Diary of the 16th brigade. In: Pflugk Harttung, Von – Zu den Ereignissen etc. p.191

Report of Pirch I. In: In: Pflugk Harttung, Von – Zu den Ereignissen etc. p.191

Thurn und Taxis, prince Von -

According to the mayor of Wavre, mr.L.de l'Escaille, however, about 80 houses would have been destroyed. Cf.his account written for lieutenant general general Evers. In: Sonmereyn, A. Les combats de Wavre les 18 et 19 Juin 1815 p.71 (reference: NA, fonds Staatssecretarie, nr.6584)

According to prince Thurn und Taxis the fire started in a mill. Cf. Memoirs of prince Von Thurn und Taxis, Bavarian plenipotentiary at the headquarters of Blücher. In: Aus drei

Feldzügen etc. p.330-331

16. Scheltema and D.Hamilton-Williams claim it was 8 a.m. Cf. Scheltema, J. De laatste veldtocht van Napoleon Bonaparte p.205

Hamilton-Williams, D. Waterloo, new perspectives p.275.

The strange thing is that the mayor of Wavre mentions a time after 11 a.m. See above.

¹⁷ In the confusion a powder-waggon would have ridden into one of the parapets of the bridge over the Dyle and would have obstructed the road for some time. Cf. account of 1st lieutenant Elsner of the 4th company, 18th regiment, brigade Von Losthin, in MWB, 1907 nr.129 In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.507

18. Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.258

Report of Pirch I. In: In: Pflugk Harttung, Von – Zu den Ereignissen etc. p.191

Report of major Von Löwenfeld (1st battalion 14th regiment). In: In: Pflugk Harttung, Von – Zu den Ereignissen etc. p.191

Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.507-508

Account of Mr.Debienne dated 18th June noon. In: Mélanges historiques of the Société des études etc. 1970 p.19 and in: Evénements survenus à Wavre en 1815. In: Bulletin SBEN, no.53 December 1965 p.23-24 (original in Archives du Royaume). Debienne adds that he didn't want to use the fire-bell to prevent the Prussians from panicking.

¹⁹ At the exit of Wavre, the vanguard faced a small delay by the presence of the a 12-pounder gun with a broken axle in the street, but which was pulled away. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.507

The decision was taken to leave the battery behind in order not to slow down the march of the vanguard too much and to have it join the reserve-artillery. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.508

20. De Jaer, F. Histoire de la ville et de la commune de Wavre p.49

Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.289

F.Kohlheim, member of the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Kurmark Landwehr infantry, says when his battalion approached Wavre around 7.30 a.m. a fire was burning in the suburb. He adds that powder-carts took another route in order to avoid the fire. In: Bornstedt, Von Lieutenant Jäckel of the same battalion, however, says that the fire had been extinguished as soon as the battalion (with the 3rd battalion of the 30th regiment) was sent to Wavre as a garrison; it may have been towards 9 a.m. In: Bornstedt, Von - Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18.und 19.Juni 1815 p.102-105

Von Bornstedt himself believes it was 10 a.m. In: Bornstedt, Von - Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18.und 19.Juni 1815 p.45-53

Lieutenant Von Rahden of the 2nd battalion of the 2nd regiment of Silesian infantry (brigade Von Ryssel) claims his battalion was near Wavre the moment the fire broke out, but his brigade was much further to the rear. Cf. Rahden, W.von - Wanderungen eines alten Soldaten p.365

21. Most of the road is still intact, though most of it has been asphalted.

The Chapelle Saint Robert was erected in 1756 by J.B.Gilson and J.M.Clément.

It remembers the argument two shepherds had had there, one from Ottignies and the other from Rixensart. It cost the life of one of them, Robert.

The inscription reads: "St.Robert. Dedié par L.B.Gilson et [...] DD.J.M. Clément [...] 1756."

In the beginning of the 20th century, the chapel was located between two large lime-trees, which have been removed. Two new ones have grown meanwhile and have incorporated the chapel actually in between them.

Cf. La ferme du Caillou dans la bataille p.14

Navez,L. - Waterloo p.61

Navez, L. - Le champ de bataille etc. p.181

Neuf Cabaret, at 3 kilometres west of Bierges is still there, albeit changed a bit.

Other names for the inn (which dates from 1774) are Le Pèlerin and Au Fayau.

Cf.Sonmereyn, A.Ch. Les combats de wavre de 18 et 19 Juin 1815. 2nd ed. p.53

The Bois du Hurant has become smaller and is now called the Bois de Chapelle. Aerts mentions between Chapelle Saint Robert and Chapelle Saint Lambert a house in ruins, called the Maison Labruyère. It stood in the south-east corner of the roads to Chapelle Saint Robert and the main track to Chapelle Saint Lambert. In: Opérations etc. p.208

²² Taking into account that the vanguard had left Wavre by 7 a.m., it covered the remaining 9 kilometres in 3.5 hours, which yields a speed of 2.5 km/hour.

Von Losthin and the diary of his brigade state that the brigade was collected at 9 a.m. on the east side of the village. See the reports in the former Kriegsarchiv, nrs. 38 and VI.E.38.71 In: Pflugk Hartung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.509

According to Von Bülow it would have been at 10 a.m. Cf. Bericht 1 in former Kriegsarchiv in Pflugk Hartung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.509

Private Diederichs (unit ?) and 1st lieutenant Elsner of the 15th regiment believe it was not long before the battle of Waterloo began [so at 11 or 11.15 a.m.]. In: Pflugk Hartung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.509

The history of the 18th regiment of infantry (brigade Von Losthin) reports that the regiment halted east of Chapelle Saint Lambert at 11 a.m. Cf. Wedell, R.von Geschichte des Königlich etc. p.164

For the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars a time of arrival of 11 a.m. is given. Cf. E.zur Lippe-Weissenfeld. Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 6.Husaern Regiments p.241

Von Pflugk Hartung in his research ends up with more or less the same conclusion, that is that the first infantry arrived at about 10 and the last of the 15th brigade at about 11.15 a.m. Cf. Pflugk Hartung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.510

Some historians claim it was 10 a.m. Cf.

Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.289

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleon's Untergang Vol.III p.395

Plötho, Von - Der Krieg des Verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1815 p.65

Navez, L. - La campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.264

11 a.m. is given by:

Löben Sels, E.van – Bijdragen etc. Vol.IV p.594

Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Vol.I p.311

Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.258

CvW. Geschichte des Feldzuges etc. p.23

Colonel Von Loebell, commander ad interim of the 15th brigade. In: MWB 1904 nr.29 p.738

²³ The arrival of the main body of the 4th corps (16th, 13th brigade, reserve-artillery and the reserve-cavalry) at Chapelle Saint Lambert is often fixed at noon and this based upon the report of Von Bülow himself who states it was "gegen Mittag". In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.522

Yet, this number of forces could never have arrived all around the same time; so therefore the time from about noon to 2 p.m.

Taking into account an average speed of 2.5 km / hour, it meant that the 16th brigade, leaving at 5 a.m. from its bivouacs, got in front of Wavre at 7 a.m. where it had to wait until about 8.30 a.m. To cover the remaining 9 kilometres to Wavre took her 3.5 hours.

By the time the 13th brigade got at Wavre (around 9.30 a.m.), the fire had been extinguished and therefore it was able to get to Chapelle Saint Lambert by 1 p.m. As it left from its positions, a distributions of provisions and brandy took place, but the men were not able to cook any meals due to the lack of time. Cf. diary of the brigade. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.502

While there are no data regarding the reserve-artillery, the reserve cavalry may have left at 10 a.m., taking a speed of 5 km / hour.

Six guns of horse battery nr.12, led by captain Von Pfeil, would have joined the 8th regiment of hussars of the reserve-cavalry. In: diary of Von Pfeil. In: Militärarchiv der DDR, PR.19/109 (Bl.20-22R)

Colonel Von Hiller indicates his brigade (the first one of the main body of the corps) arrived at Chapelle Saint Lambert at 2 p.m. Cf. Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten p.240

2nd captain Dyneley (battery Gardiner) says he saw the Prussian advance guard around 1 p.m. but he doesn't state where. From his position, this was the main body near Chapelle Saint Lambert. Cf. his letter dated 23rd August 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI, nr.MD 1051

Von Pflugk Harttung believes the 16th brigade arrived at Chapelle Saint Lambert about 11.30 a.m. and the one of Von Hacke between 12 and 12.30 p.m.

He bases his assertion on the diary of the brigade (VI.E.38.11) which gives 11.00 a.m. (which would actually be noon due to the fact that artillery fire could be heard from Mont Saint Jean) and the report of the 6p. battery nr.21 (Ber.19) which gives 11.30 a.m. In: Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.510

He also believes that due to the low speed of the reserve-artillery, the reserve cavalry overtook it while on the road to Chapelle Saint Lambert.

24. Report of Von Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.522

Report of Von Brause (Bericht.1 in former Kriegsarchiv). Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.512

Eberts, G.W.von - Hundertjährige Geschichte etc. p.198

Cf. Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.289

Aerts, W. Waterloo. Opérations etc. p.213

Schulze, M. Das 2. Neumärkische Landwehr-Infanterie-Regiment etc. In: Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark. Heft XXI p.171

It would have meant that the brigade left its positions near Vieux Sart by 8.30 a.m. Actually, the brigade broke up at 5 a.m, but soon the men halted due to the delay in the column. Cf. Diary of the brigade. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.504

²⁵ Major Von der Decken (1st regiment of KGL hussars). In: VPH, nr.56

Journal of the 1st regiment of KGL hussars. In: VPH, nr.55

There is a claim that general Freiherr Von Linsingen (commander of the 1st regiment of KGL hussars) spoke for quite time with general Von Bülow and prince Wilhelm of Prussia around noon. This claim is not supported by any means, neither by Von Bülow himself, not by major Von der Decken of the same regiment and should therefore be rejected. The source of this claim comes from the Militär Wochenblatt, 1907 p.2935 (unavailable to the author).

²⁶ Copy in former KA, VI.C.55.I.11 It bears the title: “Disposition des generals Bülow von Dennewitz, vor der Schlacht am 18. an den Lord Wellington geschickt.”

Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.620-621

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.401

²⁷ It was towards 4 p.m. that it crossed the Dyle at Wavre. That night, a battalion led by a major Von Seydlitz and a squadron of Landwehr cavalry led by captain Von Dittfurth joined Von Ledebur; they somehow had lost track of their brigades. Cf. Thielen, H.von - Geschichte des Magdeburgischen Husaren-Regiments nr.10 p.18

Bewegungen und Gefecht des Detachements der Arriergarde etc. In: MWB nr.34 1836 p.144-145

Account of colonel Von Ledebur. In: Thielen, H.von - Geschichte des Magdeburgischen Husaren-Regiments nr.10 p.20

Dunker, A. – Geschichte des Magdeburgischen Husaren-Regiments nr.10 p.12

It is a mystery which battalion this may have been. There were several units led by a major Von Seydlitz, and these were all, as far as we know, at Mont Saint Jean. They were the 3rd battalion of the 2nd regiment of Neumark Landwehr (brigade Von Hacke, the fusilier battalion of the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr of the brigade of Von Hiller, as well as both musketeer battalions of the 25th regiment of the brigade Von Tippelskirch.

The strange thing is that the regimental history of the 25th regiment claims that both battalions returned that night to Chapelle Saint Lambert and had a confrontation with the French there on the morning of the 19th – this is highly improbable. Cf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte etc. p.36-37

This source states that Von Ledebur halted east of Chapelle Saint Lambert, while covering the defile and while observing the Dyle.

28. It seems that he had a guide, named De Greef. Cf. Fierens-Gevaert, H. - Waterloo légendaire. In: Revue de Paris. 15th September 1900, p.402-448

In this, there is a strange parallel to Pierre Francois Grade, police-agent at Wavre since 1781. According to A.Ch.Sommereyn this agent was used by the Prussians as a guide, but was later murdered and hanged near Chapelle Saint Robert, in the forest on a site called “du Curé”. Cf.

Sommereyn, A.Ch. Les combats de Wavre des 18 et 19 Juin 1815 2nd ed. p.22
Barral mentions a man called Landoy, a shepherd from Wavre. Cf. Barral, G. Itinéraire etc. p.115

²⁹ Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.613-614

30. This rectory dates from 1672 and was enlarged in 1791.

³¹ Nostitz, Von Das Tagebuch etc. p.39-40

³² Cf. Von Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.524

Major Falckenhausen (3rd regiment Silesian Landwehr cavalry). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.616 and in: Militär Wochenblatt, 1845 p.130131

According to Von Damitz, Von Witowski would have been detached early morning from Wavre. Cf. Geschichte etc. p.287

³³ It was most probably this group which was observed with their glasses by members of the battery of Gardiner, as a “stationary picket or a patrol of Prussians, at a considerable distance, on an eminence to their left.” Cf. lieutenant Ingilby. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.290-296 and in his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

³⁴ In: KA, VI.E.50.17 In: GSA, VI-HA,nr.V.1.p.45

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von Napoleon's Untergang Vol. III p.402 He writes: “Szwikowsky”.

35.Von Bülow. In: In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.524

³⁶ Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VI HA,nr.V.1.p.37

³⁷ Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VI HA,nr.V.1.p.42

³⁸ According to Von Lettow Vorbeck it was after 1 p.m. In: Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.402

³⁹ Lieutenant Von Gerlach. Cf.his diary. In: Aus den Jahren Preussischer Not etc. p.151

Siborne erroneously claims the order was carried by Von Clausewitz. Cf. Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Vol.I p.314

⁴⁰ Damitz, K.von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc.287

Colonel Von Hiller confirms that a party of this regiment had found the wood unoccupied earlier that day. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

Of this regiment, two officers – lieutenant Cellert and Schmiedel - were sent out from the Bois de Paris to reconnoitre and to link up with Wellington's army. Further details about these missions are missing. Cf. Lippe-Weissenfeld, E. Graf zur – Geschichte des Königlichen Preussischen 6.Husaren Regiments p.241

⁴¹ Damitz, K.von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.287

Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner) mentions in his diary the presence at 11 a.m. of a Prussian picket near some trees; this may have been the party of major Von Lützow. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

The fact that Von Lützow was there by 10 a.m. means that he was sent out even before the vanguard of Von Bülow was at Chapelle Saint Lambert.

⁴² Cf. Report of Block (former Kriegsarchiv). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.415, 623

⁴³ Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.623-624

⁴⁴ Cf. Wedell, Von - Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments p.164 Pflugk Harttung, J.von Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.618

⁴⁵ Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.625

Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.377

Colonel Loebell adds that his troops rested after they had put down their muskets. Cf. Account of colonel Von Loebell, commander ad interim of the 15th brigade. In: MWB 1904 nr.29 p.738

⁴⁶ Von Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.524

Nostitz, Von Das Tagebuch etc. p.41

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

The fact that at least a part of the said cavalry-regiment occupied the forest is confirmed by colonel Von Hiller. Cf. Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

⁴⁷ Diaries of the 13th and 16th brigade. In: Pflugk Harttung, Von – Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.614

⁴⁸ Also see: Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

⁴⁹ This would mean a halt from 1 till 2 p.m. This vanguard waited from 10.30 a.m. till 2 p.m. Colonel Von Hiller doesn't mention a long halt at Chapelle Saint Lambert, but says that the brigade of Von Losthin was far ahead. Cf. Hiller, Von Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.240 and 242

⁵⁰ Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.629

The report of the battery nr.13 indicates that this battery was taken to the front of the brigade the moment it had passed the village of Lasne. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.629

⁵¹ Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance. P.628-629

Von Pflugk Harttung cites major Von Ziegler of the reserve artillery that it followed the main body of the corps and that its column was very long and broken up.

According to Hofschröder, the artillery followed the 13th brigade, having the 12p. in the lead. Cf. Hofschröder, P. 1815 The Waterloo campaign. The German victory p.98

⁵². This very impressive farm dates from before 1550. Other names are "de la Kelle", "Delle Kelle" or "La Kelle". This name is derived from the name of Van der Kelen, a family which was the owner of the farm for a long time. Cf. Tarliers, G. & A. Wauters - La Belgique ancienne etc.

Of the farm *De la porte verte* only some ruins of the entrance, as well as some of the foundations of the facade remain. Though the farm still existed in 1896, there is no clue when the farm has been demolished. Cf. Navez, L. - Waterloo (1896), map

⁵³. According to Logie there was only a passage for pedestrians; waggons had to wade through. Cf. Logie, J. - Waterloo, l'évitable défaite p.166

⁵⁴. Between Chapelle Saint Lambert-Lasne there was a difference of 30 metres in height and on the distance Lasne – western edge of the Bois de Paris it was 50 metre.

⁵⁵. Tarliers and Wauters claim that the Prussian officers were looking for the name of " Les Quatre Hurées " (pronounced as " Caturia " or " Caturiaux ") (500 metre south of Le Culot), but it wasn't here that the troops passed. Cf. Tarliers, J. & A. Wauters. La Belgique ancienne etc.

⁵⁶. Blücher would have said: "Vorwärts Kinder ! Es heisst wohl es geht nicht, aber es muss gehen. Ich habe es ja meinem Bruder Wellington versprochen. Hört Ihr wohl ? Ihr wollt doch nicht dass Ich wortbrüchig werden soll ? "
Cf. Die Befreiung, 1813-1814-1815 p.478

Colonel Von Hiller confirms that men of the infantry helped their comrades of the artillery to get the guns forward. Cf. Hiller, Von Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

The fact that the Lasne defile was hard to cross, particularly for the artillery, is confirmed by prince Thurn und Taxis. Cf. Memoirs of prince Von Thurn und Taxis, Bavarian plenipotentiary at the headquarters of Blücher. In: Aus drei Feldzügen etc. p.331-332

⁵⁷ Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.626

⁵⁸. Colonel Von Hiller says his brigade got the order to halt at 3 p.m. Then his brigade had arrived at the Bois de Paris. Cf. Hiller, Von Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242.

4 p.m. is confirmed by:

Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.378

Siborne, W. History of the war in France etc. Vol.II p.127.

⁵⁹ Gneisenau in a letter to his wife, dated 19th June 1815 and in one to Hardenberg, dated 22nd June 1815. In: Delbrück, H. Das Leben etc. Vol.IV p.525, 531

⁶⁰ Cf. Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). Cf. his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

And in: BL, Add.mss.34.703 p.290-296

Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment of hussars) Cf. his letter dated 19th of June 1815. In: Hunt, E. - Charging against Napoleon: diaries and letters of three hussars, 1808-1815 p.245

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Letters etc. p.259

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In; BL, Add.mss.34.704 p.205-209 and

in: NAM, nr.7612-19

Von Müffling. In: C.v.W. - Geschichte des Feldzugs der englisch-hanovrisch-niederländisch-braunschweigschen Armee etc. p.31

Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars) claims that colonel Percy rode to Prussian headquarters that morning, and to return before the battle started with news about the approach of the army, but there is no further proof for this claim. In: BL, Add.mss.34.708 p.162-166

⁶¹ About the exact formation of the brigade in the wood is conflicting information: on the hand it is stated that the brigade advanced in two lines – in the first one were the 1st and 3rd battalion of the 18th regiment as well as the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 3rd Silesian Landwehrintanry regiment, and in the second line the 4th Silesian Landwehrintanry regiment. Cf. Ber.38, the diary of the brigade. Cf. Wedell, Von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 18.Infanterie Regiments p.164

The other source states that the battalions got the order to form columns and to send skirmishers in front to occupy the inner edge of the wood (Ber.3 of the 18th regiment.52). Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.626

The 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment of Silesian Landwehr was sent to the left part of the wood to guard it against a French flank attack. Cf. Diary of the 15th brigade in the former Kriegsarchiv, in: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.627

⁶² Cf. diary of the 13th brigade in the former Kriegsarchiv. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.626

⁶³ Report of prince William of Prussia (VI.E.35.81) In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von Von - Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.613

⁶⁴. Nostitz, Von Das Tagebuch etc. p.41

Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.627

Hiller, Von Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

⁶⁵ Cf.Nostitz. Das Tagebuch p.40

⁶⁶ Cf. Report nr.VI.E.35.113 of the former Kriegsarchiv. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.626

⁶⁷ Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.631

⁶⁸. Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.631

Thurn und Taxis. Aus drei Feldzüge p.333-334

⁶⁹ Thurn und Taxis - Aus drei Feldzüge p.332

Nostitz, Von - Tagebuch p.40

70. Ollech, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.188

71. KA, VI.C.28.I In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.2

Von Ollech gives a slightly different version. In: Ollech, Von - Geschichte etc. p.188

⁷² Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.5B.p.1

⁷³ Stawitzky, L. – Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.89

The march order for the brigade of Von Tippelskirch was: 1st regiment Pommeranian infantry nr.2, foot-battery nr.10, 25th regiment of infantry, 5th regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry. Cf. Stawitzky, L. – Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.90

74. Bericht über das Arriergarden Gefecht bei Wavre den 18. Juni 1815 in: MWB, 1836 p.2
B.von Stuckrad also claims the corps crossed the Dyle at noon. Cf. Stuckrad, B.von Geschichte etc. p.113

The fact that at least the brigade of Von Brause was ready to leave at 5 a.m. is confirmed by Von Brause himself, in his report of the former Kriegsarchiv nr.VI.E.35 in: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.508

Schreiber believes it was at 1 p.m. that the corps left. Cf. Schreiber, H. - Geschichte des Infanterie-Regiments Von Borcke (4.Pommerschen) nr.21 p.104

The regimental history of the 25th regiment of infantry, however, claims the regiment (forming part of the 5th brigade) had marched through Wavre before the fire broke out (7 a.m.). Cf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments etc. p.34

Another account says it was 11 a.m. Cf. Uber den Antheil des 2ten Armee-Korps an der Schlacht bei Belle Alliance. In: MWB 2.Jg. (1817) nr.68 p.326-327

According to Von Pflugk Harttung, it was 1 p.m. In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.4.F.3 p.11

75. GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.19

Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.260

76. Cf. march-order. In the brigade of Von Tippelskirch, the 1st regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2 was in front; its fusilier battalion (led by captain Von Kalkreuth) was in front, and then the musketeer-battalions (led by captain Von Korte and captain Von Collignon). Cf. Mach, A.von - Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen etc.p.337

Von Tippelskirch himself says he had to follow the cavalry and that his brigade crossed the Dyle at Wavre at 1.30 p.m. Report of major general Von Tippelskirch. In: Former KA. VI.E.15.12 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.5.p.13

⁷⁷ Von Sohr would have left that morning from Mont Saint Guibert, but it is unknown how long it took Von Sohr to get from there to the Dyle and whether he has made any halts. Von Sohr had spent the night at Mont Saint Guibert. Cf. Bewegungen und Gefecht des Detachements der Arriergarde 4ten Armeekorps etc, MWB no.34 p.143

⁷⁸ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.9,21

⁷⁹ Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das Gefecht bei Limale p.35

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.10-11,21,32

According to Von Eck, the hussars were called to the battlefield of Waterloo, but didn't arrive there in time as they only got up to Chapelle Saint Lambert (which, erroneously, Von Eck calls Chapelle le Chateau). Cf. Cf. Eck, Von - Geschichte des 2.Westfälischen Husaren Regiments nr.11 p.150-151

⁸⁰ Cf. Account of captain Von Willisen. In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815 Vol.III p.981-982

⁸¹ GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.13-15,25-26,33

Stawitzky, Von – Geschichte des 25ten Königlich etc. p.92

Cf. Uber den Antheil des 2ten Armee-Korps an der Schlacht bei Belle Alliance. In: MWB 2.Jg. (1817) nr.68 p.326-327

This document claims the advance guard of the 2nd corps reached Chapelle Saint Lambert at 5.30 p.m.

⁸² Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: Das I.Korps Zieten bei Belle Alliance und Wavre p.197

Cf. Hofschröder, P. 1815 The Waterloo campaign. The German victory p.57

83. Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.206

Ollech, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 etc. p.193

Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: Das I.Korps Zieten bei Belle Alliance und Wavre p.197-198

84. Ollech, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.193

It was towards noon according to the diary of the 1st corps. Cf. Tagebuch des Königlich etc. In: Hafner, D. Hans Carl Ernst Graf von Zieten p.322

Von Reiche claims it was at noon. Cf. Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.208

Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: Das I.Korps Zieten bei Belle Alliance und Wavre p.198

Lieutenant colonel Lehmann says it was at 1 p.m. In: Former KA, VI.E.7.II.199 in GSA,VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.5.p.3

85. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das I.Korps Zieten bei Belle Alliance etc. p.198 The original was kept in the former KA, nr.VI.E.15.II.

Plotho, Von - Der Krieg des Verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1815 p.63

Ollech, Von Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 etc. p.193-194

Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.208-209

⁸⁶ Cf. Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.207-209

87. Cf. references to the reports of Von Pirch II and Von Jagow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.227 (originals in Kriegsarchiv.VI.E.7.II)

Lieutenant colonel Lehmann. In: Former KA, VI.E.7.II.199 in GSA,VPH-HA, VI nr.VII.5.p.3

Henckel himself claims his brigade formed the rearguard. Cf. Henckel von Donnersmarck, count - Erinnerungen etc. p.358

Also see: Wider Napoleon ! p.324 This statement can be explained by the fact that the brigade

was the rearguard of the infantry.

Of the 6th regiment of uhlans (brigade Von Lützow) two squadrons marched towards Mont Saint Jean; the other two were in the detachment of Von Stengel and had a few wounded horses during the action of Limale. Cf. Report of captain Von Petersdorff (6th regiment of uhlans). In: Former KA, VI.E.7.II.177 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.3 E.p.30

⁸⁸ Tagebuch des Königlich Preussischen etc. In: Hafner, D. p.323

⁸⁹ Cf. Report of Pirch II (VI.E.7.III.94) In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das 1^e Preussische Korps bei Belle Alliance p.226

Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das I.Korps Zieten bei Belle Alliance und Wavre p.199

State of the movements of the 2nd brigade. In: GSA, VI HA, NL Gneisenau, Kt.19 p.11

Cf. Tagebuch des Königlich etc. In: Hafner, D. - Hans Carl Ernst Graf von Zieten p.323

Lieutenant colonel Von Reiche in his report says it was 1 p.m. In: Former KA, VI.E.7I.1 in GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.VII.5.p.60

Also see: Zychlinksi, Von – Geschichte etc. p.281

Henckel von Donnersmarck states his brigade left “gegen Mittag” and that a short time later he heard heavy gunfire. This incorrect, as his brigade left much later as did the vanguard and the gunfire he heard was most probably the bombardment directed upon Wavre which started at about 4.15 p.m. Cf. Henckel von Donnersmarck, count Erinnerungen etc. p.358-359

According to Von Leszczynski the 4th brigade left around 3 p.m., being delayed by the intervention of the 9th brigade (see below). In: 50 Jahr Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 2.Posenschen Infanterie-Regiments nr.19 p.169

The words “gegen Mittag” are also being used by an anonymous captain of an anonymous regiment of landwehr cavalry attached to the brigade of Henckel of the 1st army corps. Cf. Wider Napoleon ! p.324

For the same description, see Von Damitz. In: Geschichte etc. p.260

Major Von Gröben reports it was “um Mittag”. Cf. his account in: Pflugk Harttung, J.von Belle Alliance. Die Schilderung der Ereignisse vom 16.-18. Juni 1815 durch einen mitbeteiligten Generalstaboffizier p. 11

Reiche, L. von – Memoiren etc. p.209

Others claim it was noon.

Charras. Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.43

Cf. Ropes, J.C. The campaign of Waterloo p.262

Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Vol.I p.311

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

⁹⁰ The fact that the corps moved through the defile of Fromont is confirmed by Pirch II in his report (VI.E.7.II.94). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das 1^e preussische Korps bei Belle Alliance p.226

⁹¹ Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das 1^e preussische Korps bei Belle Alliance p.144-145, 199

92. This chapel originally dates from 1673, but was rebuilt in 1859. Cf. Uffindell, A. - On the fields of glory p.231

⁹³ The current chapel did not exist in 1815; at that time there was a tiny chapel instead. The tablet of the current one bears: “Cette chapelle est bâtie à la gloire de Dieu et de la Vierge du Saint-Rosaire [...] par Jean-Jacques Vandeveld.” Cf. Navez, L. - Le champ de bataille p.180

94. Reiche, L.von Memoiren etc. p.209-210. The fact that the march was extremely slow by the state of the roads and the narrow defiles is confirmed by captain Von der Osten of the 4th regiment of Westphalian Landwehr. Cf. Wider Napoleon ! p. 324 And in: Souvenirs d'un hussard prussien p.371

Also see: Tagebuch des Königlich etc. In: Hafner, D. - Hans Carl Ernst Graf von Zieten p.323 Ein Deutsches Reiterleben. Erinnerungen eines alten Husaren-Officiers aus den Jahren 1802, bis 1815 p.302

95. Ollech, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.193-194

96. Aerts, W. & L.Wilmet. Waterloo. L'attaque de la garde etc. p.20

⁹⁷ Wellmann, R. Geschichte etc. p.129

Captain Von Glasenapp (2nd battalion, 19th regiment). Report in former Kriegsarchiv. (II.M.213) In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Aus den Tagen des 17. Und 18.Juni 1815 p.195

Report of the 4th regiment of Westphalian Landwehr-infantry. In: Henckel von Donnersmarck, count - Erinnerungen etc. p.658

⁹⁸ It would have been count Nostitz who was sent out by Blücher to speed up Zieten's march and who met Pirch II while doing so and then to re-direct him back to his original track, having deviated too far left. Having done that, Nostitz proceeded to the advance guard, where Zieten was. Cf. Nostitz, Von Das Tagebuch etc. p.43

⁹⁹ Cf. Diary of the 1st corps. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das I.Korps Zieten bei La Belle Alliance und Wavre p.202

GSA, HA VI,nr.V.8b. p.29

¹⁰⁰ Cf.Tagebuch des Königlich etc. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das I.Korps Zieten bei La Belle Alliance und Wavre p.202 and in GSA, HA VI,nr.V.8.p.2 and in Hafner, D. - Hans Carl Ernst Graf von Zieten p.322

Cf.Harkort, F. Die Zeiten des ersten Westphalischen etc. p.67

Henckel von Donnersmarck, count Erinnerungen etc. p.359

Gottschalck, M. Geschichte etc. p.91

Reiche, L.von Memoiren p.209

Leszczynski, R.von – 50 Jahr Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 2.Posenschen Infanterie-Regiments nr.19 – 1813 bis 1863 p.170

101. Leszczynski, R.von – 50 Jahr Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 2.Posenschen Infanterie-Regiments nr.19 – 1813 bis 1863 p.171

Von Pflugk Harttung situates the musketeer battalions to the right and the fusilier battalion in reserve behind the sharpshooters, who were posted in the south-east of the village. Some small

units were placed in the immediate vicinity. In: Das Gefecht bei Limale p.37

¹⁰² Cf. Diary of the 1st corps. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das I.Korps Zieten bei La Belle Alliance und Wavre p.202 and in: Hafner, D. Hans - Carl Ernst Graf von Zieten p.322

Report of Pirch II (VI.E.7.II.94) In: In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von Das 1^o preussische Korps bei Belle Alliance p.226

Henckel himself doesn't mention this movement at all. Cf. Henckel, Erinnerungen etc p.358-359

Von Pflugk Harttung cites a report of a captain Von Glasenap (2nd battalion 19th regiment) who states it was between 3 and 4 p.m. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Aus den Tagen des 17. Und 18.Juni 1815 p.195

¹⁰³ It may have been that Von Falckenhausen got at Céroux via Arbre Touchant, the Bois de Palante and the hamlet of Bois Hery.

104. This chapter is largely based upon the report of major Von Falckenhausen (former Kriegsarchiv, nr.VI.E.59.23). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.616 and in: History of the war etc. In: Militär Wochenblatt, 1845 p.130-131

Siborne erroneously claims Falckenhausen was sent out on the 17th of June towards Céroux for the purpose of reconnoitring the country in the vicinity of Genappe and the Brussels road. In: History of the war etc. Vol.I p.300

105. Cf. the chapter on Grouchy's movements between Walhain and Wavre.

According to Aerts it was a detachment of Vallin (4th corps), which came from Grand Leez. In: Etudes etc. Livre V (manuscript) p.262-263

Von Falckenhausen himself erroneously believes it would have been a French detachment coming from Grouchy, destined to communicate with the main army.

106. Piérart mentions a local tradition about a post consisting of a squadron of Prussian cavalry near the farm of d'Agnisart (about 1.5 kilometre south-east of La Hutte). This tradition may well revert to the presence here of a patrol (and not a squadron) of Von Falckenhausen's detachment or to a part of the detachment of the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars of major Von Witowski. Cf. Piérart, Z. J. - Le drame de Waterloo p.275

¹⁰⁷ In: GSA. VI,HA NL Gneisenau. Kt.19 nr.114a. Also in: Gneisenau Archive, Sommerschenburg. Nr. A.7.114. In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI, nr.VIII nr.1.p.73

The handwriting of this manuscript is very hard to read as it is not only written in a bad handwriting, but in some points the ink has almost completely faded away.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the letter written at 11 p.m. on the 17th of June by Blücher to Von Müffling and the order written by Blücher for Von Bülow at midnight.

To this last instruction, Thielmann wrote:

“Sind die Trains bei Rouxmiroir angekommen, so können per Brigade einige Wagen mit Zwieback und Branntwein über die Abtei St.Florent wo sie das Thal der Dyle passieren müssen hierher dirigirt werden.“ Cf.Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.86

Rouxmiroir is about 12.5 kilometres east of Wavre.

109. General Thielmann himself. In: Ollech, Von _ Geschichte des Feldzuges etc. p.194
 Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.87
 Clausewitz, Von - Campagne de 1815 en France p.129
 According to the chief of staff of the 11th brigade (Von Luck), captain Von Röder, Thielmann received these orders at 11 a.m. Cf. Röder, C.von Erinnerungen etc. p. 325
110. Report of Von Thielmann himself. In: Ollech, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.195
 Cf. Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.87
 Cf. Service journal of Von Borcke. In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815 p.1080
 The carrier, lieutenant Von Gerlach, states it was about 2.30 p.m. Von Gerlach joined Gneisenau and his staff again on the battlefield of Waterloo, in front of the Bois de Paris. Cf.his diary. In: Aus den Jahren preussischer Not etc. p.151-152
111. Thielmann in his report. In: Ollech, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.195
112. Plotho, Von - Der Krieg des Verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1815 p.75
 Ollech, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.210
 Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.87
113. In: Militärische Zeitschrift (1820), p.303
 That morning, the 12th brigade had moved from a position to the west of the road which leads from Wavre to Brussels to a position to the right rear of Wavre; during this change of position the troops halted several times. Earlier that day they had got their first breakfast (some rice) since the battle of Ligny. Cf. lieutenant Mankopf (commander of the platoon of skirmishers of the 4th company of the 31st regiment, brigade Von Stülpnagel). In: Bornstedt, Von - Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18. und 19. Juni 1815 p.106-109
114. Major Von Bornstedt (commander of the 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Kurmark Landwehr infantry) Cf. Bornstedt, Von - Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18.und 19. Juni 1815 p.30-40
 The service-journal of Von Borcke . In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815 p.1080
115. Cf. Service journal of Von Borcke. In: Förster, F. Chr. -, Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815. Vol.III p.1080
- Von Bornstedt, Von - Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18. und 19. Juni 1815
 Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.88
 Damitz, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.324
 In: Militärische Zeitschrift (1820), p.303
 Ollech,Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.195
 Clausewitz, Von - Campagne de 1815 en France p.130
116. Von Bornstedt. Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18. und 19. Juni 1815

Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.88

¹¹⁷ Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.88

Major Von Holleben (commander of the fusilier battalion of the 8th regiment). In: Aus den hinterlassenen Papiere p.141

Cf. Service journal of Von Borcke. In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815 p.1081

118. Bornstedt, Von - Das Gefecht bei Wavre an der Dyle am 18. und 19. Juni 1815

Cf. Service journal of Von Borcke. In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815 p.1081

Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.325

Clausewitz, Von – Campagne de 1815 en France p.130

Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.88

119. Major Von Holleben (commander of the fusilier battalion of the 8th regiment). In: Aus den hinterlassenen Papiere p.141

Some claim the force consisted of six battalion, two squadrons and one battery.

Cf. The service journal of Von Borcke. In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813, 1814, 1815 p.1081

Ploto, Von - Der Krieg des Verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1815 p.75

In: Militärische Zeitschrift (1820) p.303

Six battalions and a battery. Cf.

Major Von Holleben (commander of the fusilier battalion of the 8th regiment). In: Aus den hinterlassenen Papiere p.142

Damitz, Von – Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 p.326

120. Cf. Henckel von Donnersmarck, count Erinnerungen etc. p.359

Leszczyński, R.von – 50 Jahr Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 2.Posenschen Infanterie-Regiments nr.19 – 1813 bis 1863 p.170

According to Gottschalck, the brigade was initially trapped in the column of Henckel's brigade and afterwards it started following the 7th and 8th brigade, presuming they were units of the 3rd corps. Cf. Gottschalck, M. - Geschichte etc. p.88

Von Pflugk Hartung states Von Borcke left the *chaussée de Bruxelles* near the "barrier", but where this is remains unclear. He also states Von Borcke had an initial instruction to continue his march on this road. In: GSA, HA-VI,nr.V.8.p.33

121. Von Ollech claims Von Borcke had his bivouacs between Chapelle Saint Lambert and Ohain. In: Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.210

Von Ploto says it was near Ohain. In: Der Krieg des Verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1815 p.75

According to major Von Holleben, the brigade moved its position north of Wavre (from the road which leads to Brussels) towards Couture and from there to Ohain, near which village it bivouacked. Cf. Major Von Holleben (commander of the fusilier battalion of the 8th regiment). In: Aus den hinterlassenen Papiere p.142

According to the service journal of Von Borcke, the brigade reached Ohain through Couture which is simply impossible. In: Förster, F. Chr. - Geschichte der Befreiungskriege 1813,

1814, 1815 p.1081