

## The flank-march of the corps of Von Bülow on the 18th of June 1815

The orders to Von Bülow

These were sent out from general headquarters around midnight (<sup>1</sup>) and read as follows:

*Wavre, den 17.Juni, nachts 12 Uhr*

*Nach soeben eingelaufener Nachricht vom Herzog Wellington hat derselbe sich in folgender Stellung aufgestellt: mit dem rechten Flügel an Braine l'Alleud, mit dem Centrum bei Mont Saint Jean, mit dem linken Flügel bei La Haye. Der Feind steht ihm gegenüber, und der Herzog erwartet den Angriff und hat uns um unsere Mitwirkung ersucht. Ew.Excellenz werden daher mit Ihrem unterhabenden IV. Armeekorps bei Tagesanbruch von Dion-le-Mont aufbrechen, durch Wavre durchmarschieren und die Richtung auf Chapelle Saint Lambert nehmen, in welcher Gegend Ew. Excellenz sich verdeckt aufstellen, im Fall der Feind noch nicht mit dem Herzog Wellington stark im Gefecht ist, sonst aber sich mit der grössten Lebhaftigkeit in die rechte Flanke des Feindes werfen. Das II.Armeekorps wird Ew.Excellenz unmittelbar folgen, um Ihnen zur Unterstützung zu dienen. Das I. und III. Korps werden sich ebenfalls bereit halten, um, wenn es nöthig ist, zu folgen. Ew.Excellenz lassen ein Beobachtungsdetachement bei Mont Saint Guibert stehen, was sich, wenn es gedrängt wird, allmählich auf Wavre zurückzieht. Alle Bagage,Trains, alles was zum Gefecht nicht unmittelbar nöthig ist, wird nach Löwen geschickt.<sup>2</sup>*

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

*Das 4te Armeekorps bricht sogleich auf über Wavre nach Chapelle Saint Lambert,rechts abmarschirt in folgender Ordnung:*

*Zur Avantgarde die Brigade Von Losthin, ihr wird das Schlesische Huzaren-Regiment und eine 12 Pfündige Batterie beigegeben, ersteres marschirt an der Tete, letztere vor dem letzten Bataillon der Queue; darauf folgt die Brigade Von Hiller, dann die Brigade Von Haak, dann die Reserve-Artillerie, und auf diese die Reserve-Kavallerie, an welche das 2te Neumarksche Landwehr-Kavallerie-Regiment sich wieder anschliesst.*

*Die Brigade Von Ryssel macht den Beschluss mit Ausnahme des Detachements des Oberlieutenants Von Ledebur,dieses bleibt bei Mont Saint Guibert stehen, bis der Feind es drängt,und zieht sich in diesem Fall auf Wavre zurück.*

*Ich werde mich bei der Avantgarde befinden.*

*Sämmtliche Bagage marschirt nach Louvain,der Obristlieutenant Von Schlegel wird den Aufbruch derselben von Chapelle Saint Lambert besorgen, es wird durchaus kein Wagen in der Kolonne gelitten.*

*Die Leute müssen so viel als möglich mit Lebensmitteln versehen werden.*

*Die Feldwachen, welche nicht so geschwind eingezogen werden können, schliessen sich an die Brigade Von Ryssel an. Die Brigaden müssen sich aus dem Lager mit ihren Teten sogleich in den Weg von Wavre drehen, und dergestallt nach einander aufbrechen, dass sie sich unmittelbar folgen.*

*Die Regimente, die vielleicht noch nicht Lebensmittel empfangen haben hun dies sogleich.*

*(gezeichnet) Bülow von Dennewitz*  
*Für gleichlautende Abschrift der Chef des Generalstabes General Major Von Valentini* <sup>5</sup>

By reading this document the sequence of the units within the corps for the march to the west becomes clear.

The vanguard consisted of the brigade of Von Losthin, the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars and 12p.batterie no.13 (12p). The regiment of hussars marched in front and the battery was in front of the last battalion of the brigade. <sup>6</sup>

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. <sup>7</sup>

In rear of these units were the ones of Von Ryssel (<sup>8</sup>) and the one of Von Sydow. In rear was the baggage. <sup>9</sup>

Von Bülow had to leave by daybreak; as there are no indications that his departure was delayed it can be assumed that the first units left their bivouacs at 4 a.m. The weather was grey and a drizzling rain was falling. <sup>10</sup>

### 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, the troops had to cross other units bivouacs. <sup>11</sup>

Von 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 Von 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. <sup>12</sup>

The vanguard reached the Dyle at Wavre between 6.30 and 7 a.m. <sup>13</sup> 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 northpart of Wavre, where it makes a strong bend to the left, near the "Ermitage Saint Jaques". This point was about 400 meters north of the Dyle. <sup>14</sup>

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. <sup>15</sup> It must have been around 7 a.m. <sup>16</sup>

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. <sup>17</sup>

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. <sup>18</sup> 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 [<sup>19</sup>], the remainder of the 4th corps was delayed by this fire for about two hours. <sup>20</sup> The result was a serious gap in the column

of the 4th corps.

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. From here to the Chapelle Saint Robert, and from there – south of the Bois du Hurant - to Chapelle Saint Lambert.<sup>21</sup> This stretch covers 9 kilometers.

It was near Neuf Cabaret that Von Bülow sent out a detachment of 100 men under major Von Falckenhausen to Céroux. The remainder of his regiment, the 3rd regiment of Silesian Landwehrcavalry was kept in the brigade under colonel Von Eicke.<sup>22</sup>

Von Bülow's vanguard reached Chapelle Saint Lambert by 10.30 a.m.<sup>23-24</sup> While the main body reached this village by 1 p.m. [<sup>25</sup>], it was by 3 p.m. that the rearguard, the brigade of Von Ryssel, would have got there.<sup>26</sup>

Presuming the brigade had an average speed of about 2.25 km/hour, it would have left Wavre by 11 or 11.30 a.m.<sup>27</sup>

Having assembled two brigades around Chapelle Saint Lambert (those of Von Losthin and Von Hiller) Von Bülow decided to write to Von Müffling; by then it was about 11.30 a.m. Von Bulow wrote:

*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.*<sup>28</sup>

At the same time, Von 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.<sup>29</sup>

Having dwelled on the right bank of the Dyle, the detachment of colonel Von Ledebur must have reached these surroundings much later. Late that afternoon it probably took up a position near Chapelle Saint Robert and spent the night there.<sup>30</sup>

According to his orders, Von Bülow himself, accompanying the vanguard of his corps, halted at Chapelle Saint Lambert.<sup>31</sup>

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, and rested near its weapons. Apart from the fact that supplies were very short, cooking was not allowed because the length of the halt couldn't be predicted. In addition, any smoke would have indicated their position.<sup>32</sup>

It was at Chapelle Saint Lambert, according to the local tradition, that Von Bülow met Blücher in the rectory, opposite the church.<sup>33</sup> It was then about 1 p.m.

Some time 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 he got back to Blücher as soon as he could. It appeared that the Prussian general staff was still at Chapelle Saint Lambert and Von Nostitz made his report and convinced them to go to the same spot where he had been to oversee the situation for themselves.<sup>34</sup>

From Chapelle Saint Lambert, general Von Bülow sent out major Von Wittowski with a detachment of the 2nd regiment of Silesian hussars.<sup>35</sup> He had the task of surveying the defiles of the Lasne.<sup>36</sup>

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. As a result, Von Witoswki 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*<sup>37</sup>

Later, the detachment proceeded towards Maransart where it bumped into a French patrol.<sup>38</sup>

There is no indication at what time the first report of colonel Von Ledebur must have reached general Von Bülow and Blücher, but it may have been between 1.30 and 2 p.m.<sup>39</sup> Both two other reports probably arrived at St.Lambert at 2.30 and 3 p.m.<sup>40</sup>

It was also at Chapelle Saint Lambert -, probably around 1.30 p.m. - that Von Bülow (and with him, Blücher) received Von Müffling's approval for the advance of his corps through Lasne to the heights between La Haye and Aywiers.<sup>41</sup>

From Chapelle Saint Lambert, Blücher sent lieutenant Von Gerlach of his staff to Thielmann with the order to follow the army towards Couture.<sup>42</sup>

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1. Von Plotho quotes a general disposition for all army-corps; at the same time the specific orders for the corps-commanders do not fully support this document. It reads:

*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 1st 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.*

In: 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 unbd 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

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

Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.242

Within this 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 15th 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

<sup>8</sup> 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

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

<sup>11</sup> 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 Louvrange.

13.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. 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 generaal 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 of after 11 a.m. See above.

<sup>17</sup> In the panic 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, K. von Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.258

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.

<sup>19</sup> At the exit of Wavre, the vanguard faced a small delay by the presence of the a 12pounder gun with a broken axle in the street, but which was pulled away. Cf. Pflugk harttung, J.von 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. I think this is more near to the truth; it may have been towards 9 a.m. In: Bornstedt, Von -

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

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 in our view the brigade was much further to the rear. He also gives the wrong impression as if most of the infantry had passed through Wavre and that it had to wait for the artillery and the cavalry at the other side of Wavre. Cf. Rahden, W.von In: *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 kilometers 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.

Both Aerts and Lachouque mention the presence between Chapelle Saint Robert and Chapelle Saint Lambert of a house in ruins, called the Maison Labruyère. It must have stood in the south-east corner of the roads to Chapelle Saint Robert and the main track to Chapelle Saint Lambert. Cf. Aerts, W. Lachouque, H.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *History of the war etc.* In: *MWB*, 1845 p.131

<sup>23</sup> Von Pflugk Harttung 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 at about 11.15 a.m. Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von *Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance* p.510

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 Königlichen Preussischen 6.Husaern Regiments* p.241

<sup>24</sup> The time of arrival of the vanguard at Chapelle Saint Lambert is a point of discussion; the times given vary between 9 a.m. and 12 o'clock.

Supposing the troops left Wavre by 6.30 then 9 a.m. is impossible; this would mean the men would have covered 9 kilometers in 2.5 hours, that means 3.6 km / hour

10 a.m. as a time of arrival would mean a march-time of 3.5 hours; this would result in a speed of 2.6 km/hour.

Giving a time of arrival of 11 a.m. would mean a speed of 2 km/hour. Having noon as a time of arrival, the men would have gone with a speed of 1.8 km/hour. As it is extremely unlikely that the units would have marched slower, 10.30 a.m. would be the most probable time. This results in an average speed of 2.25 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 Harttung, 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 Harttung, 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 Harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.509

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

<sup>25</sup> 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.

Von Bülow himself says it was "gegen Mittag". Report in: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.522

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

Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.289

Aerts, W. – Etudes etc. (manuscript) p.254

Assuming the main body left from Wavre between 8.30 and 9 a.m. the units would have covered the stretch of 9 kilometers in an average speed of 3 km / hour, whereas a time of arrival of 1 p.m. would result in one of 2.25 km/hour.

Additionally, this time also matches the moment the French general headquarters saw the Prussians from Rossomme there. The reason is that it was **not** the vanguard which they saw, but Von Bülow's main body.

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 but this must have been about one hour earlier. 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 must have been 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. Cf. Pflugk harttung, J.von Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.510 Von Pflugk Harttung takes about 3.4 km/hour as an average speed.

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

26.Report of Von Bülow. In: Bas, F.de 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

27.Right at that time, six guns of horse battery nr.12, led by captain Von Pfeil, 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)

<sup>28</sup> 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

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Observations.

<sup>30</sup> It was towards 4 p.m. that they 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 Ditfurth must have 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 Arrieregarde 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

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 fuselier 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.

31. 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.Sonmereyn 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. Sonmereyn, 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

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Pflugk harttung, J.von Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.613-614

33.This rectory dates from 1672 and was enlarged in 1791. Cf. Tarliers and Wauters),

<sup>34</sup> Nostitz, Von Das Tagebuch etc. p.39-40

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Von Bülow. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.524

According to others, Wittowski would have been detached early morning from Wavre. Cf. Aerts, W. – Waterloo. Opérations etc. p.206

Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.287

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

36.Damitz, Von – Geschichte etc. p.287

<sup>37</sup> 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”.

38.Von Bülow. In: In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.524

<sup>39</sup> Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VI HA,nr.V.1.p.37

<sup>40</sup> Pflugk Harttung, J.von In: GSA, VI HA,nr.V.1.p.42

<sup>41</sup> According to Von Lettow Vorbeck it was after 1 p.m. In: Napoleons Untergang Vol.III p.402

<sup>42</sup>.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