

## **The execution of Wellington's concentration-orders, his "after orders" and his orders to move to Quatre Bras.**

The 1<sup>st</sup> corps

*The division Cooke.*

This division was located in and around Enghien. In the afternoon of the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, probably towards 4 p.m., a messenger (coming from Braine le Comte) joined the divisional headquarters there to bring the news of the enemy having crossed the border; at the same time he brought the order (or recommendation) to hold the division in readiness to move.<sup>1</sup>

At that moment the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion was at Enghien, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion had its right wing at Marq and its left at Hoves. The result was that Maitland moved this right wing towards Hoves as well; other than that, he held his brigade in readiness to move.<sup>2</sup> The same applied to Byng's brigade as well. At 8 p.m. Cooke was informed that the Prussians had been driven away from the Sambre river. In all probability, this news came from Braine le Comte (about 13 kilometres away from Enghien). The right wing of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Foot Guards was kept at its position at Hoves.<sup>3</sup>

By 1.00 a.m. Cooke received the concentration orders; for Maitland's brigade it meant that it had to be ready to assemble at Hoves by 2 a.m.<sup>4</sup> It was about 3 a.m. that this brigade left.<sup>5</sup>

By 4 a.m. Cooke received the after-order which ordered him to move his division through Steenkerke to Braine le Comte. The brigade of Maitland led the column preceded by its light companies.<sup>6</sup>

On this route, Byng's brigade joined the one of Maitland. This brigade had left Enghien at 3 a.m.<sup>7</sup> The division arrived at Braine le Comte and halted east of it, having traversed the town with difficulty due to the fact that it was crowded with waggons and baggage "confusedly huddled together in the streets". By then it was 9 a.m.<sup>8</sup>

Between Enghien and Braine le Comte, also the battery of Von K hlmann joined the column. It had left its bivouac at Ghislenghien (12.5 kilometres west of Enghien) at 1 a.m.<sup>9</sup>

At Braine le Comte there were no further orders, but general Cooke understood the situation and decided to reconnoitre towards the south. At noon he came back from this reconnaissance and moved the division towards Nivelles, after having received the order of the prince of Orange to do so.<sup>10</sup>

After a heavy march of about three hours through the heat, the troops arrived at 800 metres west of Nivelles.<sup>11</sup> The troops had just halted and were preparing a meal, when suddenly an orderly came with the instruction to continue the march upon Quatre Bras immediately.<sup>12</sup> The division made a forced march up to Hautain le Val, where it halted to give the stragglers the opportunity to come up and to have the artillery in front.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the division arrived at Quatre Bras around 7 p.m.

*The division Alten.*

Alten's headquarters were at Soignies, which is at about five kilometres from Braine le Comte,

the assembly-point of the division. Of this division the brigade of Colin Halkett was located in and around Sognies, while the one of Kielmansegge was south-west of this town, towards the road leading from Mons to Soignies. The brigade of Von Ompteda stood to the east of Soignies, in and around Escaussines. Like Cooke, Alten was informed about the hostilities by Constant Rebecque at Braine le Comte between 2 and 3 p.m. as the first alarms to the units of the division went out by 4 p.m.<sup>14</sup> As a result, Alten – as a precaution - took steps to assemble his units.<sup>15</sup> The result was that the division assembled in and around Soignies in the evening. The brigades of Colin Halkett and Kielmansegge took up positions in the town itself, while the last brigade had outposts on the roads towards Mons and Charleroi. The brigade of Von Ompteda collected at Escaussines.<sup>16</sup>

It was probably around 1 a.m. that Alten received the concentration-orders from Brussels to “collect this night at Braine le Comte and to be in readiness to move at the shortest notice” as it was between 2 and 3 a.m. that the division left for Braine le Comte.<sup>17</sup> After a heavy march in closed order the division reached - through Bornival - Braine le Comte.<sup>18</sup> Its bagages followed the division.<sup>19</sup>

East of Soignies, the brigade of Von Ompteda did not pass through this town but immediately filed out towards Braine le Comte.<sup>20</sup> It was here that Alten got the (after) order to march to Nivelles.<sup>21</sup> For this reason the division left Braine le Comte without halting at all, but leaving behind its bagages.<sup>22</sup> The march to Nivelles was a slow one, but as the troops approached Nivelles, speed was increased. Finally, the advance guard arrived at Nivelles around 9.30 a.m.<sup>23</sup> At noon the whole was assembled.<sup>24</sup> The brigade of Colin Halkett halted at Nivelles and the one of Kielmansegge on a field to the right of the road leading to Quatre Bras, at about one half hour distance from Nivelles. By then it was 1 p.m.<sup>25</sup> The troops were about to start cooking when they suddenly got the order around 3 p.m. to break up and to march through towards Quatre Bras immediately.<sup>26</sup> The division marched in files turned off to the left.<sup>27</sup>

Having covered some distance between Nivelles and Quatre Bras, general Alten decided (or was instructed) to protect his right flank. For this he chose the brigade of Von Ompteda. As a result, the brigade got the counter-order to march back to a position towards Arquennes (5 kilometres south-west of Nivelles), on the road towards Mons.<sup>28</sup> However, at midnight it rejoined the division at Quatre Bras.<sup>29</sup> Towards 6 p.m., it had left Arquennes and surroundings the moment the brigade of Detmers of the 3rd Dutch division came to relieve it.<sup>30</sup> In reaching Nivelles, the brigade was delayed for some time by the passage of cavalry, probably Ponsonby's.<sup>31</sup>

### *The division Perponcher.*

For this division reference should be made to a former chapter. As for the march of the brigade of Van Bylandt towards Quatre Bras, it was about 1.45 a.m. that De Perponcher received Constant Rebecque's order of 00.15 a.m.<sup>32</sup> In this order, De Perponcher was directed to assemble his whole division at Nivelles. Yet, De Perponcher now started moving a part of his brigade towards Quatre Bras.

At 2 a.m. lieutenant general De Perponcher himself left Nivelles for Quatre Bras with the 27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs and the 8<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia.<sup>33</sup>

He left general major Van Bylandt at Nivelles with three battalions and a battery of artillery with the instruction to hold as long as he could in case of a French attack coming from Binche and

then to retire towards Mont Saint Jean. It would be there that De Perponcher would join him.<sup>34</sup> Having left Nivelles, De Perponcher, while on his way to Quatre Bras on the road near Hautain le Val, met a group of 50 Prussian horsemen. These were hussars of the 1st regiment Silesian hussars under the command of 1<sup>st</sup> lieutenant Sellin (brigade Von Steinmetz).<sup>35-36</sup>

Captain Van Zuylen van Nijevelt, when he passed here on the night of the 15<sup>th</sup> of June while going back to Nivelles, had met them and had given lieutenant Sellin the instruction to halt and to be available at daybreak for general De Perponcher who would be passing there.<sup>37</sup> And this is what happened. At the same time, while riding towards Quatre Bras, De Perponcher pulled in both companies which had stood on the road to cover Nivelles from the east.<sup>38</sup>

It was around 3 a.m., maybe somewhat later, that De Perponcher himself arrived at Quatre Bras.<sup>39</sup> Here he inspected, accompanied by the prince of Saxen Weimar [<sup>40</sup>], the position taken up by him, and as a result he moved more troops to the Bois de Bossu and extended the frontline even more.<sup>41</sup> It was around 4 a.m. that the 27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs and the 8th battalion of national militia reached Quatre Bras.<sup>42</sup> After the prince of Orange had arrived back at Braine le Comte, he sent Constant Rebecque to Nivelles to prepare the units there for a march towards Quatre Bras. De Constant Rebecque did so, except for the 7<sup>th</sup> line battalion; this was destined to remain there as long as the 3<sup>rd</sup> division of Chassé hadn't arrived. After that, he rode through to Quatre Bras.

Not long after him, the prince of Orange got at Nivelles and he sent the units of Van Bijlandt off to Quatre Bras.<sup>43</sup> It were the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia, the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia and the foot battery of Stevenart.<sup>44</sup>

It was somewhere between the Bois du Hasoy and Hautain le Val that the column learned that French cavalry would be approaching from Rêves, to the right. The 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia took up a position south of the road, east of the wood while the column continued its march. Later the alarm proved to be false.<sup>45</sup> At 9 a.m. the troops reached Quatre Bras.<sup>46</sup>

The 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line left around 10 a.m., the moment Chassé's division started to arrive at Nivelles (see below) and arrived near the Bois de Bossu towards noon.

### *The division Chassé*

On the night of the 15<sup>th</sup> of June this division was in position in front of Beaume (two kilometres southwest of Fayt), covered by two battalions and some artillery, which occupied the passages of the Haine at Haine Saint Pierre and Haint Saint Paul and which sent out reconnaissances in a southern direction.

During the night, probably between 2 and 2.30 a.m., Constant's order (dated 11.30 p.m.) and which instructed Chassé to march to Nivelles, arrived.<sup>47</sup> Chassé started his march by daybreak.

<sup>48</sup> The division marched through Seneffe and as it approached Nivelles, near Arquennes, Chassé sent three companies of the 12<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line to the support of the cavalry of Collaert, while the remainder of the division continued its march towards Nivelles. Its vanguard reached Nivelles more or less at the same time as the division of Alten. By then it was around 10 a.m.<sup>49</sup>

While Alten moved his division through Nivelles, Chassé halted his troops before entering the place.<sup>50</sup> The division took up positions on the heights of St.Roch, at the road to Hal, half a kilometre north-west of Nivelles.<sup>51</sup> It was between 1 and 2 p.m. that the units of the division had completed establishing their bivouacs. Shortly after, they heard the guns of the battle at

Quatre Bras.

It may have been around 4 p.m. that Detmers' brigade got the instruction to go to Arquennes to relieve the brigade of Von Ompteda.<sup>52</sup> During their march the troops had to make frequent halts; for this reason the march took more time but at what time they arrived at their destination is not known.<sup>53</sup>

The position the brigade kept near Arquennes was a miserable one: the troops lacked sufficient food and water, nor had any straw or fires. The brigade was placed in two lines, with the flanking companies being detached to the flanks and the front.<sup>54</sup>

It was here that Detmers joined the two brigades of the cavalry-division of Collaert. The remainder of the 3<sup>rd</sup> division, the brigade of d'Aubremé maintained its position near Nivelles. From the moment the division was in this position, the three remaining companies of the 12<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line were in sentries south of Nivelles.<sup>55</sup>

### *The division Collaert*

By 11.30 p.m. on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, this division had been ordered by Constant Rebecque to take up positions on the heights behind Haine Saint Paul, while having one brigade with some guns at Haine Saint Paul.

This order reached Collaert about 2.30 a.m. As a result he moved his regiments to the east, towards the heights behind Haine St. Pierre (near Baume), while posting one brigade at Haine St. Paul. These movements may have been finished by 7 a.m.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile, towards 5 a.m., Collaert received Constant's order of 3 a.m., which told him to move his division towards a position in rear of Arquennes.<sup>57</sup> The distance between the position near Baume and the one north of Arquennes is about 15 kilometres, so it was between 10 and 11 a.m. that the division took up its positions there.<sup>58</sup> The cavalry took up positions south of Nivelles, in observation towards Arquennes, Buzet and Rêves.<sup>59</sup> The division stood here in columns of regiments, having the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons on the left towards the Nivelles-road. From there it had a company, led by captain Koltrop, observing towards Gosselies and Quatre Bras.<sup>60</sup> It was between Arquennes and Nivelles that the vanguard of the division Collaert, the brigade of Van Merlen, met an officer of the staff of the prince of Orange. He carried the instruction to lead the first brigade of cavalry he would encounter towards Quatre Bras. As a result, the brigade of Van Merlen left, with two guns under the command of captain Gey, towards Quatre Bras.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

He claims the dragoon (whoever this may have been) came in about 2 p.m. but this was later, because of the distance between Braine le Comte and Enghien (which is through Steenkerke about 14 kilometres - cf. Netherlands sector).

We can not be sure whether it was Constant Rebecque who ordered Cooke, as a member of the 1<sup>st</sup> army-corps, to hold his division in readiness to move or that he only (strongly) recommended him to do so.

Constant Rebecque himself doesn't mention anything about his informing the other divisions of the 1st army corps that afternoon, but the fact is corroborated by testimonies from both these divisions (see below).

Von Pflugk Hartung also sees the connection between Constant Rebecque and the divisions of Cooke and Alten. In: Vorgeschichte etc.p.249

It was in the evening that captain Kühlmann, of the artillery, received orders to be ready at a moment's notice. Cf. report of Kühlmann, dated 1<sup>st</sup> December 1824. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: NHA, nr.Hann.41.XXI nr.151

Cf. the letter of an officer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion / 1st Foot Guards, dated Binch 20<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: The Leeds Mercury, 5<sup>th</sup> August 1815.

In this context fits the following as coming from the journal of ensign Charles Lake (3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards): "On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1815, I was dining at Enghien, with colonel Hepburn, who commanded the Third Guards, and, while we were at our desert, major [captain] Hesketh of our regiment came into the room and said "Colonel, I have just left the prince of Orange's quarters, and have galloped over to tell you that the French have suddenly moved towards us on the Nivelle [sic] road.." On which colonel Hepburn said: "Hesketh, may I depend upon this news being correct ?" "You may, colonel." "Will you then tell the adjutant to immediately come to me, as it will enable me to have the regiment in readiness to move as soon as orders arrive from headquarters." On the adjutant's arrival, orders were immediately issued for the regiment to be prepared to move. This gave us an hour in advance, by which time an orderly dragoon came from headquarters for the Guards to advance on the Nivelles road." In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

<sup>3</sup> Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

Hamilton, F.W. - History of the grenadier guards Vol.III p.15

Chambers, B. - The men of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards p.16

<sup>4</sup> Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

Chambers, B. - The men of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards p.16

Robinson claims the orders reached Enghien by 10 p.m. In: The battle of Quatre Bras p.82

<sup>5</sup> Ensign St.John (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. letter dated 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in the Regimental Headquarters Grenadier Guards nr. H07/005

Captain Nixon (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards) in a letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in University of Nottingham, Drury Lowe Collection. Dr.C. 30/6

Ensign R.Batty (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion / 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> June 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in the Harrington Collection.

Private Green (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards) in a letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in Regimental Headquarters Grenadier Guards nr. H07/004

Ensign R.Batty . Cf. Batty, R. Letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> June 1815. In: Private Collection

Account of an anonymous officer in the Foot Guards. In: The battle of Waterloo, or a faithful and interesting history etc. p.95

Cf. the letter of an officer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion / 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards , dated Binch 20<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: The Leeds Mercury, 5th August 1815.

6. Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

Hamilton, F.W. - History of the grenadier guards Vol..III p.15

Colonel MacKinnon speaks about a forced march through " Struskirgue ", but means Steenkerke. In: Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.211

Mackinnon was a lieutenant colonel in the Coldstream Guards.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> regiment Foot Guards stood in and around Hove, though there is spoken about "Houis" and one left at 4 a.m. See: Some particulars of the battle of Waterloo in a letter from a serjeant [sic] of the Guards p.3-4 This is sergeant C.W. of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> regiment Foot Guards, in a letter of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1815, camp de Bois de Boulogne.

While the brigade was ordered to assemble at Hove, the heavy baggage and the hospital were to return to Brussels. Cf. Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148 and Chambers, B. - The men of the 1st Foot Guards p.16

7. This certainly applies to the 2nd battalion Coldstream Guards. In: letter of ensign Short dated 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: NAM, nr.7702-5

For this time, cf. MacKinnon. Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.211

Private M.Clay of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment Foot Guards mentions it was early morning. In: Recollections of a survivor of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards. Clay confirms they left from a castle near a park at Enghien.

Ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards) also mentions a departure from a castle, called château de Wavel, at 5 a.m. This was the chateau at Enghien. Cf. a letter to his mother, dated 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

The same hour is confirmed by ensign Wedgwood (3rd Foot Guards) in a letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815 to his mother. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regiment Headquarters Scots Guards.

8. Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148 Also in: Hamilton, F.W. - History of the grenadier guards Vol.III p.15

According to Chambers, the brigade halted east of Briane le Comte. Cf. Chambers, B. The men of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards p.16

9. Report of captain Von Kühlmann. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI. nr.151 p.134-137

10. Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

Powell writes that Cooke would have ordered his division to Nivelles on his own initiative "as said at the time". This clearly denotes his doubts about this initiative.

Noon as time of departure is confirmed by ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards). Cf. a letter to his mother, dated 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

The original order came from the prince of Orange. This can clearly be taken from his report of the 17<sup>th</sup> of June. Here, he suggests, however, that he sent it soon after his arrival at Quatre Bras. Yet, this was not the case.

In case he would have sent it about 7 a.m. it would probably have arrived at Braine le Comte around 9 a.m., the moment Cooke got there. Yet, Cooke only left by noon, so that was the time he actually got the order, which then, accordingly, was probably issued by 10 a.m. This may have had to do with the arrival of Wellington at Quatre Bras.

Private M.Clay of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment Foot Guards. He explains the delay by the planning of the different marches. In: A narrative etc. In: Household Brigade Magazine Autumn 1958 p.139

Ensign Short. In: letter of 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815 in NAM nr.7702-5

Short mentions a halt of about 4 hours.

The same does Mackinnon. In: Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.211

The halt is confirmed by ensign Wedgwood (3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards) in a letter dated 19th June 1815 to his mother. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regiment Headquarters Scots Guards

11. Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

Also in: Chambers, B. - The men of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards p.16

12. Private M.Clay (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards) confirms that it was as one was about to take in a bivouac. In: Clay, M. A narrative etc. In: Household Brigade Magazine Autumn 1958 p.139

Ensign R.Batty (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion / 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> June 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in the Harrington Collection.

Ensign Wedgwood (3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards) in a letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815 to his mother. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regiment Headquarters Scots Guards.

Account of an anonymous officer in the Foot Guards. In: The battle of Waterloo, or a faithful and interesting history etc. p.95

Ensign R.Batty (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards) claims it was an orderly of the Duke of Wellington. Cf.his letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> June 1815. In: private collection

According to some it was the order of the prince of Orange issued at about 2 p.m. Cf.

Bas, F.de & J.de T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.I p.491

Hofschröder, P. - Quatre Bras, the Netherlands victory p.5 (unpublished)

<sup>13</sup> Chambers, B. - The men of the 1st Foot Guards p.17

<sup>14</sup> Cf. General Hanoverian report. In: VPH nr.6

Report about the battalion Bremen. In: VPH nr.12

At that time, ensign Macready still characterized the news as a rumour, as he was standing on the square of Soignies and he was alerted by sir Colin Halkett shortly after instructing him to parade his company in ten minutes on the spot. Cf. his journal. In: Brett James, A. - The hundred days p.52

<sup>15</sup> We can not be sure whether Constant Rebecque ordered Alten, as a member of the 1<sup>st</sup> army-corps, to hold his division in readiness to move or that he recommended him to do so (see above).

The Lüneburg battalion (brigade Kielmansegge) had left that morning at 7 a.m. for Heide, near Casteau to exercise with the brigade. In the afternoon, as the brigade had received march-orders to do so, the battalions moved from Masnuy-St.-Pierre (about 10 kilometres south-west of Soginies) to Soignies, where it took up concentrated cantonments. Cf. Lüneburg journal. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NHA, Hann.48A I, nr.368

16. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI. nr.156 p.27-49

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment, brigade Halkett) In: Personal recollections etc. p.2

According to the biography of Chr.von Ompteda, the brigade was assembled at Escaussines around 11 p.m. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-Englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.275

According to captain Von Brandis, aide de camp of colonel Von Ompteda, however, the brigade was collected there already by 3 p.m. after Alten had got the information about a French attack upon the Prussian outposts and had given orders for the concentration of the brigade there. In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.282-283

Major Müller and captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion) In: VPH nr.11 and Hann.41.XXI nr.151 p.32-35 respectively) say that their battalion, Bremen, left its bivouac at Neuville (west of Soignies) around 5.30 – 6 p.m. on the 15th of June and then went to Soignies where the division was concentrated. The battalion bivouaced with the battalion of Verden (brigade Kielmansegge) and the 33rd regiment (brigade Colin Halkett) in the church of Soignies.

Cf. Scriba, C.von Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.80-81

Also see account of lieutenant Bülow, of the battalion Bremen, dated 26<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.205

The battalion Bremen arrived at Soignies around 7 p.m.

This last fact is being confirmed by lieutenant Hope Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In: Personal recollections etc. p.2 and private G.Hemingway (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). According to Hemingway the brigades of C.Halkett and Kielmansegge were both bivouaced at and around the church. In a letter of 16<sup>th</sup> August 1815, from Paris. In: Nam, nr.8406-156

Also see a letter of Donald Finlayson (assistant surgeon of the 33rd regiment) to Mr.Somerville, dated 25<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: NLS, MS 9236 p.45

Ensign Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

According to sergeant Morris (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, 73<sup>rd</sup> regiment) the march to Soignies started at 6 p.m. and he adds that the distribution for provisions for one day took place around 9 p.m. In: Recollections etc. p.66

According to a report about the brigade of Kielmansegge it was in the afternoon (around 3 p.m.) that the division got the order to place itself immediately in front of Soignies. The moment this had happened, outposts were immediately thrown out towards Mons and Charleroi. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI nr.151 p.42-51

According to lieutenant Biedermann of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of light infantry KGL (brigade Von Ompteda) the battalion was under arms in the evening, up to 10 p.m. Orders to assemble were received around 6.15 p.m. In: Von Malta bis Waterloo p.177

17. Report of lieutenant general Alten to the Duke of Cambridge 20<sup>th</sup> June 1815 In: Hann.41.XXI nr.150 p.1-10

Report about the brigade of Kielmansegge. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.42-51

Report of captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen). In: Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.32-35

Report of captain Cleeves (battery Cleeves). In: Hann.41.XXI nr.151 p.139-146

Journal of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion line infantry. In: Hann.38D. nr.236 p.168-170

Lüneburg journal. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NHA, Hann.48A I, nr.368

Lieutenant Biedermann of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion light infantry KGL claims it was 2 a.m. In: Von Malta bis Waterloo p.177

Also in: lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.205

Ensign Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). ICf. his diary. In: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) says it was at midnight. In: Personal recollections p.2

Private Hemingway (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) confirms that the troops were assembled at 2 a.m. on the market-square at Soignies and marched from there on. In his letter of 16<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: NAM, nr.8406-156

For 3 a.m. see the account of the assistant surgeon Donald Finlayson (33rd regiment).Cf. his letter dated 25<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: NLS, MS 9236 p.45

Cf. Gunner F.Jahns of Cleeves' battery. In: Zeitschrift etc. p.226

At that particular moment, an assistant of the commissariat , A. Dallas, was with the division.

He left with the division having arranged that the troops got rations for three days. He also instructed two subordinates for the supply of the division. In: Incidents in the life etc. p.128

Ensign Macready (30th regiment) mentions a time around midnight, though in his journal he mentions 2 a.m. In: USM, 1845 p.389-390

Macready's light company was that night in a barn on picket at Naast, about 2.5 kilometres south east of Soignies. It had sent out pickets on the roads of Nivelles and Roeulx. Around 9 p.m. a corporal of Cooke's staff came with the news about the French advance and that the division could be found at Soignies.

Macready rode at 8 a.m. to the division, when it appeared that it had already left. Macready decided to go back to his unit and after some discussion the detachment left for Braine le Comte. From here the company went to Nivelles and on towards Quatre Bras, where the company joined the regiment again. Cf. Macready in his journal, cited in: History of the 30th regiment p.320

According to captain Von Brandis, aide de camp of colonel Von Ompteda, his superior got the order to march at 1 a.m., so a departure at 2 a.m. may very well be possible. In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.282

Sergeant Morris (2nd battalion 73rd regiment) states his bataillon left by 1 a.m. In: Recollections etc. p.67

Robinson states he believes the orders reached Soignies by 1.45 a.m. In: The battle of Quatre Bras p.114

<sup>18</sup> According to major Van Gorkum of the general staff of the army of the Netherlands, this was around 3.30 p.m. Cf. his account called "Neuf jours de la campagne de 1815 dite Waterloo" In: private collection

Robinson claims the vanguard of the division was in front of Braine le Comte by 5 a.m. In: The battle of Quatre Bras p.129

19. Report about the brigade Kielmansegge. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.42-51

Report of captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.32-35

Sergeant Morris (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment) confirms the fact that the march was slow. In: Recollections etc. p.67

<sup>20</sup> Baring, G. - Erzählung der Teilnahme etc. Hannoversches Militärisches Journal, 1831 p.69-90.

The journal of the 8<sup>th</sup> battalion line KGL (brigade Von Ompteda) confirms that the battalion first marched to Escausinnes and from there through Braine le Comte to Nivelles. In: NHA. Hann.38D.nr.236 p.218-219

21. This order had been sent out towards midnight.

22. Reports of major Müller. In: VPH nr.11

Report captain Von Scriba. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.32-35

Cf. Scriba, C.von - Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.81

Ensign W.Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

Constant Rebecque mentions that their bagages filled the road of Braine le Comte-Nivelles. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

On the other hand, the report about the brigade of Kielmansegge says that the baggage was sent from Soignies to Brussels, as a result of which the division suffered a lack of supplies. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.42-51.

23. Captain Cleeves claims it was at 8 a.m., but this report contains a lot of errors in hours. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.139-146

Private Hemingway (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) gives 10 a.m. ; this could mean that the advance guard of the division was formed by the brigade of C.Halkett. In: NAM, nr.8406-156

Ensign Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) says it was between 10 and 11 a.m In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

24. The report about the brigade of Kielmansegge states that the division arrived at Nivelles around 10 a.m. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI. nr.151 p.42-51

Cf. the journal of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of line infantry KGL. In: NHA. Hann.38D.nr 236 p.168-170

According to private Hemingway (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) his troops reached Nivelles at 10 a.m. and took up positions in the neighbouring fields around noon. In letter of 16<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: 8406-156

Sergeant Morris (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment) claims the division arrived before noon. In: Recollections etc. p.67

Von Ompteda's brigade would have arrived at Nivelles at 10 a.m. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-Englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.276

25. Report of major Müller. In: VPH nr.11

Cf. Scriba, C.von - Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.81

Sergeant Morris (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment), however, says the troops halted east of Nivelles and that they got their supplies for three days there. In: Recollections etc. p.67

26. This was done after the order of 2 p.m. of the prince of Orange.

Major Rudyard (battery Lloyd). This major speaks erroneously about noon or 1 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478

Report about the brigade of Kielmansegge. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.42-51

Lüneburg journal. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NHA, Hann.48A I, nr.368

Report of captain Cleeves (of the same battery). In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.139-146

Captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen, brigade Kielmansegge) claims that general Colin Halkett came with the order, after having ridden forward to Quatre Bras. Cf. his report. In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.32-35).

Lee, A. - History of the 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment foot p.226

For 3 p.m. also see: Scriba, C.von - Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.81

Private Hemingway (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) confirms the hearing of the artillery-fire as well as the departure to Quatre Bras. Cf. his letter dated 16<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: NAM, nr.8406-156

Also sergeant Morris (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment) mentions a forced march after the halt at Nivelles. In: Recollections etc. p.67

Also in: lieutenant Bülow (battalion Bremen). In a letter dated 26<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.205

The fact that the division halted for some time is confirmed by gunner F.Jahns, of Cleeves' battery. In: Zeitschrift etc. p.226

27. See the reports of captain Von Scriba and captain Cleeves (battalion Bremen and the battery Cleeves respectively). In: NHA. Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.32-35 and Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.139-146

Cf. Scriba, C.von - Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.81

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment) claims the brigade of C.Halkett halted at a few kilometres distance west of Quatre Bras to be encouraged by its commander. In: Personal recollections etc. p.3

28. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.276

Cf. Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.282

Account of captain Wynecken (1<sup>st</sup> battalion of light infantry KGL). In: Beamish, L.N. - History etc. Vol.II p.337

Baring speaks in his account of the advance of his battalion from Nivelles on the road to Mons for about one hour. This conforms to the position north of Arquennes. In:Erzählung der Teilnahme etc. In: Hannoversches Militärisches Journal. 1831 p.69-90

The journal of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line KGL mentions a position in front of a defile, between Nivelles and Mons, which is the same. In: NHA. Hann.38D. nr.236.p.168-170

Here there is also mentioned that the detaching of the brigade took place about half an hour after the halt of the brigade at Nivelles.

Captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia, division Chassé) indicates that while his division was waiting in front of the gate of Nivelles, another brigade marched through it and passed the Netherlands troops. This was after 10 a.m., the moment the division of Chassé arrived at Nivelles. Cf. his account in the family-archive.

The journal of the 8<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line KGL mentions a time of departure of 5 p.m. but this is too late. In: NHA, Hann.Des.38D, A.1.nr.7

29. Baring, G. - Erzählung der Teilnahme etc. In: Hannoversches Militärisches Journal. 1831. p.69-90

The journal of the 8th battalion of the line KGL says it was at 11 p.m. In: NHA. Hann.38D.,nr.236.p.218-29

For this time, also see: Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) Von. In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.284

According to private Lindau of the 2<sup>nd</sup> light battalion KGL it was in the morning, but he doesn't mention any time. In: Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer p.128

Another member of the same battalion, lieutenant Biedermann, confirms that the battalion marched off late that evening, to Nivelles. After a short halt, the battalion continued towards Quatre Bras. In: Von Malta bis Waterloo p.177-178

For this hour also see: Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-Englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.277

30. The journal of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line KGL indicates the brigade passed through Nivelles at dusk. In: NHA. Hann.38D. nr.236 p.168-170

Also see: Cf. Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.283

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.283

<sup>32</sup> Colonel van Zuylen van Nijevelt erroneously puts this time of arrival at 11.30 p.m. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.298

33. De Perponcher in his report dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.280

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.300

Colonel De Jongh (8<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) indicates that he received at 2 a.m. the order of count Van Hogendorp (extra adjudant in the staff of Van Bylandt) to go to lieutenant general Perponcher. This lieutenant general ordered him to go through Nivelles and to join the 27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs. Both battalions had to go to Quatre Bras and place themselves under the orders of the prince of Saxen Weimar. Cf. his papers published in the Militaire Spectator of 1866

According to sergeant Welter (27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs) his battalion stayed in Nivelles till after midnight. Cf. his letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1815 written at Péronne. In: family archive Volkersz.

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch himself states his battalion left Nivelles around midnight. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

General major Van Bijlandt states that the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia and the 27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs were the first battalions to be sent out. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Van Bijlandt says he got the first set of orders of De Perponcher at 4 a.m.

<sup>34</sup> Report of De Perponcher, dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.280

35. Report of De Perponcher, dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 etc.

Vol.III p.282

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.300

Lieutenant Sellin had been in outposts near Mont Sainte Geneviève (7.5. kilometre southwest of Fontaine l'Eveque and 3.5 kilometres north west of Lobbes) and reached Gosselies the moment it was already in French hands. To avoid being intercepted by the French cavalry of the imperial guard, Sellin went into the direction of Nivelles. Around midnight he reached the road Nivelles – Namur, not far from Quatre Bras. Cf. report of lieutenant Sellin himself. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.61 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII,nr3B p.25

Cf. Wechmar, H.von - Braune Husaren etc. p.61-62

According to Aerts they were cut off from their regiment the moment this went back from Gosselies to Heppignies and then went back towards Quatre Bras, from where they were sent to Hautain le Val. In: Etudes relatives etc. p.297

Captain Von Gagern sees them as a platoon being cut off from the outposts. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Captain Van Zuylen van Nijevelt cites 1st lieutenant Sellin as if he would have said that he was " versprengt " , that is that he got lost. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

36. Erroneously, De Perponcher and Van Zuylen van Nijevelt mention the 2nd regiment Silesian hussars. Cf.

Report dated 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1815. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.282

In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.300

Major count Van Limburg Stirum states there were 40 horsemen. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

For this number, also see the letter of Bernard van Saxon Weimar. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

37. Letter of captain Van Zuylen van Nijevelt of 13<sup>th</sup> December 1838 and the one of major Van de Poll of 8<sup>th</sup> January 1839, both in the archive of Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: NA, nr.2.21.180

Also see the letter of captain Van Zuylen van Nijevelt to captain Van Löben Sels. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Captain Von Gagern, however, also claims to have referred the group (a platoon) near Hautain le Val to go to Quatre Bras, at the time he himself was underway from Nivelles to Quatre Bras. Cf. his letter to captain Van Löben Sels of 14 december 1841. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Lieutenant Sellin himself confirms he joined De Perponcher after his request to do so, as he had no cavalry at his disposal. Cf. his report. In: KA, VI.E.7.I.61 In: GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.VII, nr.3B p.25

<sup>38</sup> Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne

de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.280

39. According to Van Zuylen van Nijeveldt he left Nivelles at 2 a.m. and arrived at 2.30 a.m.; this is impossible (the distance is 10 km). In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.300

Van Saxon Weimar himself says it was 3 a.m. Cf. his diary. In: HHA, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A, XXIV 30, p.192

Report of major Sattler, in HHA,Abt.202, inv.nr.1015 p.336 Here he says Perponcher arrived around daybreak.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Diary of Van Saxon Weimar. In: HHA, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A, XXIV 30, p.192

<sup>41</sup> Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijeveldt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.302

42. Colonel De Jongh (8th battalion of national militia), papers published in the Militaire Spectator of 1866).

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijeveldt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.300

According Starklof it was 3 a.m. Cf.Starklof, R. Das Leben etc. p.187

Bernard van Saxon Weimar mentions two battalions which arrived early morning without naming them. It were the same battalions. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

In his diary, however, he does mention them (27th battalion of chasseurs and the 8th battalion of national militia) as having arriving at 3 a.m. Cf. Diary of Van Saxon Weimar. In: HHA,Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A, XXIV 30, p.192

43. Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijeveldt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.302

The prince himself also confirms Van Bijlandt was no supposed to leave until other forces had reached Nivelles to relieve him. Cf. his report dated 2 a.m. of the 17<sup>th</sup> of June.

De Perponcher himself doesn't enter into who sent these battalions to Quatre Bras in his report dated 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1815. In: Bas, F.de & J.de T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.280

44. According to F.de Bas the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia left Nivelles on its own initiative, but this doubtful. In: Bas, F.de en J.de T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol. I p.447

According to Van Löben Sels the 5th battalion of national militia left at 5 a.m. and the foot battery around 7 a.m., covered by the 7th battalion of national militia. However, in reading the account of colonel Van Zuylen van Nijeveldt, the troops marched in one column. Cf. Löben Sels, E.van. - Bijdragen tot de krijgsgeschiedenis etc. Vol.IV p.511 and colonel Zuylen van Nijeveldt In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de & J.de T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La

campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.304

Colonel De Jongh (8<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) says that he received at 4 a.m. orders of the prince of Saxe-Weimar, under whose orders he had been placed by general De Perponcher. In all probability, the troops arrived at the same time at Quatre Bras as the troops mentioned above, while the 27<sup>th</sup> Jager battalion and the 8M had been temporarily placed under the orders of the prince of Saxe-Weimar. In: papers published in the Militaire Spectator of 1866 Major Van Opstall remarks that the reserve of the battery Stevenart, under the 2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Fiquelmont, had been sent to Mont Saint Jean. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

According to captain A.G.Bronkhorst his battalion, the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia, left at dawn. Cf. his letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1815. In: Ons leger (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

Also in: account private Rentenaar of the same battalion. In: private collection.

1<sup>st</sup> lieutenant Barre claims the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia left between 4 and 5 a.m. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart) mentions a time of 5 a.m. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

45. Colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.304

The veteran Rem (7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) mentions an action with French troops while having a wood behind them; in all probability Rem mixes up here the situation here and the one of Quatre Bras. Cf. his account dates of 1865. In: Aantekeningen van een veteraan etc.

46. Colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.304

1<sup>st</sup> lieutenant Barre speaks about a time between 7 and 8 a.m. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

For this time, also see lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

For 9 a.m. of the battery Stevenart, see the report of major Van Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

An anonymous officer of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of the national militia mentions a time between 1 and 2 a.m. as it would have left from its position at 11 p.m. In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.144

This officer is probably the captain Van Tol.

According to Starklof, 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia arrived at Quatre Bras at 6 a.m. and the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia plus the battery of Stevenart at 8 a.m. Cf. Starklof, R. - Das Leben etc. p.187

<sup>47</sup> The order left Braine le Comte about 11.45 p.m. and traveled over almost 20 kilometres from Braine le Comte to Baume through Marche-les-Ecaussinnes.

Robinson believes it reached Chassé at 1.15 a.m. which is not possible. In: The battle of Quatre Bras p.128

48. Cf. Autobiographical notes of captain Von Omphal, 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars. In: NIMH, nr.104/7

Captain Rochell (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) mentions a departure at 4 a.m. The troops had taken up their arms two hours earlier. Account in family-archive Rochell.

2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Holle of the 6<sup>th</sup> battalion national militia claims the battalion left from Maurage (after having broken down the bridge) about half an hour before daybreak. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Holle in his letter to his parents dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: Stadsarchief Dordrecht. Family-archive Blussé. 68-28 nr.21

Robinson mentions a departure at 3.45 a.m. In: The battle of Quatre Bras p.128

49. Captain Rochell (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia). Account in family-archive Rochell.

50. Account of Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

He had left Quatre Bras at 9 a.m.; the moment he reached Nivelles, Alten had just entered the town. Cf. Rochell, account in the family-archive.

51. Account of Constant Rebecque and the account of captain Rochell (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia).

1st lieutenant Bentinck (battery Lux) indicates that both batteries of the division shared the same bivouac. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Roorda van Eysinga (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) mentions a position in an orchard outside Nivelles. In: Iets betreffende de slag van Waterloo. In: Recensent der recensenten.1831.nr.6 en 7

Captain Van Omphal, member of the staff of Chassé, claims the brigade of d'Aubremé stood in front and the one of Detmers (as well as the divisional headquarters) in rear of Nivelles. Cf. Autobiographical notes of captain Von Omphal, 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars. In: NIMH, nr.104/7

52. Captain Rochell (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) says the troops left at 5 p.m. Cf. his account in the family-archive.

2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Holle of the 6<sup>th</sup> battalion national militia says the battalion left at 4 p.m. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Holle in his letter to his parents dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: Stadsarchief Dordrecht. Family-archive Blussé. 68-28 nr.21

On the other hand, captain Von Brandis, aide de camp of colonel Von Ompteda, claims the brigade of Detmers arrived near Arquennes around 5 p.m. This may then have been towards 6 p.m. In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.283

53. Captain Rochell (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia). Cf. his account in family-archive. Lieutenant Koch of the 17<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia mentions the march to a position south of Nivelles, without being specific about Arquennes. In reading his account the brigade took up a position there, but moved a bit further late in the night. Cf. his diary. In: Infantry

Museum Harskamp.

54. Captain Rochell (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) in the family-archive. Rochell says his flankers-company was posted to the left, guarded by two posts.

55. Lieutenant colonel Van Delen. Report. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8

2nd lieutenant Roorda van Eysinga (19<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia) speaks about a march to a position in a field, but he doesn't give any details. In: Roorda van Eysinga, P.P. - Iets betreffende de slag bij Waterloo. In: Recensent der recensenten.1831.nr.6 en 7

<sup>56</sup> Collaert may have issued orders for his brigades by 3 a.m. and the most remote regiments were about 10 kilometres away from Boussoit-sur-Haine.

Captain Kraijenhoff (4<sup>th</sup> regiment light dragoons, brigade De Ghigny) says that the troops mounted at 4 a.m. and that the division assembled, except for the brigade of Van Merlen. Cf. his account in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras (battery Gey) confirms his unit left "vroegtijdig". In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

57. Account of Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Hoyneck van Papendrecht clearly mentions 5 a.m. and suggests as if there was only one order, but in fact there were two. In: Bas, F.de en J.de T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.422

58. Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of De Ghigny). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263

In his words the brigade of De Ghigny assembled at Havré at 3 a.m. and marched through Boussoit, Strépy and L'Arbre Seul to Arquennes. The brigade took up a position to the right of the road leading to Nivelles. From here it sent out several reconnaissances towards Quatre Bras during the afternoon and the night of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June one of which was led by lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt.

According to lieutenant colonel Renno (4<sup>th</sup> regiment light dragoons) his regiment got in front of Nivelles towards the afternoon (so late in the morning). Cf. his diary. In: Collection Offerhaus Foundation, Groninger Museum, Groningen

At the same time, Robinson believes Collaert arrived at Arquennes by 8 a.m. In: The battle of Quatre Bras p.143

59. Constant Rebecque in his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Captain Kraijenhoff (4<sup>th</sup> regiment light dragoons, brigade De Ghigny). In: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr.NM 10255b

An anonymous member of the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons speaks about a position behind the post-office on the road to Nivelles. In: Christemeijer, J.B. - Geschiedverhaal etc. p.11

According to captain Petter his half battery of artillery spent the evening and night of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June near Binche, which is incorrect. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

<sup>60</sup> Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4<sup>e</sup> regiment lichte dragoniers p.12-13

61. There is an inexplicable gap in time in this situation. The officer was sent out before 7 a.m. by the prince of Orange (cf. his report to Wellington dated 7 a.m.), but at the same time Van Merlen's brigade only reached the field of action that afternoon between 3.30 and 4 p.m.

As the distance between Arquennes and Quatre Bras is about 14 kilometres, it could not have taken more than 2.5 hours for Van Merlen to cover it; it would then have meant that it left from its position south of Nivelles by 1.15 p.m., but what happened in between with the officer carrying the orders for Van Merlen is totally unclear.

Constant Rebecque gives the impression as if the officer was sent away by the prince shortly before 9 a.m. , but this is incorrect, in relation to the prince's report. Cf. his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Logie believes Van Merlen marched for about nine hours ! In: Waterloo. La campagne de 1815 p.52