

The cavalry-corps under Lord Uxbridge (the Royal Horse Artillery included)

According to the concentration-orders Lord Uxbridge had to collect his cavalry (except for the 2nd regiment of hussars) at Ninove. Though they were drafted between 6 and 7 p.m., it was only between 11 p.m. and midnight that they reached his headquarters at Ninove (the distance between Brussels and Ninove, over a chaussée, was about 23 kilometres). Of the general staff of the cavalry, only lord Greenock and captain Thornhill were present at Ninove; all others were at the ball of Richmond in Brussels. ¹It was lord Greenock who took it upon himself to issue the respective orders for the brigades and these were sent out through orderly dragoons. ² Meanwhile, at Brussels, lord Uxbridge received the after orders as they were issued by the duke of Wellington at 10 p.m. and which instructed the cavalry to march to Enghien. Resulting, Uxbridge wrote the following general order at 11.45 p.m.:

*June 15th, 1815 3/4 past 11 p.m.
General cavalry orders.*

- 1.The cavalry will march immediately from the left to Enghien*
- 2.Whatever brigade arrives first within a mile of Enghien, will choose a convenient spot near the road, to form in column of half squadrons at quarter distance.*
- 3.The brigades as they arrive in succession will form in rear of that first formed.*
- 4.The baggage will march in the rear of each brigade under a sufficient guard.*
- 5.The Royal Horse Artillery of the cavalry will also march by troop independently to near Enghein. [sic]. Lieutenant colonel Webber Smith's troop is attached to maj.genl. Sir C.Grant's brigade. Lt.Col.Sir Robt. Gardiner's is attached M.Genl.Sir H.Vivian's brigade.*
- 6.An officer of each brigade, and an officer per troop from the R.H.Artillery will meet Lt.Genl.The Earl of Uxbridge at the Hotel Royal at Enghein.[sic]*

Uxbridge Lt.Gl.

Such sick as are unable to march, will be sent to Brussels. Horses unable to march with the brigades will be sent to Ninove. ³

These orders were delivered at Ninove after daybreak on the 16th of June, either by lord Uxbridge himself or by an officer of his staff. ⁴⁻⁵

Some time after daybreak, lord Uxbridge returned in Ninove. After having approved of the measures lord Greenock had taken, he decided to stay here for some hours, awaiting further possible instructions and reports. At some point of time, however, he decided to leave with his staff for Enghien. It was here that further orders, carried by an officer of the staff corps, came in from Brussels to proceed with the cavalry to Braine le Comte.

After the staff had arrived at Braine le Comte, it was there that gunfire could be heard; shortly after Uxbridge got some kind of communication about what was going on at Quatre Bras as it was then that he ordered his units to move as quickly as possible to Nivelles. ⁶ Then he galloped to Nivelles himself and from there to Quatre Bras, where he arrived between 2 and 3 p.m. Aware of the serious lack of cavalry here, he later left to bring his units up. ⁷ However, the first

cavalry units got there towards 8.30 p.m., too late to share in the fighting that day.

The Household Brigade

This brigade was located in and around Ninove. The most remote troops were about ten kilometres distant from Ninove. Before daybreak on the 16th of June, the order arrived for the brigade to collect at Ninove as soon as possible.⁸ It was only at 8 a.m. that the King's Dragoon Guards were collected there.⁹ At 9 a.m. the brigade was collected and left.¹⁰

The brigade followed the roads through Enghien (¹¹), Braine le Comte and Nivelles to Quatre Bras.¹²

The brigade halted and dismounted at 4 p.m. at Braine le Comte. The horses were given the havresacks when the order came around 5 p.m. to proceed towards Nivelles. As the brigade approached the town the roads became choked with waggons and bagages, so that the horsemen had to continue their march over the fields and smaller tracks. The men managed to get through Nivelles and now accelerated towards Hautain le Val from where they took up a position along the road, near to the field of Quatre Bras. By that time the fighting had died out.¹³

The Household Brigade would have marched just behind the brigade of Sir H. Vivian.¹⁴

The Union brigade.

This brigade had its headquarters and part of her troops at Denderhoutem, four kilometres of Ninove. That night, major general Ponsonby received the following order:

Immediate

Ninove, 15th June 1815

Memorandum

Major general Sir W. Ponsonby's brigade will assemble with the utmost possible expedition this night at Ninove [sic], where it will receive further orders.

The regiments had better be formed on the high road leading from Ninove to Voorde & c., near the quarters of the Royal Dragoons, between Oultre [=Outer] and Ninove. [sic]

Greenock, Lieut. Col.

A. Q. M. G.

*An orderly officer to be sent to Ninove [sic]*¹⁵

Orders for an immediate departure reached the different regiments around 4.30 a.m.; the brigade would have been collected at 8 a.m. at Ninove and ready for the march to Enghien. Afterwards, the brigade continued its march through Braine le Comte and Nivelles to Quatre Bras.¹⁶⁻¹⁷

Vandeleur's brigade.

This brigade had its cantonments around Ninove; the most remote troops were at nine kilometres from there. The 11th regiment of light dragoons stood for the most part at Gooik.¹⁸

At least the 16th regiment of light dragoons left its position near Ninove for the march to Enghien at 5 a.m.¹⁹ The 12th regiment light dragoons left from Volsel (=Vollezele) to Enghien at 6 a.m.²⁰

Both regiments halted at Enghien from 9 to 12 a.m. when the order came to continue their march to Braine le Comte.²¹ During their march the regiments received the order to go to Nivelles; it was around 2 p.m. that the horsemen heard gunfire from that direction. About one and a half kilometre to the west of Nivelles the men got the order to proceed to Quatre Bras; they increased their speed but came too late at Quatre Bras to participate in the action.²²

The brigade Vandeleur, the 11th light dragoons in particular, was the first cavalry unit to arrive at Quatre Bras, apart from the brigade Van Merlen.

Vivian's brigade.

On the night of the 15th of June, the main part of this brigade was near Ninove and Grammont, except for the 1st regiment of KHL hussars. Vivian himself was at Nederboelare, near Grammont, where he got the order to leave for Enghien by daybreak.²³ This order reads:

June 15th 1815

The brigade in complete marching order will assemble on the high road between Voorde and Grammont, the front of it opposite to the avenue leading down to Sir H.Vivian's house and left in front. The instant it is assembled it will march off under the senio commanding officer present upon Enghien in column of half squadrons at quarter distance, and dismount, on the most convenient spot on the side of the road between Grammont and Enghien within a mile of Enghien. The baggage will march in rear of the brigade under charge of an officer and two non commissioned officers of such regiment, any sick that are unable to move with the regiment will be sent to Brussels in charge of a non-commissioned officer. Any horses unfit to march will be sent to Ninove.

R. [...]

*Major-general*²⁴

It was around 4 a.m. that the 10th and 18th regiment of hussars got the instruction to go to Enghien.²⁵ Accordingly, both regiments were collected on the road from Ninove to Grammont. They left around 7 a.m. and marched without halting through Grammont to Enghien.²⁶

The regiments halted in column for a considerable time east of Grammont, but finally they got the instruction to proceed to Braine le Comte.²⁷ Beyond Enghien the regiments passed through Hoves and Steenkerque towards Braine le Comte.²⁸ From here the march continued in a trot towards Nivelles.²⁹

To the east of Nivelles, the battle at Quatre Bras was heard and the regiments were instructed by

Lord Uxbridge to reach Quatre Bras in a trot. However, despite the fact that the last bit of the road was covered in a small gallop, the horsemen arrived just too late for the fight.³⁰

The 1st regiment of hussars KGL came from Tournay to Quatre Bras, where it arrived during the night. On the 16th of June, around 11 a.m, the regiment received the instruction to leave for Ath directly. Colonel Von Wissell collected the regiment and at 1 p.m. it left for Braine le Comte where it arrived at 1 a.m. of the 17th of June. The road it had followed went through Leuze, Ath [?], Chièvres and Soignies. It was around 3-3.30 a.m. of the 17th of June that it resumed its march towards Quatre Bras, where it arrived during the early hours of the 17th June.³¹

Generally, this regiment covered an immense distance, fully separated from the rest of the brigade. It was at Braine le Comte that Sir Hussey Vivian sent lieutenant Woodberry to Tournai with the order for the regiment to join the brigade at Nivelles. Woodberry arrived at Tournai around 11 a.m.; he had followed the road through Ath.³² Woodberry returned to Braine le Comte through Cambron, Chièvre and Soignies, but his regiment, the 18th hussars, had already left for Nivelles. Accordingly, Woodberry arrived there at 4 p.m.³³

Von Dörnberg's brigade

According to the concentration orders this brigade (including the Cumberland hussars) was “to march that night upon Vilvorde and to bivouac on the high road near to that town.” The 23rd regiment of light dragoons and to the Cumberland hussars were in position between the villages Gooik and Kester (about 17 kilometres west of Brussels).³⁴ At 2 a.m. on the 16th of June, the 23rd regiment light dragoons got the (after) order to leave for Enghien, and, later, eventually, to Quatre Bras. It left at 7 a.m. and marched through Nivelles.³⁵ It can be assumed that the Cumberland hussars marched with the 23rd light dragoons; their presence later at Quatre Bras is confirmed by lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple (15th regiment hussars).³⁶

The 1st and 2nd regiment light dragoons KGL were in position in and near to Mechelen. Though proper details are lacking, both regiments probably complied with the concentration orders first, before they were ordered further south. At 5 a.m. the 1st regiment of light dragoons got the instruction to march; at 9 a.m. it left its position and reached Genappe in the late afternoon. It advanced further south to a position between Genappe and Quatre Bras but it was then too late then to take any action.³⁷ The 2nd regiment of light dragoons left Mechelen that morning as well and it would have traversed Brussels around 5 p.m. That night it also took up a position in the fields between Genappe and Quatre Bras.³⁸

Grant's brigade

Since the 31st of March 1815 the 2nd regiment hussars (KGL) formed a line of outposts from Courtrai through, Yperen, Loo and Furnes onto the North-sea and Wellington kept it there during the campaign. Only at the end of June it got the instruction to join the army.³⁹

The 7th hussars was near Grammont, in and around Schendelbeke.⁴⁰ It was there that its first orders would have arrived by daybreak. As a result it left on the morning of the 16th at 6 a.m. for Enghien directly, and not first to Ninove. Just as it was getting dark, an order came for the regiment to come up with all possible speed and which brought the regiment to Nivelles, where another order directed it to go forward, towards Quatre Bras where it arrived around midnight.

On the 15th of June, the 15th regiment of hussars was south-west of Sotteghem. At 5 a.m. it got the instruction to move to Grammont and wait there for instructions.⁴² After being collected at 8 a.m. the regiment arrived at Grammont around 11.30 a.m.⁴³ It was here that it got the order to move to Enghien which it did at noon. At 2 p.m. the regiment took up a bivouac in a field just out of Enghien. However, the same afternoon the regiment proceeded to Braine le Comte and Nivelles. The men were much hindered by the presence of numerous troops and their luggage.⁴⁴ That night the regiment continued its march towards Quatre Bras, where it arrived after midnight.

As a replacement for the 2nd regiment hussars KGL, the 13th regiment of light dragoons (brigade Von Arentschildt) was attached to the brigade. As such, it was placed at Kester.⁴⁵ It left that day around 11 a.m. though the order for march arrived between 3 and 4 a.m.⁴⁶ Its march also went along Enghien, Braine le Comte and Nivelles to Quatre Bras; these troops were lacking all sorts of food that day.⁴⁷

Von Arentschildt's brigade.

Having detached the 13th regiment of light dragoons to Grant's brigade, Von Arentschildt's brigade consisted of just one regiment, the 3rd hussars KGL. On the evening of the 15th of June it stood near Peruwelz. On the 16th of June it got the instruction to go to Enghien and to leave some pickets at the frontier. Hereupon the commander of the regiment, lieutenant colonel Meyer, left major Krauchenberg with three companies behind not far from Peruwelz.

He proceeded with the seven remaining companies to Enghien, where the order was waiting to proceed further eastward and to join the army. Having fed the horses on the road west of Enghien, the regiment started its march again at 1 a.m. of the 17th of June. Due to the bad roads and the presence of numerous baggages and infantry, it was only at 10 a.m. that the regiment arrived at Nivelles.⁴⁸

Von Estorff's brigade

Nominally this brigade consisted of three regiments, but the regiment of Cumberland hussars was attached to Von Dörnberg brigade. The second regiment of the brigade, the regiment Bremen and Verden hussars, was on the outposts south of Mons, towards Valenciennes and Le Quesnoy. Having received Lord Hills orders on the night of the 16th of June, it marched to Lens (twelve and a half a kilometre north of Mons).

Here the regiment was re-united with the other regiment of the brigade, the hussars of prince Regent, coming from Saint Ghislain (eight and a half a kilometre west of Mons).⁴⁹ It was here that the brigade spent the night of the 16th and a part of the 17th of June.⁵⁰ In accordance with the orders, it was also from here that the brigade sent out strong detachments towards Mons.

In general terms, the cavalry left its positions around Ninove and Grammont in the early morning to converge at Enghien a few hours later. From there it was taken further east in stages, as far as Quatre Bras.

Yet, before the brigades were able to leave, their assembling had not taken place as it should have been. Captain Gurwood puts it thus: "It is clear the regiments of cavalry were not in hand, as they ought to have been by order of their brigadiers and that under the circumstances they ought to have been assembled daily at an hour after daylight on their respective alarm posts. In consequence of this want of arrangement nearly four hours were lost in the assembly of brigades and the brigade to which I belonged [Vivian] made several very long halts waiting for orders before it arrived at Braine le Comte and afterwards trotted with 22 stone weight [?] for several miles to 4 Bras."⁵¹

The brigades coming from the north were those of Ponsonby, Somerset, Vandeleur and Von Dörnberg. The ones coming from the west were the brigades of Vivian and Grant. Those of Von Arentschildt and Von Estorff came from the south, but these brigades were not ordered to Quatre Bras later on the 16th of June.

Except for those units in the immediate vicinity of Ninove, all other units did not march towards Ninove first but straight to Enghien, thereby complying with the second set of orders (the after orders). Due to the scattered state of the cantonments, collecting the troops took a lot of time.⁵² Near Enghien, all brigades were formed in a column in succession as they arrived.

It was at Enghien that at least the brigade of Vandeleur halted for three hours, waiting for further orders. It did so until noon, when it got the order – issued for the cavalry in general - to leave for Braine le Comte. This order was issued between 5 and 6 a.m. from Brussels and apparently needed six hours to reach Braine le Comte (in stead of about three). It may have been that the other brigades coming from in and around Ninove halted near Enghien for some time as well, but this is not sure as they left later as Vandeleur did. In looking at the complete picture, it becomes clear that the general order for the cavalry to proceed from Enghien to Braine le Comte was brought to Enghien only, for the units to be found there; so not that it was forwarded from there to the approaching units so as to speed up their march east.

At Enghien, Vivian and Grant joined the other brigades, which around noon were supposed to head further east, to Braine le Comte. There may have been at least another halt here too (at least for Somerset for about one hour around 4.30 p.m.), until - again - the brigades were ordered to Nivelles. It may have been between 6.30 and 7.30 p.m. that the cavalry got there, until final orders came to proceed towards Quatre Bras.⁵³

In the context of these last orders, the account written by captain Wildman, one of Lord Uxbridge adjudants, merits further attention, the more as it was written on the 19th of June.⁵⁴

In his version of the events, he would have been sent in the middle of the night from Brussels to Ninove, from where orders were sent for assembling the cavalry at Enghien. From there, Wildman would have left for Enghien, Braine le Comte, from where he would have left for Nivelles by 4 p.m. Having heard the gunfire of the battle of Quatre Bras, he went there and there was immediately sent back again to bring up all the cavalry. Wildman did so and met Uxbridge at Nivelles and with whom he returned to Quatre Bras before the close of the action.

In taking a close look at this version, his chronology however - connected to the distances involved - is impossible to understand. It would have been 4 p.m. that Wildman left from Braine le Comte. If this would have been the case, he could have reached Quatre Bras by 6.30 p.m. After that, he would have returned from there back again to Braine le Comte to speed up the cavalry and then back again as well to the crossroads (with Uxbridge), arriving there before action had ended. As this was by 9 p.m. he would have been able to cover about 52 kilometres

in two and half hours.

As this is impossible, Wildman got at Quatre Bras around 4 p.m. or 4.30 p.m. This would mean that he reached Nivelles around 2.30 p.m. which matches to his statement as hearing the gunfire from the battle.

At Quatre Bras, according to Wildman, two British divisions had been sent for and these were the ones from Alten and Cooke.⁵⁵ This fits in the situation that both these divisions had actually been sent for around 2 p.m.

Wildman also states he was sent out again “immediately to bring up all the cavalry and another British division from Braine le Comte”. This then could have been around 4 or 4.30 p.m.

In my understanding. It was at Nivelles that Wildman accomplished his mission and not at Braine le Comte, also again in view of the distances involved. He is clear on two points: the moment he returned to Quatre Bras both divisions had arrived and he witnessed some of the action before it had ended.

If he would have ridden to Nivelles, he could have got there by 5.30 or 6 p.m. By that time, the cavalry coming from Braine le Comte was approaching Nivelles; though Wildman doesn't write about it, the possibility should not be excluded that he actually rode for some distance beyond Nivelles to meet the units of Vandeleur (which were leading- see above).

To get back to Quatre Bras took Wildman another one and a half hour, so that would mean he could have been back there by 7.30 or 8 p.m., one hour before the action ended and after the divisions of Alten and Cooke had arrived. Wildman's mission fits into the way the cavalry was pulled east during the afternoon of the 16th of June. It had been ordered for Braine le Comte and to Nivelles a few hours later. As the situation developed at the crossroads, Wildman was immediately sent out to bring up the cavalry from Nivelles, which he did.

Wildman also throws some light on the situation of lord Uxbridge that day. By midnight he was in Brussels as we have his order dated 11.45 p.m. of the 15th of June. Before arriving at Quatre Bras between 2 and 3 p.m. he also was at Enghien that day.⁵⁶ The most logical situation was that Uxbridge sent Wildman during the night to Ninove to arrange for the “after orders” to be carried out and which stated to have the cavalry assembled at Enghien. Some time after, Uxbridge rode to Enghien through Halle to await his cavalry there. Having done so, Uxbridge took east as well, following the subsequent orders. Underway, he learned about the situation at Quatre Bras and accordingly rode ahead of his forces, thereby arriving at Quatre Bras between 2 and 3 p.m. There, having spoken with the prince of Orange (as Wellington was away to Bussy), he decided to ride towards Nivelles to speed up the cavalry units which were in front (those of Vandeleur). He did so before 3 p.m.⁵⁷ Having got there (maybe around 4 p.m.) he met Wildman there and also may have gone beyond Nivelles himself. Having succeeded in reaching Vandeleur, both men then went back to Quatre Bras.

THE ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY

During the 15th of June and a part of the 16th of June, the commander of the Royal Horse

Artillery, Sir Augustus Frazer, was at Brussels.⁵⁸

Mercer's troop was at Strytem, at five kilometres from Ninove. Captain Mercer gives a very vivid picture of the unexpected departure of the battery.⁵⁹ The order he got that morning was:

Captain Mercer's troop will proceed with the utmost diligence to Enghien, where he will meet Major M'Donald, who will point out the ground on which it is to bivouac tonight.

*Signed,
D.A.Q.M.Gen.*⁶⁰



The chateau at Strythem, where captain Mercer had his headquarters.

It was at 6 a.m. that this document reached Mercer.⁶¹ At 7 a.m. the battery was in readiness to leave.⁶² The stretch to Enghien was done through Kester; the roads were terrible. Mercer approached Enghien around noon. It was there, out of Enghien, that Mercer waited for further orders.⁶³ Later, Mercer followed Bull's troop and Vivians brigade through Steenkerke to Braine le Comte.⁶⁴ This was around 1 p.m. At 4 p.m. Mercer reached Braine le Comte.

From then on Mercer tried, in vain, to keep pace with the cavalry, but due to the heavy ground and the bad roads, the troop fell back. Between Braine le Comte and Nivelles Mercer learned about the action at Quatre Bras and now followed Vivians brigade.⁶⁵

Mercer gives a very vivid account of his arrival at Nivelles.⁶⁶ The moment Mercer approached Quatre Bras, the action died down and the troop took up a bivouac near the farm of Quatre Bras.⁶⁷

On the night of the 15th of June, Ramay's troop was at Oetingen, between Ninove and Enghien. Having received march orders around 2 a.m., the troop left around 4 a.m. towards Enghien. From here it went to Quatre Bras, where it arrived the same night.⁶⁸

Webber Smith's troop left Haaltert, three kilometres from Alost, at 8 a.m.⁶⁹ Before that time, the troop came from Ghent. From Haltert, it continued its march through Ninove, Enghien, Braine le Comte and Nivelles to Quatre Bras, where it arrived on the morning of the 17th of

June.

Gardiner's troop was at Pamel, at four kilometres from Ninove. It appears that the troop received during the night the order to march to the road between Ninove and Alost.⁷⁰ En route the battery got the order to march to Enghien.⁷¹

At Enghien, Gardiner joined the main body of the cavalry.⁷² The troop continued its march until 8 p.m.⁷³ Then, it probably took a bivouac between Braine le Comte and Nivelles.⁷⁴ The troop had no baggage at all by that time.⁷⁵

Ross' troop stood at Perk, near Vilvoorde [⁷⁶], and would have received its first march orders by 7 p.m. which directed it "to march through Brussels to join the reserve."⁷⁷

Of Whinyates' troop no information is available. The only thing known of Bull's troop is that it followed Vivian in his track and that it was at Enghien around 1 p.m. on the 16th of June.⁷⁸

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¹ The fact that Uxbridge was at Brussels on the 15th of June is confirmed by sir Hussey Vivian as he dined with him that day there. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.150-158

² Lord Greenock to colonel Gurwood, 19th September 1842. In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.3

3. In: Plas Newydd Papers. Note H p.360

For similarity of this order to the march-order for Vivian, see below.

⁴ Lord Greenock to colonel Gurwood, 19th September 1842. In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.3

5. Captain Wildman (aide de camp of Uxbridge) remarks in his letter of the 19th of June written to his mother that orders were issued from Ninove for the cavalry and the Royal Horse Artillery to collect at Enghien. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

Lord Uxbridge states in his letter dated 9 December 1815 to general Adam that all brigades of cavalry, as well as the horse-batteries, were on the move before 5 - 6 a.m. It will become clear that this was not always the case. Cf. his letter in: NAM, nr.6507-1

Lord Edward Somerset returned that night at Ninove. Diary. In: NAM, nr.6807-344

The after orders were carried by an officer of sir William Delanceys staff, probably by captain Jessop (see above). He confirms he was sent out after 9 p.m. to Ninove to deliver a set of orders to colonel Cathcart, assistant QMG of the cavalry. It is another indication that lord Uxbridge himself was not at Ninove by that time. Jessop left Brussels around midnight to arrive at Ninove by 1 a.m. He returned to Brussels by 4 a.m. and stayed there till well after 2 p.m. on the 16th of June when he left for the front, only to reach Quatre Bras after the action was just over. Cf. his account in USM, Recollections of Waterloo p.3-5

⁶ Lord Greenock to colonel Gurwood, 19th September 1842. HL, MS61 WP 8.2.3

7. Lord Uxbridge. BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.5-10

Captain Wildman (7th hussars and aide de camp of Uxbridge) informs us that he came at Quatre Bras through Braine le Comte and Nivelles; he would have left from Braine le Comte around 4 p.m.

At Quatre Bras, he was sent immediately out to bring up the cavalry and in order to get an infantry division (probably Alten's) from Braine le Comte. It was here that he met Lord Uxbridge and both returned to Quatre Bras again. Wildman and Uxbridge missed each other at Quatre Bras initially. As Wildman mentions the arrival of Picton's division, he was at Quatre Bras before 3 p.m. See his letter to his mother of the 19th of June. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

According to lord Greenock, Uxbridge and his staff reached Quatre Bras the moment the Foot Guards got there. Cf. Greenock to colonel Gurwood, 19th September 1842. HL, MS61 WP 8.2.3

8. Letter of sergeant major Page (Kings Dragoon Guards), cited by M.Mann. In: And they

rode on. p.11

Diary of captain Naylor (Kings Dragoons Guards). In: Regimental Museum 1st the Queen's Dragoon Guards

Lieutenant Hibbert (Kings Dragoon Guards) says the first orders got in at his regiment at 3 a.m. Letter dated 26th July 1815. In: private collection (lieutenant colonel Hibbert)

The last order in the regimental order book of the 2nd Life Guards before the battle of Waterloo is dated Meerbeke, June 16th, 2 a.m. and is worded as:

"In consequence of the regiment having just received orders to march at a moment's notice, it will assemble immediately in complete marching order, with all forage and baggage, ready to commence its march."

In: Crofton, Sir Morgan The Household cavalry brigade and the Waterloo campaign. In: The Household Brigade Magazine (1911) p.97-98

9. Diary of captain J.Naylor. In: Regimental Museum the 1st Queen's Dragoon Guards. Lieutenant Hibbert reports that the regiment left around 5 a.m. Cf. his letter of 26th July 1815. In: private collection (lieutenant colonel Hibbert).

The same time is given by sergeant major Barlow (King's Dragoon Guards) Cf. his account in: 1st The Queen's Dragoon Guards Heritage Trust

10. Captain Naylor, diary. In: Regimental Museum 1st the Queen's Dragoon Guards.

Captain Kelly says that his regiment (1st Life Guards) left from Meerbeke at 7 a.m. In: Memoir of the late lieutenant colonel Kelly. In: United Service Journal, Part 1, nr.5 May 1829 According to surgeon James (1st Life Guards) the brigade left at 8 a.m., while the regiment was ready since 4 a.m. The 1st Life Guards would have formed the rearguard of the column. In: Vansittart, J. (ed) - Surgeon J.H.James's journal p.14

11. According to captain Mercer the brigade was there around 12 -1 p.m. In: Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.238

12. Diary of Lord Edward Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6807-344

Captain Kelly. In: Memoir of the late lieutenant colonel Kelly. In: United Service Journal, Part 1, nr.5 May 1829

Also in: lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209 He confirms the presence of the brigade between Braine le Comte and Nivelles.

13. Crofton, M. The Household cavalry brigade and the Waterloo campaign. In: Household Brigade Magazine. 1911

Diary of captain Naylor. In: Regimental Museum 1st Queen's Dragoon Guards

Naylor says the brigade arrived near Quatre Bras at 8 p.m.

Surgeon J.H.James of the 1st Life Guards fell back between Enghien and Braine le Comte as his horse lost an iron. James was forced to leave his baggages behind. Being delayed James spent the night in a house west of Nivelles and joined the regiment again in the early morning

of the 17th of June near Quatre Bras. In: Vansittart, J. (ed) - Surgeon J.H.James's journal p.15-21

14. According to captain Elton the 1st Dragoon Guards arrived at Quatre Bras at 11 p.m. Cf. his letter to lieutenant general Fane of 15th July 1815. In: NAM,nr.6310-36

15. HL, WP 1.467

In: WSD, Vol.X p.481

There is a note on top of the document stating: Received at 1 ¾ a.m. 16 June.

The original proof for the printing of the supplementary despatches had the following note, but which was left out in the final print:

“Copy of document belonging to the duke of Argyle, given to his Grace by a Frenchman, who had found it on the field of Waterloo. The original is in the handwriting of lord Greenock, and was forwarded by lord Greenock to colonel Gurwood. 8th March 1843.” Also in: HL, WP nr.7.2.20

As the document would have reached Denderhoutem by 1.45 a.m. on the 16th of June and this village being only about 4 kilometres from Ninove, it can never have been dated on the 15th of June, so this must be a mistake.

16. Letter of major Radcliffe to Sir H.Fane, 7th July 1815. In NAM, nr.6310-36 and in former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon archives nr. 413/382

Sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys) Journal. In: Atkinson, C.T. A Waterloo journal. In: JSAHR.Vol.38.1960. p.32-33.

Atkinson himself indicates that the orders for the march arrived after 4 a.m. In: History of the Royal Dragoons p.300

Captain Kennedy Clark, of the same regiment, also confirms that the brigade halted several times and changed its direction (at Braine le Comte and Nivelles). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.3-5

A memorandum of the Inniskilling Dragoons states that the orders for march arrived at 4 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.11-15

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys) mentions the alarm being given at 4 a.m. In: Bruce Low, E. - With Napoleon at Waterloo. p.138

De Ainslie, writing about the Royals, says the brigade left at 6 a.m. In: De Ainslie. Historical records of the first or the royal regiment of dragoons. p.149

Major Clarke (Scots Greys) claims that the first orders arrived at 1 a.m. at Denderhoutem and that the cavalry left Ninove at 5 a.m. Cf. major Clarke in a letter of the 11th July 1815 to Sir J.Stewart. In: NWMS, no reference. Also in: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.76

Sergeant Clarke also confirms that the regiment didn't take any rations from Denderhoutem. Cf. Journal of sergeant Clarke (Scots Greys). In: NLS, MS 15379 p.2

Corporal Stevenson (Scots Greys) writes the alarm came in at 2 a.m. and that his regiment marched off at 4.30 a.m. Cf. his account in: NWMS, U3 box file one

Private Clarke (Scots Greys) states the alarm came in at 1 a.m. Cf. letter dated 8th July 1815.

In: NWMS, M1992.230

Private Boulter (Scots Greys) confirms a departure from Denderhoutem in his letter dated 23rd September 1815. In: NAM, nr.9501-118

Cornet Clape (Scots Greys) started his march from Denderhoutem, to pass through Nivelles by 9 p.m. and arrive at Quatre Bras by midnight. Cf. his letter to his mother, dated about one week after the battle of Waterloo. In: Almack, E. – The history of the second dragoons p.70

The Union brigade would have reached Enghien between 1 and 2 p.m. Cf. Morewood, J. – Waterloo general. The life, letters and mysterious death of major general Sir William Ponsonby p.153

¹⁷ Captain Kennedy Clark (1st regiment Royal Dragoons) adds that his regiment initially went towards Grammont, where the brigade was collected. From there on it headed for Enghien. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.3-5

¹⁸ Cf. Private George Farmer (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: Gleig, G.R. The light dragoon p.148

For the 16th of June, he mentions for his troop a village called Vione.

19. Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons) - The diary of a cavalry officer p.278

20. Hay, lieutenant (12th regiment light dragoons). Reminiscences under Wellington p.161
According to lieutenant colonel F.Ponsonby the order came at 3 a.m. and that the regiment arrived at Enghien at 6 a.m. In: The 9th/12th Royal Lancers Regimental Journal. Vol.II March 1964 nr.1 p.74

21. Lieutenant Hay, Reminiscences under Wellington p.161-162
Also in: Tomkinson, W. - The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.278

22. Tomkinson, W. - The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.278-279
Hay, Reminiscences under Wellington p.162-163 Hay says that his regiment took by-roads.

23. Major general Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45
Also in his diary. In: Vivian, Cl. - R.H.Vivian.First baron Vivian etc. p.263
Vivian had his headquarters at the Château Murrat. Cf. his correspondence. In: NAM, nr.7709-6

24. Papers of Sir Hussey Vivian, orderbook of the period 17th April to 21st September 1815.
In: NAM, nr.7709-6-2 Voorde is a village 7.5 kilometres north east of Grammont.

²⁵ Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). Letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg.
In: private collection (A.Lagden).
Cf. lieutenant Cartwright (10th regiment of hussars) in a letter to his mother dated 21st June

1815. In: The memoirs of the 10th royal hussars p.163

During the 16th and a part of the 17th of June, the 18th regiment of hussars operated without its commander, lieutenant colonel Murray. Being at Brussels during the night of the 15th, he arrived on the 16th around 5 p.m. in the forest of Soignes near Waterloo. Heavily delayed he spent the night of the 16th at the farm of Mont Saint Jean. On the 17th of June Murray travelled over the chaussée to Quatre Bras to join his regiment. Cf.documents in: NAM, nr.7612-19

26. Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and 34.703 p.94-95

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209

Captain Shakespear (10th regiment hussars) mentions 6 a.m. as time the brigade marched out. Account. In: NAM, nr.7706-17

In his note dated 19th June 1815 captain Taylor gives a departure at 6 a.m. See: WL, nr.703.7

Also see his letter dated 16th July 1815 to mr. Brownrigg. In: Collection A.Lagden

Also see his diary. In: Carew, P. Combat and carnival p.30

Lieutenant Cartwright (10th regiment hussars) claims it was at 4 a.m. in his letter to his father of the 22nd of June 1815. In: Memoirs of the 10th Royal Hussars p.163

Private Marshall (10th hussars) also states his regiment left at daybreak. Cf. his letter dated 11th July 1815 to his parents. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock. D3287/29/15

The brigade was at 1 p.m. at Enghien. See: Mercer, C. Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.238

Lieutenant colonel R.Manners says the 10th regiment of hussars got its march orders and left at 8 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108

Captain Gurwood, having arrived at Voorde by 3 a.m, saw that by 6 a.m. the brigade still had not turned out. Cf. his letter dated, 16th september 1842, to lord Greenock. In: HL, WP nr.8.3.8

27. Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91

Captain Gurwood recollects a long delay before his brigade moved on to Nivelles. Cf. his letter dated, 16th September 1842, to lord Greenock. In: HL, WP nr.8.3.8

And to Wellington he wrote on 24th September 1842: “.. the brigade to which I belonged made several very long halts waiting for orders before it arrived at Braine le Comte and afterwards trotted with 22 stone [?] weight for several miles to 4 Bras.” In: HL, WP, nr.8.3.15

28. Diary-notes of captain Gardiner of the battery Gardiner. In: RAI, nr. MD178

29. Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209 and Add.ms.34.703 p.96-97

Lieutenant Cartwright (10th regiment of hussars) in a letter to his mother dated 21st June 1815. In: The memoirs of the 10th royal hussars p.163

The fact that the brigade had a stop twice (at Braine le Comte and Nivelles) can also be read

in the account of lieutenant Duperier of the 18th regiment of hussars. Twice he got the instruction to find a suitable site for a bivouac for the brigade, but both times the instruction was drawn in and the brigade continued its march. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91

Sir H.Vivian mentions in his diary, in a letter dated 23rd June 1815 to his wife and in a undated letter to E.Vivian a passage through Enghien, Braine le Comte and Nivelles. In: Vivian, Cl. - R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.263, 265 and 266

Captain Taylor in his diary. In: Carew, P. - Combat and carnaval p.30

Lieutenant Cartwright (10th regiment hussars) claims the regiment arrived at Nivelles at 7 p.m. See his letter of the 22nd of June to his father. In: Memoirs of the 10th Royal Hussars p.163

Between Enghien and Braine le Comte the regiments made a brief halt around 4 p.m. in closed columns. Cf. Letter of captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars) to Mr.Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In collection A.Lagden.

Captain Gurwood (10th regiment of hussars) claims there was a long delay [at Braine le Comte ?] before the regiment moved off to Nivelles. Cf. his letter dated, 16th September 1842, to lord Greenock. In: HL, WP nr.8.3.8

30. Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.205-209

Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.25-30

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209

Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91

Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108

Sir H.Vivian. Cf.diary, undated letter to E.Vivian and his letter to his wife of the 23rd of June 1815. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.263, 265 and 266

Captain Taylor. In his diary. In: Carew, P. - Combat and carnaval p.30

Captain Shakespear says it was around 8 p.m. but it was later. Account in: NAM, nr.7706-17

Captain Taylor believes it was 9 p.m. Cf. Letter of captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars) to Mr.Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In: private collection (A.Lagden).

Lieutenant colonel Murray had to throw away the hay for the horses in order to increase the speed. The hussars also encountered a lot of Dutch and British wounded soldiers.

31. Colonel Von Wissell. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.98-102

Captain Von der Decken (commander 1st squadron of the 1st regiment of hussars). In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI.nr.152 p.27-29

Journal of the regiment. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.233 p.50

This journal gives 9 a.m. as time of arrival at Quatre Bras. Von der Decken mentions noon.

32. Captain Von der Decken. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.27-29

33.Woodberry, G. - Journal du lieutenant etc.

³⁴ Banner calls Gooik “Gonicke or some such name”. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.301-311
Cavalié Mercer calls Kester “Castre”. In: Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.234-235

35. Cf. Lieutenant Banner (23rd regiment light dragoons). He says that the regiment left shortly after daybreak. In addition he claims that the regiment arrived at Quatre Bras at 6 p.m. but this is an error: the regiment arrived after the action was over.

The last bit of the march was done in a trot, which was sometimes hard to maintain due to the overcrowded road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.301-311

Captain Grove (23rd regiment light dragoons) confirms the fact that the regiment reached Quatre Bras just as the action was over; the regiment established a bivouac at 10 p.m. within a mile from Nivelles. Cf. his journal. In: NAM, nr.1978-05-74-2

36. Cf. his journal. In: NAM, nr.7207-22,14-21

37. Journal of the regiment. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.231.p.15-16

Also in: List of both regiments. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.462-463

38. Reports about the 2nd regiment light dragoons. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.232 p.76 and 84, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.17-22

Account of surgeon Detmer of the regiment. Detmer says the regiment arrived at Quatre Bras around 11 p.m. In: Schwertfeger, B. - Geschichte der Königlich etc. Vol.II p.235

³⁹ Cf. Diary of the regiment. In: Beamish, L.von – History of the KGL Vol.II p.372

40.Verner, W. - Reminiscences of William Verner. In: Journal of the society for army historical research. 1965. Nr.8, p.40

41.Verner, W. - Reminiscences of William Verner. In: Journal of the society for army historical research. 1965. Nr.8, p.40

Lieutenant Daniel. In: Journal of an officer in the commissariat department etc. p.376, 385

42. Account of lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple. In: NAM, nr.7207-22,14-21

Gibney, Dr. Eighty years ago etc. p.175 Gibney was assistant surgeon in the 15th regiment of hussars

The adjudant diaries of the regiment mention 2 a.m. in stead of 5 a.m. In: NAM, nr.7207-22-1-14

43. According to captain J.Thackwell (15th regiment hussars) the regiment left at 7.30 a.m. In: Wylly, H.C. - The military memoirs of etc. p.69

44. Account of lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple, commander of the regiment In: NAM, nr.7207-22,14-21

Also in the adjudant diaries of the regiment period 6 May to 14 November 1815. In: NAM,

nr. 7207-22-1-14

According to Gibney, the regiment left Grammont before 7 a.m. and halted it at Enghien for about half an hour. During its march further east, however, no halting was allowed. The 15th hussars would have reached Nivelles by 10 p.m. and then to proceed another two leagues towards Quatre Bras. In: Eighty years ago etc. p.175-178

⁴⁵ Lieutenant Turner in his letter dated 3rd July. In: Barrett, C.R.B. - History of the XIII Hussars p.277

He calls the village “Castes” (from Castre) near Grammont.

46. Letter of lieutenant Wm.Turner of 3rd July 1815 to Mr.Busby. In: Barrett, C.R.B. - History of the XIII Hussars p.277

According to lieutenant Packe the order to march reached the regiment at 5 a.m. Cf. his letter dated 20th of June 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Leicester and Rutland record office. DE 1346/419-427 (DG18).

47. Letter of lieutenant Wm.Turner of 3rd July 1815 to Mr.Busby. In: Barrett, C.R.B. - History of the XIII Hussars p.277

Barrett claims the regiment to have reached Quatre Bras at 11 p.m. Cf. Barrett, C.R.B. - History of the XIIIth hussars p.272

48. Journal of the 3rd regiment of hussars. In: NHA, Hann.38D, nr.233.p.198-202

Captain Friedrichs of the regiment states the regiment reached Nivelles by 8 a.m. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.63

49. Von den Busche, the commander of the Bremen and Verden hussars, calls his men the Lüneburg hussars. Cf. his account. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI. nr.152 p.25

⁵⁰ E.A.von Laffert, a member of the prince Regent’s hussars regiment confirms his presence at the château of the baron De Secus at Bauffe on the 17th of June, which is about 4 kilometres west of Lens. Cf. Memoiren eines von Estoffschen Husaren p.35

⁵¹ Captain Gurwood (10th hussars) to the duke of Wellington, dated 24th September 1842. In: HL, WP nr.8.3.15

⁵² Cf. Lord Greenock to colonel Gurwood, 19th September 1842. In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.3

⁵³ Lieutenant Hamilton of the Scots Greys says about the march of his regiment: “[..] the firing had entirely ceased before we reached the army [at Quatre Bras], having been repeatedly halted on the road during the day from an apparent want of knowing where to go.” Cf. his journal. In: NWMS, nr.A.213.2.07

⁵⁴ Captain Wildman in a letter to his mother, dated 19th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-

557

⁵⁵ It could be inferred that Wildman reached the crossroads before the arrival of Picton's 5th division, because he doesn't mention this division. Yet, Wildman could never have heard the action at or west of Nivelles, and then also to be able to reach the crossroads before 3 p.m.

⁵⁶ Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.5-10
Captain Seymour (aide de camp of Uxbridge). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 471-480
For the fact that Uxbridge was at Enghien that day, see Wildman.

⁵⁷ Uxbridge only mentions the presence of the forces of the prince of Orange and doesn't mention the presence of Wellington himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.5-10

58. Sabine, E. - Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer (letter nrs. XIX and XX, p.536-538). In letter nr.XX Frazer already says he expected a battle near Braine l'Alleud.

59. Mercer, C. - Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.230-233

60. Mercer, C. - Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.230-231

61. Mercer's letter of 24th January 1866 to an unknown person. In: RAI, nr.MD88

62. One division of the battery was at Yseringen, four kilometres further to the east and this division had to be drawn in first.

63. In a letter of 24th January 1866. In: RAI, nr.MD88

64. Cf. the same letter. In: RAI, nr.MD88

65. This instead of the Household Brigade, as ordered, but this brigade was even more to the rear.

66. Mercer, C. - Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.246-250

67. Cf. Mercer's letter of 24th January 1866. In: RAI, nr.MD88

68. Notes of lieutenant Sandilands. In: RIA, nr.MD 638

69. Captain Walcott (Webber Smiths troop). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.184-185
Also in the journal of captain Walcott. In: NAM, nr.6705-45

70. Captain Ingilby (Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.465-467 and diary. In: RAI, nr. nr.MD797. According to Ingilby the battery left before dawn.

Second captain Dyneley however claims that the battery got the march order at 3 a.m., and which was started at 4 a.m. In: Letter of Dyneley to J.Douglas of 23rd August 1815. In: RAI, nr.MD 1051

71. Lieutenant Swabey in his letter of 24th June 1815 does not mention a concentration on the road Alost – Ninove, but mentions the march at 5 a.m. to Enghien. The order to go there would have arrived at 4 a.m. Cf. his letter in the King's Hussars Museum.

72. It was here that the troop was assigned to Vivian's brigade. In: lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34706 p.465-467
Also in diary of captain Gardiner. In: RAI, nr.MD 1178

73. Letter of lieutenant Swabey of 24 June 1815 in the King's Hussars Museum and the letter of second captain Dyneley of 23 August 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI, nr.MD 1051

74. Lieutenant Swabey mentions Nivelles, while lieutenant Ingilby mentions Braine le Comte. For the 17th of June, Ingilby mentions the march through Nivelles, which would mean that the troop was on the west-side of Nivelles first.

Ingilby also confirms the arrival in the bivouac near Braine le Comte at dusk. Cf. his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

This is confirmed by the diary of captain Gardiner; he mentions a bivouac before Braine le Comte for Vivians brigade and his battery. In: RAI, nr.MD 1178

75. Letter of lieutenant Swabey of 24th June 1815. In: King's Hussars Museum.

⁷⁶ Cf. Sir Augustus Frazer. In: Sabine, E. (ed) - Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer p.535

⁷⁷ Cf. Journal of captain Ross. In: Ross, H.D. - Memoir of field-marshal sir H.D.Ross p.60
Account of gunner John Edwards, of captain Ross' battery. In: Laws, M.E.S. (ed.) - A Waterloo letter p.306

78. Mercer, C. - Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.238