

## **The situation at the French left wing after the battle at Quatre Bras.**

As Ney's forces had pulled back near Frasnes, they established bivouacs but here it soon became clear that provisions were lacking. As a result, men started to plunder.<sup>1</sup>

It was also here that, at 10 p.m., general Kellermann wrote his report to Ney. It probably reached Ney between 10.30 and 11 p.m. and reads:

*Près Frasnes, le 16 Juin 1815, 10 heures du soir*

*Monsieur le Maréchal,*

*J'ai exécuté la charge que vous m'avez ordonné: j'ai rencontré l'infanterie ennemie placée dans un vallon au dessous de ses pièces. À l'instant, sans laisser aux troupes le temps de réfléchir, je me suis précipité, à la tête de l'escadron du 8e cuirassiers avec le général Guiton sur l'infanterie anglo-hanovrienne; malgré le feu le plus vif de front et de flanc, les deux lignes d'infanterie ont été culbutées, le plus grand désordre était dans la ligne ennemie que nous avons traversé deux à trois fois. Le succès le plus complet était assuré, avec les résultats que vous attendiez, si les lanciers nous eussent suivis, mais les cuirassiers, criblés de coups de fusil de tous les côtés, n'ont pu profiter de l'avantage qu'ils avaient obtenu par une des charges les plus résolues et les plus hardies, contre une infanterie qui ne se lasa point intimider et qui fit son feu avec le plus grand sang-froid, comme à l'exercice. Nous avons pris un drapeau du 69e, qui a été enlevé par les cuirassiers Vulgager et Nourain; la brigade ayant fait une perte énorme et ne se voyant pas soutenue, se retira dans le désordre ordinaire en pareille circonstance; mon cheval a été renversé de deux coups de feu et moi sous lui; ce n'est qu'avec peine que je suis parvenu à m'échapper. Le général Guiton, le colonel Garavaque ont été démontés, ainsi que nombre d'officiers et de cuirassiers. J'ai eu le genou et la jambe froissés, mais je n'en serais pas moins demain à cheval. La division Roussel est bivouaquée dans la plaine, près de Frasnes. La division L'Heritier n'a pas rejoint; je ne sais où lui adresser des ordres.*

*Je suis, avec respect, Le comte de Valmy<sup>2</sup>*

Apparently, the second brigade of the division of l'Heritier (the one of Picquet) had faced an enormous delay and was not to be found anywhere. The division of lieutenant general Roussel d'Hurbal was in the fields near Frasnes, and apparently was too late to be engaged in the action.

That evening Ney wrote to Soult:

*Frasnes, le 16 Juin 1815 10 heures du soir*

*Monsieur le maréchal,*

*L'attaque que j'ai dirigée contre les anglais dans la position de Quatre Bras a sûrement été de la plus grande vigueur; un mal-entendu de la part du comte d'Erlon m'a privé de l'espérance d'une belle victoire car au moment les 5e et 9e division du général Reille avaient tout culbuté le 1er corps a marché sur Saint Amand, pour appuyer la gauche de S.M., et ce qu'il y a de fatal, c'est que ce corps ayant retrogradé ensuite pour me rejoindre, n'a pu ainsi être utile à personne. La division du Prince Jérôme a donné avec une grande valeur. S.A.I. a été légèrement blessé. Il n'y a donc eu réellement d'engage que trois divisions d'infanterie et une brigade de cuirassiers et la cavalerie du général Piré. Le comte de Valmy a fait une belle charge. Tout le monde a fait son devoir excepté le 1er corps. L'ennemi a perdu beaucoup de monde; nous avons*

*pris du canon et un drapeau. Nous n'avons réellement perdu qu'environ deux mille hommes tués et quatre mille blessés. J'ai demandé les rapports des généraux comte Reille et d'Erlon et je les enverrai à Votre Excellence.*

*Agréez, Monsieur le Maréchal, l'assurance de ma haute considération,*

*Le maréchal Prince de la Moskowa,*

*Ney*<sup>3</sup>

### **Wellington's positions after the battle at Quatre Bras.**

In Picton's division, of Kempt's brigade, the 79<sup>th</sup> was in advance of the Namur-road and of its original position.<sup>4</sup> The 32<sup>nd</sup> moved to its right of where it had been fighting, now taking up a bivouac more towards the Brussels road.<sup>5</sup> Of the 28<sup>th</sup> no information is available. During the evening the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 95<sup>th</sup> regiment was relieved in the Bois de Censes by troops of Kielmansegge. By 11 p.m. the Riflemen went back in rear of the farm of Gémioncourt; they piled arms, the men lay down in their ranks, the officers on the inner flanks of their company in a position to take up arms in a battle formation should the alarm be raised.<sup>6</sup>

Of Pack's brigade, the 1st Royals took back from its position, but where it stood is not known.<sup>7</sup> The 92<sup>nd</sup> was immediately north of Quatre Bras; near Quatre Bras, in rear of the Namur road, also were the 42<sup>nd</sup> and 44<sup>th</sup>. Von Rettberg's battery spent the night on the position it had during the later stage of the action.<sup>8</sup> The same may have applied to Roger's battery. Lieutenant general Picton himself spent the night near the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment Royals.<sup>9</sup> The battalions of Best's brigade had their bivouacs on the positions where they stood when the action closed; only the battalion of Verden was kept in square for the night.<sup>10</sup>

Of the Brunswick troops, the squadron of uhlans was in pickets to the right of the Bois de Bossu. The 1<sup>st</sup> light battalion was between the Bois de Bossu and the farm of Gémioncourt, south of the stream, while the Leib-battalion and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions of the line were in its right rear, in the low ground and up to the edge of the wood. The artillery, hussars, the advance guard battalion, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of light infantry plus the 1st battalion of the line were close to Quatre Bras, on both sides of the Brussels-road. At the moment the units took up their bivouacs, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of light infantry, two guns and a detachment of hussars were sent to reinforce the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of light infantry on the extreme left flank.<sup>11</sup>

Of Alten's division, Colin Halkett was ordered in the evening by Sir Edward Barnes to let his brigade remain where it was, and to employ it as he thought best. Resulting, he posted the main body of his brigade, covered by advance posts, in the hollow ground between the farm of Gémioncourt and the Bois de Bossu.<sup>12</sup> The 30<sup>th</sup> regiment was further left, in and around the farm of Gémioncourt.

In and around Piraumont, the Lüneburg and Grubenhagen battalions of the brigade of Kielmansegge were relieved by the battalion of Verden between 9 and 10 p.m. Piraumont itself was occupied by two companies of the battalion of Yorck and the remainder of this battalion was west of it. The battalion of Bremen took a position about 1000 paces in front of its former position on the height just north of the stream of Etang Materne and north-west of Piraumont, next to the battalion of Yorck (to its left), and near the French line. The third company of the battalion of Bremen (led by captain Von Ehlern) was placed in picket about 180 paces to the front. Both companies of Feldjäger came in position to the right of the Bremen battalion, towards Gémioncourt. Around 11 p.m. two guns led by a lieutenant Müller [battery Cleeves ?] attached themselves temporarily to the battalion of Bremen but this detachment went to another position around midnight.<sup>13</sup> Cleeves' battery was

still in its position in the centre of the line where it had stood. <sup>14</sup> Lloyd's battery was that evening in a position near Quatre Bras where it had fallen back to before (see above). Of Cooke's division the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards was in the southern part of the Bois de Bossu (having pickets thrown out) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion was on the road to Nivelles. <sup>15</sup> Byng's brigade had its light companies in outposts south of the wood, while the brigade itself was in its former position north of the Bois de Bossu. <sup>16</sup> Where Kuhlmann's battery had its bivouac is not clear; maybe it joined the division, or it may have (partly) bivouaced in the front-line.

Of Saxon Weimar brigade the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion Orange-Nassau as well as the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion Nassau were in column north of the Bois de Bossu, near the road leading towards Nivelles. <sup>17</sup> The remainder of this brigade, as well as the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion national militia of Van Bylandt's brigade were in two lines north of the same wood, in rear of the road leading to Nivelles. The 7<sup>th</sup> battalion line infantry was on the road, near the farm of Quatre Bras itself. <sup>18</sup> In rear of the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia were the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia. Of the last battalion, four companies were initially on the road between Hautain le Val and Quatre Bras, but closer to Quatre Bras. Both remaining companies probably were near the Bois de Bossu. Later, colonel De Jongh, commander of the 8th battalion of national militia, having spoken with lieutenant general De Perponcher at Quatre Bras, moved these four companies more towards Quatre Bras and placed them with platoons in column to the left of the Brunswick troops. This gave them probably a position east or south-east of Quatre Bras. <sup>19</sup> After the order of the prince of Orange the 27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs had returned to Nivelles to recollect and replenish its weapons and ammunition and it was there that it spent the night. <sup>20</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> company spent the night in the bivouac of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia. <sup>21</sup> While the section of Winssinger was with the 2<sup>nd</sup> brigade, both batteries of Stevenart and Bijleveld had their bivouacs north of Quatre Bras. <sup>22</sup> The brigade of Van Merlen bivouaced north Quatre Bras.

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1st regiment of Nassau arrived around 8 p.m. just about the time the Anglo-Netherlands-German troops took the offensive. Both battalions advanced in close columns of divisions and with "vorgezogenen Teten" to the right of the Brussels road. The 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion arrived around 9.30 p.m., after the action. <sup>23</sup> It took up a position near Quatre Bras, to the right of the Brussels road. <sup>24</sup>

### **Wellington's headquarters.**

At about 9 p.m. Wellington left the battlefield to establish his headquarters at Genappe, in the inn called the Roi d'Espagne. <sup>25</sup> From here he wrote some orders. The one for Picton reads:

*The troops to continue on the same ground as they occupied at the close of the action this day placing piquets in their front.*

*De Lancey QMG to Lt. Thomas Picton* <sup>26</sup>

And to the prince of Orange he wrote, again through De Lancey:

*Immediate for H.R.H. General the Prince of Orange*

*Genappe, June 16 1815*

*The troops to continue on the same ground as they occupied at the close of the action this day, placing picquets in their front and communicating to their right and left. The 1st brigade and 2nd*

*brigade of Guards to bivouac in rear of 4 Bras having their light companies in their front. The Brunswick battalions and Nassau troops to occupy the wood on the right of the position and placing picquets round the wood and communicating with the cavalry on their right.*

*Wm.de Lancey QMG General*

*H.R.H. the Prince of Orange is requested to communicate this order to the Brunswick and the Nassau troops.*

*W.de Lancey*

General Hill got the following instruction:

*Genappe, 16th June 1815*

*To General Lord Hill, G.C.B.*

*The 2nd division of infantry to move tomorrow morning at daybreak from Nivelles to Quatre Bras. The 4th division of infantry to move at daybreak tomorrow to Nivelles.*

*W.de Lancey*<sup>27</sup>

That night the division of Clinton was at Nivelles. Of Colville's division the brigades of Johnstone and Lyon were probably at Braine le Comte and Mitchell's at Nivelles.

And to the reserve artillery the following order was issued:

*16th June 1815*

*The reserve artillery to move at daybreak tomorrow morning, the 17th, to Quatre Bras, where it will receive further orders.*<sup>28</sup>

*W.De Lancey*

Major general Sir Lambert got the order which reads:

*To major general Sir J.Lambert, K.C.B.*

*16th June 1815*

*The brigade of infantry, under the command of Major General Sir.J.Lambert, to march from Assche at daybreak tomorrow morning, the 17th ins. , to Genappe, on the Namur road, and to remain there until further orders.*

*W.De Lancey*<sup>29</sup>

Lambert's brigade of the division of Cole was at Assche. It was 11 p.m. that major general Von Vincke, near Genappe at that time, got the instruction to halt his brigade and to proceed at dawn to Quatre Bras.<sup>30</sup>

It was between 11 p.m. and midnight that Wellington went to sleep.<sup>31</sup> Other staff members who spent the night at Genappe were Sir Augustus Frazer (commander of the Royal Horse Artillery), lieutenant colonel Sir J.May (of the staff of the artillery, lieutenant colonel Sir A.Dickson (commander of the train) and lieutenant colonel Hartmann (commander of the KGL artillery).<sup>32</sup> Around 10 p.m. both the prince of Orange and Constant Rebeque returned to the headquarters of the

1<sup>st</sup> army corps at Nivelles, where they ate together. <sup>33</sup> Constant Rebecque had his quarters in a house owned by a Mme. Robin. The moment he learned that the equipment of the headquarters were still at Braine le Comte he ordered it to be brought to Nivelles. <sup>34-35</sup> At Nivelles the prince of Orange wrote a report to his father at 2 a.m. of the 17<sup>th</sup> of June. It reads:

*Quartier-général de Nivelles. 17 Juin 1815, à 2 heures du matin*

*Le 15, de grand matin, l'armée Prussienne a été attaquée dans sa position. Par suite de cette attaque elle s'est retiré par Charleroi et Gosselies jusque dans les environs de Fleurus. Aussitôt que je fus instruit de la marche de l'ennemi, j'ordonnai les dispositions nécessaires au corps d'armée sous mes ordres. Ce qui s'était passé à l'armée Prussienne fut cause que le 15, à 5 heures du soir, le bataillon Orange-Nassau, qui occupait le village de Frasnes avec une batterie d'artillerie volante, y fut attaqué. Ces troupes restèrent dans leur position sur les hauteurs de ce village, non loin du chemin croisé des Quatre Bras. A 8 heures l'escarmouche cessa sur ce point. Aussitôt que je reçus le rapport de cette action, je donnai l'ordre à la 3e division, ainsi qu'à la cavalerie, et à 2 divisions Anglaises, de marcher sur Nivelles. Je chargeai la 2e division de conserver la position de Quatre Bras. Il n'y eut qu'une partie de la 2e division qui put s'y rendre sur le champ, la brigade commandée par le général-major Van Bijlandt ne pouvant s'éloigner de Nivelles que lorsqu'on se fut assuré de l'arrivée des autres divisions dans cette ville. Le feu des tirailleurs commença sur ce point hier à 5 heures du matin et la fusillade continua des deux cotés, jusqu'à midi, sans aucun résultat. Environ sur les 2 heures l'attaque devint plus sérieuse, principalement de la cavalerie et de l'artillerie. La brigade de cavalerie légère, sous les ordres du général-major Van Merle, ne pouvant arriver vers 4 heures, je n'eus jusqu'à ce moment aucune cavalerie à opposer à l'ennemi. Convaincu de la haute importance dont était la conservation de la position sur les hauteurs devant le carrefour de la chaussée dite les Quatre Bras, j'eus le bonheur de m'y maintenir contre un ennemi qui était, sous tous les rapports, et sans aucune comparaison, très supérieure en nombre. Ayant été attaqué par les deux corps d'armée des généraux d'Erlon et Reille, et ayant réussi à les tenir en échec, le Duc de Wellington eut assez de temps pour réunir une force suffisante pour déjouer les projets de l'ennemi. Cette attaque a eu pour résultat, après un combat vigoureux, qui dura jusqu'à 9 heures du soir, non seulement l'avantage d'arrêter l'ennemi, mais encore celui de le repousser jusqu'à une certaine distance. L'armée Prussienne, qui fut également attaquée hier, a conservé sa principale position; et il est hors de doute que Napoléon, avec des forces considérables, n'ait dirigé l'attaque sur toute la ligne. Nos troupes ont bivouqué sur le champ de bataille, où je vais me rendre de suite; car il est très apparent que Napoleon cherchera de nouveau à exécuter les desseins qu'il avait formés hier. Le Duc de Wellington a fait rassembler sur ce point toutes les troupes disponibles. C'est avec la plus grande satisfaction que je puis assurer V.M. que ses troupes ont combattu avec beaucoup de bravoure, particulièrement l'infanterie et l'artillerie. Les circonstances n'ont point encore permis que l'état des différents corps qui constate les pertes que nous avons éprouvés me soit parvenu. J'aurai l'honneur de le mettre sous les yeux de V.M. aussitôt qu'il sera possible.*

*Guillaume, Prince d'Orange* <sup>36</sup>

It was only around 6.30 a.m. that the report was brought to Brussels by lieutenant colonel Wauthier. It formed the basis of the bulletin written out by baron van der Capellen dated 10 a.m. <sup>37</sup> Adjutant general Van der Wijck returned to Nivelles that night too. He had arrived at Quatre Bras during the morning, but it was during the action that one of his horses legs had got wounded. Major Hulst was sent out looking for his others horses but this was in vain. Meanwhile, Van der Wijck went to Hautain le Val on foot and had taken over another horse. Once he had returned to Quatre Bras, he learned that his others horses had been sent back towards Genappe. Van der Wijck tried to

find them there, but this was also in vain. He returned to the field when the action was all over and then left for Nivelles.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Anglo-Netherlands-German troops which arrived at Quatre Bras during the night of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June.**

Numerous units of Wellington's army arrived after the battle. The brigade of Von Ompteda of Alten's division had been relieved during the evening at Arquennes by Detmers brigade of Chassés 3rd Netherlands division. The brigade left Nivelles around 9 p.m.<sup>39</sup>

Almost all units of the cavalry which arrived that night at Quatre Bras took up their positions there in columns of squadrons.<sup>40</sup>

The first regiment to arrive at Quatre Bras was the 11<sup>th</sup> light dragoons of the brigade Vandeleur. It reached Quatre Bras towards 8.30 p.m. The regiment was too late to be involved in the action, but one squadron, under captain Schreiber, was sent out as a picket. The remaining squadrons of the regiment were assigned a position to the left of the Brussels road, in rear of Quatre Bras.<sup>41</sup>

Ponsonby's brigade also arrived just at the moment the action came to an end; it got its position immediately behind Quatre Bras, with the horses in column and the men close at hand.<sup>42</sup>

The brigade of Von Dörnberg, the 23<sup>rd</sup> regiment of light dragoons in particular, also did arrive at the crossroads soon after the action was over. Around 10 p.m. it established itself west of the Bois de Bossu and south of the road to Namur. Not long after, a reconnaissance was sent out along the edge of the wood to the south. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of light dragoons were in their immediate rear and the whole regiment spent the night in this position under cover of a strong picket led by lieutenant Banner.<sup>43</sup>

The moment the Household brigade of Somerset approached the field of action, it took up a position along the road, per regiment in closed column. After an hour however the brigade moved to another position between Genappe and the farm of Quatre Bras, to the east of the Brussels road. In the bivouac, the horses weren't unsaddled in case of alarm.<sup>44</sup>

Not long after the action, the 10<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> hussars of Vivian's brigade also arrived at the scene.<sup>45</sup>

Both regiments approached Quatre Bras in a gallop in half squadrons and took their bivouac west of the crossroads, in rear of the Bois de Bossu.<sup>46</sup> The squadron led by major Howard of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars was on duty for pickets that night in the vicinity of the farm of Gémioncourt.<sup>47</sup>

Another picket, at the road to Namur opposite the Bois Delhütte was furnished by the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars.<sup>48</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of KGL hussars arrived at Quatre Bras on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June.

Of Grant's brigade the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars reached Quatre Bras by 10.30 p.m.<sup>49</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> light dragoons, attached to the same brigade, arrived at Quatre Bras at 10 p.m. and took its bivouac in a cornfield, but where is unknown.<sup>50</sup> The 15<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars had left Nivelles at 11 p.m. and reached Quatre Bras by 2 a.m. on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June.<sup>51</sup> The regiment got a position in open column just next to the brigade of Vivian and was under arms for the whole night.<sup>52</sup> The right squadron was that night on duty as a picket at Hautain-le-Val.<sup>53</sup>

Though the times of arrival are only estimates from different eye-witnesses, the sequence in which the different brigades arrived might have been: Vandeleur, Ponsonby, Von Dörnberg, Vivian, Somerset, Grant (13<sup>th</sup> light dragoons first, 7<sup>th</sup> hussars and – much later – the 15<sup>th</sup> hussars). Both brigades of Von Arentschildt and Von Estorff didn't reach Quatre Bras at all, as they were not ordered there.

Of the Royal Horse Artillery, the battery of Webber Smith reached Quatre Bras only on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June. No details are available about the battery of Bull, nor the one of Whinyates. Captain Gardiner reached that night with his battery a point somewhere between Braine le Comte and Nivelles. After making a short halt, he resumed his march at 11 p.m. to reach the crossroads at about 5 a.m. (<sup>54</sup>) on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June.<sup>55</sup>

Shortly after the action, captain Ramsay arrived at Quatre Bras with his guns but where they came into position is not known.<sup>56</sup> Captain Mercer approached Quatre Bras at dusk over the Namur road. Mercer gave his men a bivouac north east of the crossroads, in rear of the farm.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Notes of Captain Bourdon de Vatry, aide de camp of Jérôme Bonaparte. In: Mémoires de Grouchy Vol.IV p.103

<sup>2</sup> Original in: SHD. C15, nr.5

Kellermann clearly polishes events here as he certainly did not run down both lines of infantry. Further, he claims the brigade crossed the Anglo-Netherlands-German lines twice or three times, but there is no further proof for this assertion at all. In general, the report is contradictory: by starting to give the idea that the charge was an overall success (which it clearly wasn't) and that the enemy was in disorder, he ends by stating that he couldn't win due to the lack of support of Piré and the strong tenacity of the Anglo-Netherlands-German squares.

<sup>3</sup> Fascimilé of original, in: Pollio, A. - Waterloo 1815 p.248

He took it from the collection of the grand-grandson of Ney.

Cf. copy in: SHD. C15, nr.5

Houssaye, H. - 1815 Waterloo p.224

Lachouque, H. - Le secret de Waterloo p.153-154.

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant Forbes. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

<sup>5</sup> Major Calvert (32<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL. Add.ms.34.706. p.256-258

He adds Germans took up their ground when they left it; these may have been men of Kielmansegge's brigade.

Captain Ross-Lewin says the brigade was more advanced as in the morning. In: With the 32nd etc. p.260

<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Kincaid (1<sup>st</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: Adventures etc. p.321-322

Caldwell, G. & R.Cooper - Rifle green etc. p.41

Captain Leach (1<sup>st</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: Rough sketches etc.p.377

<sup>7</sup> Captain Macdonald (1<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

<sup>8</sup> Lieutenant Heise (Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

<sup>9</sup> Captain Macdonald (1<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

<sup>10</sup> Report of major general Best. In: NHA.Des.41<sup>E</sup> XXI k, nr.3

<sup>11</sup> Wachholtz, F.von - Geschichte des herzoglich etc. p.32

Colonel Von Herzberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

<sup>12</sup> Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

Lieutenant Pratt (33rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

<sup>13</sup> Lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.206

Major Müller, Beschreibung des Antheils etc. In: NHA, Des 41.E XXI k nr.2

Captain Von Scriba Bericht des Hannoverschen etc. In: NHA, Des.41 E XXI k nr.2

Scriba, C.von - Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.83

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Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4

Bericht über etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

<sup>14</sup> Captain Von Rettberg in: Darstellung über den Antheil etc. In: NHA, Des.,41 E.XXI k, nr.2

Also see lieutenant Heise (battery Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

Captain Cleeves. In: VPH-LBA, nr.15

<sup>15</sup> Captain Powell (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

According to Constant Rebecque the whole division was in the wood. Cf. his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

<sup>16</sup> Ensign Standen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion, 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.328-334

Ensign Short (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion Coldstream Guards) In a letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: NAM, nr.7702-5

Private Clay (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion / 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). In his recollections etc. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk)  
Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

<sup>17</sup> Captain Wirths. In: Aus der Schlacht bei Waterloo. In: Nassovia, 1905 p.144

Captain Frensdorf (commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion Nassau). He adds that the two companies of his battalion (the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup>) which had retreated west of the Bois de Bossu earlier that day, pulled to the remainder of the battalion that evening, near Quatre Bras. Cf. his account dated 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1815. In private collection

However, two other sources situate the Nassau regiment of the brigade of Saxen Weimar in the southern edge of the Bois de Bossu. Cf. major general Von Kruse in: Bericht des Generals etc. Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, VII Nassau, Kriegsdepartement Nr. 532 and colonel Sattler, in: Notizen über die Campagne von 1815 etc. Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, VIII Nassau, Kriegsdepartement nr.532  
Prince Bernard van Saxen Weimar himself confirms his whole brigade bivouaced in rear of the Bois de Bossu, i.e. towards Hautain-le-Val. Cf. his diary. In: THW, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A XXIV 30

For their units this is confirmed by captain Wirths (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion Nassau). In: Nassovia, 1905 p.144

And: Leonhard, J.P. (1<sup>st</sup> battalion Nassau). In private collection.

According to captain Büsgen (1<sup>st</sup> battalion Nassau) this was its initial position; in the evening it moved to the Nivelles road, with the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion Orange Nassau. In: VPH-LBA, nr.75.

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijevelt states the 1st battalion of Orange Nassau and the regiment Nassau were in rear of the wood in columns, while the remainder of the 2nd brigade was in two lines, having the British units to the right and the Brunswick ones to their left. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.321

<sup>18</sup> Colonel Scheltens - Souvenirs d'un grognard Belge p.199

<sup>19</sup> Papers of colonel De Jongh. In: De Militaire Spectator, 1866

Lieutenant Pronk claims the battalion spent the night near Genappe. Cf. his diary. In: The family-prospectus "Pronkstukken"

<sup>20</sup> Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.321

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

<sup>21</sup> Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

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<sup>22</sup> Major Van Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

<sup>23</sup> Auszug aus dem Tagebuch etc. In: KA. Sekt. II, Kap.XII, nr.3663

Houssaye claims these units arrived earlier that evening (between 6 and 7 p.m.) and took part in the battle. In: 1815. Waterloo p.217

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Von Gagern, lieutenant. In a letter to his mother dated 26<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: Ein Unbekannter Brief etc. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter 1956 heft 1 p.18

Auszug aus dem Tagebuch etc. In: KA Sekt. II, Kap.XII, nr.3663

<sup>25</sup> Cf. FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

Captain De Ceva, sent on a mission on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June to the prince of Orange by baron Tindal reported back to Tindal on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June that he found Wellington's headquarters at Genappe at 9.30 p.m. and which had just been established there. He had left from Brussels at 7.15 p.m. and had reached Genappe at 9.30 p.m. Cf. his report to Tindal. In: NA, 2.02.01 nr.6585

<sup>26</sup> In: KHA nr.A40 XIII 10

<sup>27</sup> In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.4

WD Vol.XII p.475

The specimen in the KHA states "to the village of "4 Bras" in stead of "to Quatre Bras".

Von Pflugk Harttung erroneously thinks that this order, as well as the one for Lambert and the one for the reserve artillery were written during the morning, the moment Wellington passed through Genappe. In: Vorgeschichte etc. p.123

<sup>28</sup> In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.4

<sup>29</sup> In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.4

WD Vol.XII p.475

<sup>30</sup> Major general Von Vincke. In: NHA. Des.41 E. XXI k nr.2

<sup>31</sup> Cf. FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

<sup>32</sup> Cf.Sabine, E. - Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer p.541

At 11 p.m., count Vincent left headquarters for Brussels. Cf. letter of count Vincent dated 17<sup>th</sup> of June, written at Brussels for Schwarzenberg. Vincent left the Duke on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June by 11 p.m. Both letters are now in the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna, but have been published by J.von Pflugk Harttung In: Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Feldzuges 1815. Jahrbücher für die Deutsche Armee und Marine Berlin 1906 p. 510-512

<sup>33</sup> Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Members of the staff of the artillery like captain Osten and major De la Sarraz returned to general Gunkel at Nivelles around midnight. Cf.letter of captain Osten. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

<sup>34</sup> Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

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<sup>35</sup> Major Van Gorkum, who was supposed to remain at the army headquarters at Braine le Comte and to take measures during the day in case he would not get any instructions to do so, however, claims that he got himself at Quatre Bras by 6 p.m. and that he rode to Nivelles after the battle at Quatre Bras had ended (possibly around 10 p.m.) to find both the prince of Orange and Constant Rebecque, but that he didn't find either of them.

Resulting, he sent a sergeant of the guides to Braine le Comte to move headquarters to Nivelles after all. So, in his view the headquarters would have been without any instructions during most of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June and that it only moved towards Nivelles during the night of that day. Cf. his memoirs.

<sup>36</sup> WSD, Vol.X p. 497

In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.432

In the catalogue of the KHA there is a note that the original has never been found. In the same archive there is a copy in Dutch (nr.A40 VIA.10). This version has a short post-scriptum which reads:

*P.S. Nog heden zal ik de eere hebben aan Uwe Majesteit rapport te doen van het geene bij de armée zal voorvallen.*

The same type of copy can be found in the National Archives, The Hague (nr.2.02.01 nr.6585)

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the bulletin of baron Van der Capellen of the 17th of June, at 10 a.m. In: Aerts, W. & Fleischman, Th. - Bruxelles pendant etc. p.143-144

<sup>38</sup> Account of Van der Wijck. In: NA. nr.2.13.13.01 inv.4

The impression prevails that Van der Wijck tried to avoid the battle at Quatre Bras, while looking for his horse, while a lot of unmanned horses were around at the field of action.

<sup>39</sup> Captain Wheatly (5<sup>th</sup> battalion of the line KGL). In: The Wheatly diary p.60

<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant Bacon (10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars) In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166

According to captain Wildman (7<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars), aide de camp of Lord Uxbridge, the cavalry arrived around 10 p.m. Cf. letter to his mother dated 19th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

<sup>41</sup> Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.5-10

Captain Schreiber (11<sup>th</sup> light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.145-146

Captain Tomkinson (16<sup>th</sup> light dragoons). In: Diary of a cavalry officer p.281

Captain Wildman, in a letter to his mother of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

Lieutenant Hay (12<sup>th</sup> light dragoons). In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.165

Private George Farmer (11<sup>th</sup> light dragoons). In: Gleig, G.R. The light dragoon p.149

Surgeon J.Gordon Smith (12<sup>th</sup> light dragoons). In: The english army in France etc. p.109

<sup>42</sup> Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals Dragoons).In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.3-5

Memorandum relative to the Inniskilling Dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.11-15

Atkinson - History of the Royal Dragoons p.301

Major Clarke (Scots Greys) mentions a position from 11 p.m. onwards at Beuge, but it's been impossible to trace this place. Cf. his letter of major Clarke to Sir J.Stewart of the 11<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal, 1926 Vol.16 p.76

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Captain Radclyffe (Royals) mentions a time of arrival at Quatre Bras of 10 p.m.. Cf. his letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6310-36 and in: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon archives nr. 413/382

According to corporal Stevenson his regiment, the Scots Greys, didn't halt until 11.30 p.m. in a clover field near Genappe. Cf. his account in: NWMS, U3 box file one

<sup>43</sup> Lieutenant Banner (23<sup>rd</sup> regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.301-311  
Surgeon Detmer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of light dragoons claims his regiment reached Quatre Bras at 2 a.m. only. In: Schwertfeger, B. - Geschichte der Königlich Deutschen Legion 1803-1816 Vol.II p.235

<sup>44</sup> Sergeant major Page (King's Dragoon Guards). Letter cited by M.Mann. In: And they rode on p.16

Also see captain Naylor – diary. In: Regimental Museum 1<sup>st</sup> Queen's Dragoon Guards  
Captain Elton (King's Dragoon Guards) states his regiment reached the frontline by 11 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1815 in former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382

<sup>45</sup> The hussar Marshall claims it was 7 p.m. but this is too early. Cf. letter dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1815 in: United Service Journal,1831 Part I p.313  
According captain Gurwood of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars, the brigade reached Quatre Bras after Vandeleur's brigade. In: HL, WP 8.3.13

<sup>46</sup> Captain Taylor (10<sup>th</sup> hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and in his letter to mr.Brownrigg, dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: collection A.Lagden.  
Also see his diary. In: Carew, P. - Combat and carnaval p.30

Lieutenant colonel Bacon (10<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166

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

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

He incorrectly states the regiment took up a position near Tilly !

Lieutenant colonel Manners (10<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars) adds that the baggage of his regiment (led by lieutenant Slayter) arrived at Quatre Bras around 2 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108

<sup>47</sup> Major general Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.50-57

Captain Taylor (10<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

Lieutenant colonel R.Manners (10<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34703 p.103-108

<sup>48</sup> Major general Vivian. In: BL, Add.mds.34.707 p.50-57

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

Lieutenant Duperier mentions some skirmishing with the French cavalry. Cf. his letter to mr.Hughes, dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: Hunt, E. Charging against Napoleon p.243

<sup>49</sup> Verner, W. Reminiscences of William Verner. In: Journal of the society for army historical research. 1965. Nr.8, p.40

Lieutenant J.E.Daniel claims it was by midnight. In: Journal of an officer in the commissariat department etc. p.385

<sup>50</sup> Lieutenant Wm.Turner's letter of 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1815 to a man called Busby. In: Barrett, C.R.B. - History of the XIII Hussars p.277

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Barrett himself claims the regiment to have reached Quatre Bras at 11 p.m. In: History of the XIIIth hussars p.272

<sup>51</sup> The adjudant diaries of the regiment period 6<sup>th</sup> May to 14<sup>th</sup> November 1815. In: NAM, nr. Nr.7207-22-1-14

Lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple says the regiment arrived at midnight. In: NAM, Nr.7207-22,14-21

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the two adjudant-diaries cited before over the period 6<sup>th</sup> May until 14<sup>th</sup> November 1815 In: NAM, Nr.7207-22-1-14

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

<sup>53</sup> Cf.lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple. In: NAM, nr.7207-22,14-21

Captain J.Thackwell (15<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars), diary. In: Wylly, H.C. - The military memoirs etc. p.69

<sup>54</sup> Captain Gardiner in his letter dated July 1815 to lieutenant general sir Th.Graham. In: NLS, MS 3615

<sup>55</sup> Captain Ingilby (battery Gardiner) WL, nr.706 p.465-467

Second captain Dyneley in his letter of 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI nr.MD 1051

<sup>56</sup> Lieutenant Sandilands (battery Ramsay). In: RAI, nr.MD 638.

Sandilands mentions a time of 9 p.m.

Cf. Mercer, C. - Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.260

<sup>57</sup> Mercer, C. - Journal of the Waterloo campaign Vol. I p.250-258