

Wellington's first pursuit.

By the time that the four battalions of chasseurs of the Imperial Guard were on their way to assault Wellington's forces, the sudden irruption of the 1<sup>st</sup> Prussian corps at the battlefield had yielded its full effect as the French right wing had started to disintegrate. By now it was 7.30 p.m.

This sudden and very serious situation prompted Napoleon to attempt to establish a dam across the battlefield between Gomont and Plancenoit behind which he now hoped to rally the remnants of his army which he had used against Wellington. As a result, he halted the two battalions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> regiments of grenadiers some 650 meters north of La Belle Alliance in the fields immediate west of the road, just on the high slope of the extension of the intermediate ridge. The third group of (by now three) battalions was posted by Napoleon in positions on the same extension, but at about 400 metres north of La Belle Alliance, obliquely to the road with the battalions next to each other. <sup>1</sup> Initially, both groups of battalions, as *brigades*, were formed in *ordre mixte*. <sup>2</sup>

The four battalions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> regiments of chasseurs fell back precipitately and in confusion upon the area where they had come from, the hollow of the farm of La Haye Sainte, in front of La Belle Alliance. In their rush they swept over the columns of the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment grenadiers and the one battalion of the 4<sup>th</sup> grenadiers. <sup>3</sup>

As they did so, the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment was drawn in a pursuit in a hurried pace (quick time) diagonally across the battlefield as well. <sup>4</sup> Its track was such that its left flank approached the southern end of the orchard of La Haye Sainte. Meanwhile, the other units of Adam's brigade followed to its right and left rear and gradually came up on its flanks. <sup>5</sup>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 95<sup>th</sup> regiment still formed a line between the 52<sup>nd</sup> and 71<sup>st</sup> regiment. The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 95<sup>th</sup> regiment only got into line with the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment the moment the left part of this regiment had almost reached the Brussels road. This was done more as a body of skirmishers as in a proper line; the reason was that part of the battalion had gone skirmishing while underway to the front. Further, the battalion had suffered from the French musketry fire from the farm of La Haye Sainte, which was at that time still in French hands. <sup>6</sup>

Due to the speed and the terrain the brigade lost some of its order and it was therefore that Adam re-arranged his ranks during a brief halt in the hollow of the farm of La Haye Sainte. In the 52<sup>nd</sup>, for instance, the two right hand companies (nr.1 and 2) were into some disorder and Colborne had them halt and close their ranks. <sup>7</sup>

In its halt, Adam's brigade got under French grape-fire from the right; this fire passed oblique along the left flank of the 71<sup>st</sup> regiment and in rear of the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment. It came from three French guns which stood (without any close support) on a height halfway between the orchards of La Haye Sainte and Gomont. To driven them off, lieutenant Gawler advanced with a section of the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment composed of about ten file and twenty extended skirmishers. <sup>8</sup> By that time, Wellington, accompanied by sir Colin Campbell, had joined the centre rear of the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment, encouraging the battalion to continue its advance. <sup>9</sup>

The French guns involved had been in action some 300 metres to the north-west of the squares of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment chasseurs, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment chasseurs and the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of grenadiers which stood steady and in perfect order on the extension of the intermediate ridge obliquely to the west of the Brussels road, covering a total front of about 250 metres. <sup>10</sup> On their right flank was a force which was composed of cuirassiers and to their left was one which consisted of a mix of cavalry in red, dragoons in green and lancers in white. <sup>11</sup>

While many French fugitives had been overtaken by the allied advance, many others were seeking refuge behind these forces and on the other side of the Brussels road. It was in the low

ground of La Haye Sainte that the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment brought its left shoulder forward, thereby bringing the brigade parallel to the French infantry and cavalry.<sup>12</sup> Witnessing this manoeuvre, the French squares now slowly started to yield without serious resistance.<sup>13</sup> In the process, the square on the right moved to the east of the Brussels road and from there moved back further south.<sup>14</sup> On crossing the chaussée, the cuirassiers there fronted as if to charge but as the British pressed their advance, they declined the contest.<sup>15</sup>

While the French battalions had Adam's brigade in their front, they also saw allied light cavalry intervene against their fellow horsemen further to their left front. This cavalry was the brigade of Sir Hussey Vivian and the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of KGL light dragoons.

Some time before, as he had seen the success of Adam's brigade, Wellington instructed Lord Uxbridge to advance with fresh cavalry.<sup>16</sup> As a result, lord Uxbridge sent his aide de camp Lord Greenock to Sir H.Vivian with the order to go to the right so as to emerge from the infantry line and then to bring his right shoulder forward.<sup>17</sup> Shortly after, lord Uxbridge was hit on his right knee by a shot of grape.<sup>18</sup> It happened right at the moment he was about to go to the brigade of Vivian in order to lead its advance; at that moment the brigade was on the brow of the height, ready to advance.<sup>19</sup> Lord Uxbridge was probably not far to the west of Brussels road, near the position of the battalion of Gifhorn (brigade Von Vincke).<sup>20</sup> Initially, Lord Uxbridge was supported by Lord Greenock, who had just lost his horse by grape shot and who was on foot (<sup>21</sup>) as well as by Sir C.Campbell,<sup>(22)</sup> but a few moments later he was carried to the rear on a blanket by captain Seymour and six privates of the Gifhorn battalion.<sup>23</sup>

Major general Vandeleur succeeded Lord Uxbridge as commander of the cavalry; colonel Sleigh (commander of the 11th regiment of light dragoons) did so for the brigade of Vandeleur.<sup>24</sup> Lord Uxbridge was brought to the rear over the Brussels road, as far as Waterloo, where it was decided to amputate his leg in the house Paris that same evening.<sup>25</sup>

In his advance to a position on the ridge Sir H.Vivian wheeled his brigade half a squadron to the right, which caused the 10th regiment of hussars to lead the way. The 18<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars immediately followed and the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of hussars was in the rear.<sup>26</sup>

In this way, the brigade moved along the front in rear of the infantry in column of half squadrons; the brigade probably halted at the end of the right flank of Maitland's brigade. Here, Vivian wheeled the half squadrons to the left, crossed the ridge and moved perpendicularly to the front towards the enemy.<sup>27</sup> With this movement the brigade passed the left flank and a small part of the front of the brigade of Vandeleur, who now cheered their to comrade hussars.<sup>28</sup>

During his advance, Vivian passed the guns of Bolton.<sup>29</sup> The smoke here was very thick.<sup>30</sup> Just at that moment members of Bolton's battery felt the need the fire with one of their guns on the retreating columns of the Guard, thereby severely hindering Vivian's men to advance.

It was the moment the centre squadron of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars would pass; captain Taylor was just able to hold his men. The right squadron had got into a similar situation; its first half had passed the gun when this one was fired, after which the first half squadron got into some disorder and the right squadron got split into two half-squadrons.<sup>31</sup> The second half squadron, led by lieutenant Bacon, was not delayed by this action, but by a grenade which exploded in front of it, shortly after it had passed the artillery. Bacon had the biggest trouble to follow the first half squadron as this had a high speed.<sup>32</sup>

The brigade descended the slope in a trot and in column, but it was during this move that the leading half squadron of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars wheeled to the right and not to the left. What may have caused this is not known, but Vivian himself violently intervened by riding to the flank of the second half squadron and ordering them to wheel to the left. Now, Vivian led the column down the slope in the right direction until the leading half squadron was in its proper

position again. Then, Vivian took up a position on its flank.<sup>33</sup> After the fall of Sir G. Quentin, lord Manners now led the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars. Lieutenant Arnold led the right squadron, captain Taylor the centre one and major Howard the one on the left.<sup>34</sup> At the bottom of the slope of the ridge, where the smoke had cleared, Sir H. Vivian halted his brigade for a short while.<sup>35</sup>

It was here that lieutenant Banner with his detachment of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of light dragoons (see above) joined lieutenant colonel Murray, the commander of the 18th regiment of hussars. Lieutenant Banner enquired whether he could attach his men to the hussars, but colonel Murray declined as he could not take the responsibility over the light dragoons and as he got the strict order not to take over any other duties. Yet, Banner decided to follow the 18th regiment of hussars, but whether the light dragoons participated in the actions is not clear.<sup>36</sup>

It was also in the low ground that Vivian had a short conversation with Sir Colin Campbell who would have been sent out by the duke to halt his brigade until the infantry had come up, unless he thought he could break the enemy's squares. At the same time, the 10th regiment of hussars was suffering from a severe fire of grape. Now, Vivian pointed out to Sir C. Campbell that as the infantry were probably not in compact order, it might be dangerous should the French cavalry attack them and that is why Vivian thought it wiser to drive off the latter and to leave the squares to be attacked by the infantry. To this, Campbell agreed and left.<sup>37</sup>

Vivian then immediately ordered his brigade to advance, aiming to have the 10th and 18th regiment of hussars form line on the leading half squadron and to attack the French position, while having the 1st regiment of German hussars in the second line. Vivian directed his brigade diagonally over the ground to a French position which was on the heights between Gomont and the Brussels road, northwest of La Belle Alliance, and which consisted of squares supported by artillery and cavalry, consisting of lancers, dragoons and cuirassiers.<sup>38</sup>

Before the formation of the brigade was completed the right squadron of the 10th was attacked by a squadron of cuirassiers and lost many men. Meanwhile, the men also suffered under the French grape and allied spherical case which came from the rear; Vivian now sent an officer to the rear to correct the mistake.<sup>39</sup> Vivian then directed the 10th regiment of hussars to the right – towards the French cavalry - by bringing its left shoulders forward, and by the high speed of front units, the other half squadrons of the 10th regiment of hussars did not succeed in getting into line in time; as a result the charge was carried out more in échelons of squadrons as in a line.<sup>40</sup>

At the same time as Vivian's brigade, but further to the right, the 2nd regiment of KGL light dragoons (brigade of Von Dörnberg) had advanced from the main position.<sup>41</sup> As Vivian's horsemen, the regiment had got the order to charge the French cavalry which was to the left front of the three battalions of the imperial guard which stood in the centre of the French position.<sup>42</sup> The regiment advanced in squadrons per platoon through the artillery and infantry, who cheered them the moment the horsemen passed through their ranks. After that, the intervals between the squadrons had got irregular, but were corrected as they advanced.<sup>43</sup> The distance the light dragoons had to cover towards the French position was rough and long; they also suffered from French gunfire.<sup>44</sup> The French cavalry stood behind a low ground and its front extended beyond the right flank of the dragoons. The moment they reached the French at about 50 paces, the second file of this cavalry fired their carbines, thereby inflicting some casualties.<sup>45</sup> The light dragoons, however, pushed through and were able to kill, harm or take some French horsemen prisoner.<sup>46</sup> Their success did not last long though. Soon, they were driven back by lancers in white, which in their turn were driven back by the right squadron of the 10th regiment of hussars of the brigade of Vivian.<sup>47</sup> As soon as the French engaged some dragoons as well, the centre squadron of the 10<sup>th</sup> hussars was committed and the whole broke and fled.<sup>48</sup> The French line started to fall back and the dragoons continued their pursuit, but meanwhile the

French cuirassiers on their right flank had changed their front and had turned inwards thereby threatening the German flank and rear. This caused the right wing to wheel back.<sup>49</sup> At that moment lieutenant colonel De Jonquières and lieutenant colonel Maydell got wounded, whereupon the command of the regiment devolved upon major Friedrichs. He managed to collect his men during the retreat and lead them to the front again.<sup>50</sup> This part of the regiment now rejoined the main body and it now got to the front in closed formation to the foot of the heights to the left, where Vivian was.

The detachment of lieutenant Banner had advanced in the immediate vicinity of Detmers' brigade. As Banner returned to the allied main position, Detmers's brigade continued his course in the direction of the farm of La Haye Sainte, to the left rear of the one of Adam which now stood immediately south of the orchard of La Haye Sainte.

As part of the enemy crossed to the other side of the highroad and as he had by now Vivian's light cavalry to his immediate right, Adam now decided to bring his brigade to the east of the road to continue his pursuit there and to leave the French on his front at the mercy of this cavalry. Pivoting on the 2<sup>nd</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> and the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment, Adam's brigade now brought its right shoulder forward and in this way the brigade crossed the highroad, which was cut hollow at least in front of the 52<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>51</sup>

It was just at this moment that the 18<sup>th</sup> hussars intervened by falling upon the French cavalry and guns on Adam's right near the Brussels road. The situation was that after Sir H. Vivian had led the actions of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars against the French cavalry and had this regiment halt to collect further to its left, he rode to the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars which had followed to the left rear of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment.<sup>52</sup> Attached to these hussars were the men of the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of Netherlands hussars.<sup>53</sup> Sir H. Vivian now diverted the 18<sup>th</sup> hussars further to the east, bringing the right shoulder forward; its commander, lieutenant colonel Murray, led the centre-squadron.<sup>54</sup> By doing so, it rode towards the Brussels road. Right at that moment a French column of horse artillery galloped from left to right along the front of the hussars and as a result they fell in their hands.<sup>55</sup> By now, the hussars had on their right flank a mass of French cavalry (cuirassiers and chasseurs à cheval) as well as artillery.<sup>56</sup> All these covered the right flank of the square (see above). The British hussars managed to drive off the French cavalry and artillery.<sup>57</sup> After that, by a sharp inclination to the right, the regiment now suddenly changed from an eastward to a more southward direction.<sup>58</sup>

Immediately after he had crossed the Brussels road, Adam swiftly now brought the left shoulder of his brigade forward, while pivoting upon on the road in front of La Belle Alliance. This brought the brigade in a position which was in an angle with the road, facing south.<sup>59</sup> In this situation it now resumed its advance in columns of companies along the road, thereby passing through the former French grand battery right in front of La Belle Alliance.<sup>60</sup>

In the process, the 52<sup>nd</sup> came in contact with a French column of infantry and artillery which moved back from the French right wing through the hollow road which comes from Smohain. As the distance had got that short, both units got mingled in a bayonet action, after which the French got taken prisoner. It was in this situation that members of the company of captain Reed - those led by lieutenant Torriano of the 71<sup>st</sup> regiment - turned one of the guns which was still loaded. It was then used by lieutenant Campbell, aide de camp of major general Adam, to fire on the fleeing French.<sup>61</sup>

After the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars had scattered the French cavalry and artillery, Sir H. Vivian rejoined the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars, which had again formed.<sup>62</sup> Of this regiment, at least the centre squadron in bringing up its right shoulders advanced and met the (French) left square

with some cavalry behind it and which opened a fire upon the hussars. These, in their turn, charged them and drove them off. This was at some distance north west of the crossroads where the 1st regiment of grenadiers was posted. <sup>63</sup>

Because of this action, the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars had got dispersed; Sir H. Vivian now collected a part of it, which had the strength of approximately one squadron. <sup>64</sup> It was major Howard who now led this unit towards the other remaining French square which was placed further to the left (the former centre one). It was the one of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of chasseurs, led by general Cambronne.

Not long before Howard charged, a battalion, dressed in red, came up from the left. It was the battalion of Osnabrück, from Hew Halkett's brigade, which was following the 71<sup>st</sup> regiment in its right rear. It was in this very act that lieutenant colonel Hew Halkett saw the chance, while moving along the right flank of the 71<sup>st</sup> regiment and in front of the French square to capture general Cambronne. <sup>65</sup> It was immediately after this that a communication took place between Howard's squadron and the commander of the Osnabrück battalion to stop firing, so not as to hit the hussars. <sup>66</sup> The hussars charged and reached its bayonets, despite the French fire. A confrontation ensued, in which major Howard fell. <sup>67</sup> Though the squadron was far too weak for the square, it kept pressing on by maintaining the fight and eventually the square moved back slowly until it dispersed in front of one of the squares of the 1st regiment of grenadiers; here it escaped through the hollow road in front of it which emerged here at the Brussels road. <sup>68</sup>

As soon as both imperial battalions were in rear of those of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of grenadiers, they were consumed by masses of fugitives and dispersed. By then it was between 8.30 and 9 p.m. <sup>69</sup>

By now, hussars of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> regiment were pursuing scattered French groups of all arms. As a result, the formation of both regiments had gone. The pursuit also slackened due to the presence of the two squares of battalions of the 1st regiment of grenadiers, which had a strong position on both sides of the Brussels road and in rear of the hollow road which crosses the Brussels road near Decoster's house. Because of its strong position it was dangerous for Vivian to charge it head on; therefore he decided to halt and form both regiments. In order to be able to do this, the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment had to make a short backward movement on its reserve. During this action it suffered quite considerably from Prussian gunfire. <sup>70</sup> Vivian now collected and formed both regiment west of the Brussels road near Trimotia and informed both commanders that the action was about to end. Having re-arranged both regiments, Sir H. Vivian then led them after a short while to the low ground which stretches from the southeast of Gomont to the south. In this, the brigade kept to its right. By now, it was dusk. <sup>71</sup>

During the advance of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars, the 1st KGL regiment of hussars was kept in reserve; in doing so, it was further to the rear [<sup>72</sup>] of the 18th regiment of hussars. <sup>73</sup>

At least part of the advance of the 1st regiment of hussars was carried out with the 1st and 2nd squadron (led by colonel Von Wissell and major Gruben respectively) in front, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> squadron as a support further to the rear. During its march, the regiment would have taken a lot of prisoners. <sup>74</sup> There are indications that the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment - as the other regiments did - moved into the low ground southeast of Gomont. <sup>75</sup>

As Vivian's brigade moved to the right to emerge from the position, captain Gardiner moved his battery forward. At the time the brigade crossed the Ohain-road, the battery advanced up to this road and fired some shots at the enemy who was retreating. <sup>76</sup> From then on, the battery acted independently from Vivian's brigade. After a short time, the battery advanced and held a south west direction through the field but which was very hard to cross due to the presence of numerous dead and wounded. Now and then it halted to fire until dusk came.

Why the battery got further to the right is not clear, but eventually it joined the 10<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars when they were in front of one of the squares of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of

grenadiers. From that moment on, Gardiner kept on pursuing the enemy as far as the vicinity of the observatory in the Bois de Callois.<sup>77</sup>



View of the battlefield from a position near the former Bois de Callois.

The brigade of Vandeleur may have gone forward before the general advance took place as it got near Vivian's brigade, supported and then passed him.

Vandeleur's brigade also advanced in a column of half squadrons, left in front.<sup>78</sup> During its advance it passed Gomont to its left and met broken French infantry and cavalry.<sup>79</sup> The brigade continued to the low ground immediately south-east of Gomont. By entering it, the brigade approached the track which leads from the Brussels road to the Nivelles-road.<sup>80</sup> In rear of this road was a French column of infantry which was covered in front by three companies which lined the hedges of the road. It was the sole French infantry-unit which Vandeleur met which was still in good order.<sup>81</sup> The infantry involved was most probably the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of grenadiers of the Imperial Guard.

The moment the light dragoons approached the French, they formed square.<sup>82</sup> Meanwhile, the light dragoons had formed a line. In what sequence the regiments charged is not clear, but the 11<sup>th</sup> regiment may have been to the right, the 12<sup>th</sup> regiment to the left and the 16<sup>th</sup> regiment in the centre.<sup>83</sup> Of these regiments, only the 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> were involved in the action against the enemy. The moment the men started their charge, the French three companies in front fired. This volley didn't prevent the light dragoons, however, from continuing their charge and then the companies fell back to the square. By now, the light dragoons also charged the square which was cut in pieces; parts of it lay to the ground, while others ran away and were pursued; others were taken prisoner.<sup>84</sup> It may have been right at that moment that the 11<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons took a French battery, which had just fired a round at the brigade. It may have been a battery of the division of Foy or Jérôme.<sup>85</sup>

It was probably at the moment Sir H. Vivian was about to enter the low ground south east of

Gomont with his three regiments (the 1st in front), that the dragoons of Vandeleur passed the hussars to their right and remained in front after their action against the French infantry.<sup>86</sup> Sir H. Vivian had also asked major general Vandeleur to manoeuvre to support his right flank.<sup>87</sup> The light dragoons continued their advance and pursuit towards the field between the Brussels-road and the Bois de Callois.<sup>88</sup> At this stretch –it was now dark - (<sup>89</sup>), an incident took place with the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of KGL hussars. During a retrograde movement of Vandeleur brigade (<sup>90</sup>), or a part of it (<sup>91</sup>), these dragoons bumped into the hussars which advanced in front of Vivian's brigade. The light dragoons almost charged the hussars, but the error was soon cleared.<sup>92</sup>

The total clearance of the complex of Gomont from the French was a case of cooperation of the remnants of the British, Nassau and Hanoverian forces, now supported by Brunswick units which joined in. They were the Brunswick Leib-battalion (to the left), the 1<sup>st</sup> light battalion (to the right) and some skirmishers (in the centre), as they advanced in line from their positions in rear of Gomont. The advance guard battalion joined in again as well.<sup>93-94</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Prussian corps floods the battlefield.

As has been shown before, after he had been driven from Smohain and its immediate vicinity, Durutte had posted the remains of his 95<sup>th</sup> regiment in a position on the heights, leaning with his right on Lobau's corps and with his left on Marcognet's division, so as to stem the tide. He was able to do so for some time, but while on the one hand the Prussian pressure was growing upon his front and right flank, in his far left rear the battalions of the Imperial Guards were driven back by Wellington's forces, taking with them parts of the army on the other.<sup>95</sup> This combination was one of the reasons for Durutte to lead the regiment, which by this time still counted some 700 to 800 men, towards the high road near La Haye sainte. It was here that he saw from a distance masses of soldiers streaming back in confusion.<sup>96</sup> Durutte's retreat, however, caused the neighbouring units of Lobau and Marcognet to fall back too, as they now feared to be taken in their rear as well.<sup>97</sup> This very combination meant the collapse of the French extreme right flank which now permitted the Prussian cavalry of Von Röder, the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of Brandenburg dragoons and the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment Brandenburg uhlans in front, to push the French further back upon their left, i.e. the heart of the general French frontline.<sup>98</sup>

The dragoons were about to charge the French guns which were established on the intermediate ridge, but these yielded before a confrontation was engaged. It allowed Zieten's guns to fire upon the fleeing French hordes.<sup>99</sup> Initially, the Prussian horsemen were able to penetrate into the masses of French fugitives, but soon their speed slackened due to their enormous numbers.

Meanwhile, as Durutte arrived with the 95<sup>th</sup> regiment at the main road immediately south of La Haye sainte, he attempted to rally the 85<sup>th</sup> and the brigade of Pégot upon the 95<sup>th</sup> regiment. It proved futile. From fear of being turned, Durutte now decided to fall back slowly with the 95<sup>th</sup>. As he went ahead of it in order to find a proper place to pass a low ground and went back, the regiment had gone. It was after the collapse of the attack of the imperial guard that Ney had gone back towards the centre of the army. From there he made an attempt, in cooperation with general Schmitz and some officers of the 13<sup>th</sup> regiment of light infantry, to collect the brigade of general Schmitz around La Haye Sainte.<sup>100</sup> Apparently having failed, Ney now made another attempt, in Durutte's absence, with the remains of the 95<sup>th</sup> regiment to stop the torrent by forming the regiment along the Brussels road, but but shortly after it was run over and swept back by masses of fugitives coming from the French left wing. As Durutte himself fell back in the *mêlée* he was carried along and got wounded by sabre-cuts.

Wellington's general advance.

By the time Wellington witnessed the advance of the brigades of Adam and Vivian, as well as being aware of the 1<sup>st</sup> Prussian corps pouring in upon the battlefield upon his extreme left flank, Wellington decided to advance with his whole army to finish off with Napoleon on his front.<sup>102</sup> At that time it was around 8.15 p.m. After Wellington had ordered a general advance (<sup>103</sup>), it started from the centre of the line and from there spread out to the right and left wing.<sup>104</sup> By then, it was about 8.30 p.m.<sup>105</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Prussian corps. The left wing. The third attack on Plancenoit.<sup>106</sup>

Meanwhile, on the Prussian front, before the actual third attack began, an attempt to take the village was made by the battalions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr (14<sup>th</sup> brigade).

The 1<sup>st</sup> battalion advanced to the left, the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion in the centre and the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion to the right into the village. The Prussian skirmishers clashed on the French, but yielded soon after and fell back to the closed columns of the battalions. Now, these approached the village. While the fusilier battalion suffered while trying to get to the churchyard, the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion only slowly advanced on the marshy grounds south of the village. The Prussians seem to have pressed on, but at some point of time the French counterattacked from some houses and a hollow road while at the same time they tried to turn the Prussians on their right flank. As a result, both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> battalions were pressed, while the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion still lingered in the low grounds south of the village. As the Prussians confronted their enemies, a bayonet action eventually ensued from which the Prussian units got scattered. It was only outside the village that the officers managed to collect the regiment, which had suffered high losses. At the moment the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr now streamed back from Plancenoit, units of the 5<sup>th</sup> brigade of Von Tippelskirch of the 2<sup>nd</sup> corps had arrived in front of the village, to assist in the offensive against the village. Von Tippelskirch was able to do so right away, as he had the 6<sup>th</sup> brigade of Von Krafft right in rear of him.

The formation he chose was one in which the fusilier battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment Pommeranian infantry nr.2 was in front to the left and the fusilier battalion of the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr to the right. They had to go head on onto the village.

In the first line, behind the Pommeranians, and led by major Von Cardell, were (to the left and right) the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> battalions of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2. By now, the Jäger-detachment of the brigade had split in two: the main body had joined the 1st battalion and a small part had joined the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2

Here, further to the right were the musketeer battalions of the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment. They advanced to the north side of the village.<sup>107</sup>

In the second line, in support, were from left to right the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 25<sup>th</sup> regiment, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the same regiment and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr. All these units were led by major Von Helmstreit. Meanwhile, on the heights south of Plancenoit, major Von Witzleben turned the village with his 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 25<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry.<sup>108</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr (14<sup>th</sup> brigade), as well as the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Silesian Landwehr (16<sup>th</sup> brigade) and both the musketeer battalions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Silesian infantry nr.11 (14<sup>th</sup> brigade) were all kept further to the rear.<sup>109</sup>

It was now about 8 p.m. The interval between the second and third attack was a brief one, in order not to let the enemy too much time. The third offensive against Plancenoit was for the

Prussians the last one needed to take to village from the French, although it cost a lot of effort.  
110

Again, it was mainly against the churchyard that the actions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> regiment Pommeranian infantry stranded as this site still functioned as a redoubt within the village. On top of that, some buildings in its vicinity were in flames (<sup>111</sup>). One of these buildings was the farm of Cuvelier and its outbuildings situated at the end of the passageway. The smoke hindered the Prussians in their advance and thereby adding to the " cul-de-sac ". During its actions here the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2, lost its captain Von Mirbach.  
112

As a result, the Prussian staff decided to act on a wider front by focusing on their flanks, thereby encircling the centre. Though the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2 (led by lieutenant colonel Von Cardell) may initially have taken a course towards the centre of Plancenoit, it soon took a different course to get involved just south of the village, to the left of the skirmishers of the fuselier battalion, led by captain Von Goszicki. They advanced in connection with the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 25<sup>th</sup> regiment (led by major Von Witzleben) on the height which lies between the Lasne and the small stream which flows through the southern part of the village. <sup>113</sup> Further to their left was the Jäger-detachment, led by lieutenant Rehbein. <sup>114</sup>

The sand-track ran which connects Maison du Roi with the abbey of Aywiers ran over this height and was bordered on both sides by small houses; the area here was also cut up by hedges and trees. This forced Von Witzleben into a skirmisher-fight with the French guardsmen and in which each house, hedge, tree and passage had to be taken. Supported by the skirmishers of the musketeer battalions of the 25<sup>th</sup> regiment, Von Witzleben finally succeeded in driving off the French, thereby in turning the French centre. <sup>115</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> battalion also made a move to its left in order to cover the brigade from that side. The role of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion is not very clear; apparently it didn't have any substantial contribution to the attack.

In the centre, the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr-infantry succeeded in penetrating into the village thereby threatening the churchyard and its immediate surroundings. The 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2, led by captain Von Korth, did the same, in which lieutenant Marquardt with his skirmishers distinguished himself. <sup>116</sup> On the right of the same battalion lieutenant Müller led the main body of the Jäger detachment.

At the same time, the musketeer battalions of the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment passed through and along the north side of the village. Here they took two guns and three powder-waggons. Despite these threats and the fact that the remainder of the French army beyond it was dissolving, the resistance of the French guard in the centre of Plancenoit was strong, but finally the Prussian pressure and numbers grew too strong. The Prussian movement on the French right flank threatened to cut off the French in the village and now the French started to evacuate it. By 8.30 p.m., the moment the French had evacuated Plancenoit, both the musketeer battalions of the 5<sup>th</sup> regiment of Westphalian Landwehr - while advancing under a French bombardment in two lines from the rear - got near the village but were too late to do anything at all.

As major Pelet reached the western edge of the village, it became clear that at least half of both battalions of the Old Guard was either killed or wounded. Pelet tried to collect as many men as he could, particularly when he stumbled upon the eagle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of chasseurs. <sup>117</sup> The situation was very confusing: the stream of French refugees was immense and the Prussian cavalry was cutting in them. At the same time, French masses were bombarded by Prussian gunfire. Despite the confusion, Pelet succeeded to form a small square in a hollow with the words " A moi les chasseurs de la garde, ralliez vous à votre aigle et à votre général ! " With this force he kept the enemy at bay, to reach the Brussels road near Maison du Roi in good order. <sup>118</sup>

On this side of Plancenoit, the fuselier battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Pommeranian infantry nr.2 was able to take a French gun by storm. By now it running towards 9 p.m. <sup>119</sup>

It was around 7.30 p.m. (<sup>120</sup>) that the fusilier battalion of the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment of infantry, led by major Von Keller, and possibly the fuselier battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Silesian infantry (which followed far behind) advanced deeper south-west into the Bois de Hubermont. <sup>121</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of chasseurs, led by colonel Duuring, was still in position near the imperial headquarters at the farm of Le Caillou. Since the afternoon it had two companies on the road and one on each side of it. That evening, a post of the battalion informed Duuring about the approach of the two enemy columns towards the Bois de Chantelet. Duuring then detached two guns (loaded with mitraille) and 50 men led by a lieutenant to a covered position, probably in the north-east end of this wood. <sup>122</sup> By now, huge numbers of fugitives of the French army of all arms tried to fall back over the Brussels road; Duuring tried to halt them by placing his four companies with crossed bayonets on and along the road. Despite the order of Duuring to allow only the wounded to pass, a lot of men got away from the battlefield. Nevertheless, Duuring managed to collect several hundred of men, organise them into a battalion and place them to the right of the road. <sup>123</sup> By now, the crew of both guns which had joined Duuring before now left their guns.

Now, general Radet, grand-prevost of the army, intervened. He had been informed of the Prussian advance and, having inquired personally about the situation, while keeping the main body of the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of chasseurs in and near Le Caillou, he instructed colonel Duuring to detach one company to the extreme northern part of the Bois de Chantelet. While Radet advanced with this company he placed one of its platoons halfway between the headquarters and the extreme end of the wood; he also sent a platoon of chasseurs to the western edge of the wood and take up a position there. <sup>124</sup> Soon a brisk fire ensued between the French chasseurs and the Prussian skirmishers.

Shortly after that, Radet sent a force of several hundred strong and formed by fugitives and isolated soldiers forward over the area between Bois de Chantelet and the Brussels-road as far as Maison du Roi. It suffered from a Prussian volley, but after that, its commander, adjudant Granier (aide de camp of Radet), drove the enemy off in an eastern direction by a brisk musketry fire. <sup>125</sup> The action allowed general headquarters to some extent to evacuate Le Caillou. The Prussian battalions here now remained inactive opposite the Bois de Chantelet until Placenoit had fallen after the Prussians had attacked it for the third time. <sup>126</sup>

Meanwhile, as the number of refugees had grown more and more, general Foulser, the master of the horse, had decided to evacuate all the *équipages impériales* from Le Caillou (in all probability eight carriages / waggons). <sup>127</sup>

The third attack on Placenoit was also supported by the foot battery nr.13. From its favourable position, it had bombarded the enemy in rear of the village after it had been taken by the Prussians. After that, having nothing to do, it advanced towards the former French heights, but before captain Von Martitz was able to reach them it had become dark. <sup>128</sup>

As stated before, the horse battery nr.12 had a share in the fighting for Placenoit. In the very first period of its actions, so before the actual attack on Placenoit, it used the more northeast orientated direction of the French guns to deliver them a fire on their right flank. Soon after, however the enemy artillery adjusted its direction of fire. Some time later, during the fighting for Placenoit, the battery got the fire of a French battery on its left flank and therefore had to pull back its left wing for some distance. So, the battery kept up its position despite the French pressure. It even was able to bombard the village in conjunction with the howitzers of the horse battery nr.1, further to its left. <sup>129</sup>

12p. battery nr.13 had a particularly hard time during the struggle for the village and suffered more casualties as other batteries did. The battery particularly suffered on its left side (the side

towards the village) from French fire; as a result major Von Ziegler had half of the right wing of the battery wheel 1/8 forward towards Plancenoit. The three guns on the left wing were directed to their left and any French skirmishers coming forward from the village were now greeted with canister. During the fighting for the village, however, the French skirmishers advanced later again and then, covered by the high corn, even succeeded in getting to about 16 paces from its most left gun. Captain Wolze, the commander, however, was able to have the guns limbered right away and while pulling back was received by a battalion which some time later advanced towards the village. By the time dusk fell, the battery marched off.<sup>130</sup>

Horse battery nr.1, also in position opposite Plancenoit, had an engagement with the French artillery until a French column of infantry, covered by skirmishers and canister fire, advanced right in its front but was pushed back by the Prussian artillery here. Some time later, other French infantry emerged from Plancenoit, took cover behind a hedge and opened a brisk fire on the battery. Now, the battery wheeled in their direction and blew them away with canister; Prussian infantry then pursued them right onto the village where they had come from.

After that, horse battery nr.1 joined the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of hussars further to the north, near the road which connects Plancenoit with Lasne, in the very centre of the Prussian line. In this position it had an initial success, but soon it was forced to fall back for a distance of about 300 paces in which retreat a howitzer and a gun had been mauled so much by French artillery fire that they had to be taken out of the firing line. Their limbers were now used to bring in new ammunition.

Now the battery got into a position in rear of the hussars and the only gun to fire into Plancenoit itself was the one howitzer left. The moment however that French skirmishers got too near, the hussars went back as well so that the battery had an open range to fire again, which it did with a double load of canister on a distance of about 800 paces; the success of this volley drove the French back, but not for long. After that, the whole situation was repeated again. By that time time, however, the French started to yield in and out of Plancenoit<sup>131</sup>

Both batteries of the 2<sup>nd</sup> corps, the foot battery nr.10 and the horse battery nr.6 contributed to the fall of Plancenoit. The moment the first battery got into action it came under strong French fire of grenades and then captain Magenhöfer immediately pushed forward his two howitzers for about 200 paces; three of his guns wheeled to the right but their success was very limited. After the taking of the village by the Prussians, it bombarded the French refugees on the heights in rear of the village.<sup>132</sup>

After the fall of Plancenoit, the Prussian reserve cavalry of the 2<sup>nd</sup> corps, on the extreme left of the front-line, advanced through and along the edge of the Bois de Virère in pursuit of the French. French gunfire was still there, but from afar and not well aimed.<sup>133</sup>

Pirch I had left the 6<sup>th</sup> brigade of Von Krafft near the road Plancenoit – Lasne in close column; in order to maintain the communication with the centre of the front line, but the moment they marched forward in storm-pace the battle was practically over and they halted immediately in front of Plancenoit, where they bivouaced.<sup>134</sup>

In the Prussian centre, as the infantry units were advancing, the 8<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars followed in their wake. Soon after, however, they got under a very strong French skirmishing fire. Through this fire, the Prussian skirmishers were forced back; in stead of interfering, the hussars were ordered to fall back, which they didn't as the infantry held firm.<sup>135</sup>

As the skirmishers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment on the right wing of Bülow had emerged from Smohain and gradually turned to their left they met a stiff French resistance while climbing the slope of the height in rear of Smohain and Fichermont. As a result the Prussians reinforced their firing line with two platoons, but they were unable to repel the French. Another two platoons came in to relieve the skirmishers (led by captain Von Koschützky) which had been engaged for some time now and gradually they were able to push back the French towards La Belle Alliance.<sup>136</sup> To their right they were supported by the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the same

regiment. Facing similar French resistance, it was captain Von Zietzen who reinforced the firing line with men from the 8th platoon and was able to stop the French pressure. Right at that moment Von Zietzen was ordered by major Von Koschkull to keep more to his left in order to link up with the remaining battalions of the 15<sup>th</sup> brigade. Von Zietzen obeyed but was soon sent back to his former position by general Bülow himself. Having got there, he now sent forward the 1<sup>st</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> platoon first and some time later the 2<sup>nd</sup> platoon as well. Being successful, Von Zietzen proposed to major Von Koschkull to storm the height with the battalions in a storm attack. Von Koschkull agreed and the battalions, crying hurrah, stormed forward.

In combination with the other Prussian units further to the left, the battalion was able to advance towards the southwest, despite the confusion and the smoke. While detaching two other platoons to reinforce the skirmishers led by captain Koschützky, Von Zietzen was able to drive the French gradually before him to the heights of La Belle Alliance. Apparently, Von Koschützky was still in trouble.<sup>137</sup>

Both the battalions of the 13<sup>th</sup> brigade which had been detached towards Smohain (the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion / 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Neumark Landwehr and the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion / 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Silesian infantry nr.10) had also sent their skirmishers out to the front of the units of the 15<sup>th</sup> brigade here in order to drive the French from their strong position on the heights. Now, major Von Steinmetz, commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry sent his 1<sup>st</sup> company to support the skirmishers, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> company holding the village while the other two companies of the battalion advanced to an area of ground to their left. As the skirmishers threw back their opponents, two other companies had started to do the same, but major Von Braunschweig called them back.

In rear of the units of Von Losthin and Von Hacke, it was the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry which acted as a reserve; at some point of time it advanced into the more western part of Smohain, but its skirmishers stranded here on a French skirmishing line, in front of the height. They also suffered from a lack of ammunition. Now major Von Grolmann, the battalion commander, reinforced his firing line with the skirmishers of his 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> company led by lieutenant Rittwagen, Drümel and Klenke. They were soon successful because the enemy fell back; the skirmishers then pursued the French. During this action most of these skirmishers got isolated from the battalion and only rejoined it the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. As soon as the French yielded, the battalion, ordered by Von Hacke to do so, took up a position on the height. Half an hour later, however, the French rushed forward with cavalry several times in order to cover their retreat.<sup>138</sup>

Now, more Prussian guns of the reserve artillery advanced and these were in their turn covered by the battalion; as these guns moved further to the left, the battalion did the same and ended in a position near Plancenoit. By then it was 9 p.m.<sup>139</sup>

Further to the left in the Prussian right wing, it was the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry (13<sup>th</sup> brigade) which had detached its skirmishers (led by captain Von Seydlitz) to the front as their French counterparts inflicted high losses to the Prussian guns. Soon after they drove them back and after that the battalion was used to cover the artillery in its advance.<sup>140</sup>

The main task of both musketeer battalions of the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Silesian infantry nr.10 (13<sup>th</sup> brigade) was to cover the artillery in the second line and in this position they suffered from French artillery fire.

The 1st battalion covered foot battery nr.14 as well as 12p. battery nr.3 During the evening the battalion went to the front, covered by artillery.<sup>141</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion suffered quite a lot in its advance towards the French position during a bitter, but indecisive, skirmishing-fight. As soon as the Prussian battalion resumed its offensive action in a mass, the French fled.

The musketeer battalions of the 4th regiment of Silesian Landwehr infantry (15<sup>th</sup> brigade)

participated in the general action on the French position, but the only information available is that the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion was able to take three French guns, as well as an ammunition wagon.<sup>142</sup>

As the units of Von Hacke were drawn into the fray, the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of Neumark Landwehr infantry got on the left flank and from there it gradually pulled towards Plancenoit. In front it had a strong skirmishing line which was in continuous contact with the enemy; the columns of the battalions were right behind them, ready to follow.<sup>143</sup> However, the regiment didn't play any part in the fighting for Plancenoit itself. One of the few cavalry units to support the Prussian right wing was the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Neumark Landwehr cavalry. As the Prussian infantry had emerged south west of Smohain it got into a very fierce resistance of the French so that the Prussian units had to act in large masses of skirmishers.

Now, lieutenant colonel Von Hiller, despite being wounded, decided to support the infantry by pulling four of his cavalry platoons through the infantry and posted them in front of them. Despite the heavy fire they held out and by their advance the Prussian skirmishers were able to regain their strength. By now, Von Hiller had given the command of the regiment to count Von Haslingen. Though the fighting remained bitter, the French finally yielded and the horsemen got the instruction of general Von Valentini to follow the infantry until the enemy would have been completely overthrown, then to march through the infantry and to cut the enemy down.

Meanwhile, two other regiments of Prussian cavalry had come up. While these regiments advanced, the uhlans went to the right towards a battalion which needed cover. As they went there, the battalion had already got the cover it needed and now the uhlans went back to their former position from which they advanced. Four platoons went ahead, while the main body of the regiment followed; though they all came under heavy fire, they managed to drive the French skirmishers away and pursued them.<sup>144</sup>

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1. General Christiani (2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of grenadiers). In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache, 1905 p.33-54 and 107-128

Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms. nr.34.703 p.299-307 and 34.705 p.369-382

Initially, they were most probably in columns and a little later, as the enemy approached, in squares. Those who speak of columns are:

Sir H. Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler. In:USJ 1833 II p.316

Captain Eeles (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment) asserts there were three columns of the Old Guard. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

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

Lieutenant colonel Reynell (71<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.234-239

Captain Cross (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment) thinks there were three columns or squares. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.166-168

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gourgaud. In: La campagne de 1815 p.86-87

Mémoires pour servir etc. p.161

Griffith, P. – French Napoleonic infantry tactics p.20-21

3.The fact that the Imperial Guard was in disorder is confirmed by captain Prax (3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of chasseurs). In: D'Avout, A. - "L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo." In: Carnet de la Sabretache (1905), p.33-54, 107-128

Cf. The official French bulletin of the battle. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.555

Ensign Leeke. In: History of the 52nd regiment Vol.I p.56

Moore-Smith, G.C. - General Petit's account of the Waterloo campaign. In: The English historical review 18 (1903), p.321-326

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

Captain Eeles (3rd battalion of the 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

According to its commander, colonel Ordener, the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of cuirassiers, fell back down the slopes of the ridge in confusion and got dispersed. In: Lot, H. - Les deux généraux Ordener p.95

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant Winterbottom (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.705 p.32-34

Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.98-100

Lieutenant colonel Colborne. Cf. his account for lieutenant Yonge. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. The life of John Colborne, field marshal Lord Seaton. London, J.Murray, 1903

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.190-198

6. Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97

In: The crisis and close etc. p.304

Corporal Aldridge (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.98-100

7. Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.406-413  
Lieutenant colonel Colborne. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.40-49  
Lieutenant colonel Reynell (71<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.234-239  
Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97  
Ensign Leeke (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: The history of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.43  
Captain Cross (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.163-164, 166-168  
According to captain Cross the halt took 1.5 minutes, but in another source he mentions 3 to 4 minutes. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.163-164, 166-168  
Captain Grant (71<sup>st</sup> regiment) erroneously asserts the change of formation took place beyond La Belle Alliance, after the enemy had been scattered. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.284-285

8. Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.389-399, 34.705 p.369-382 and 34.704 p.88-97. Also in: The crisis at Waterloo p.304 and Major Gawler's answer to etc. p.5  
Ensign Leeke (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: The history of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.50-51  
Lieutenant colonel Halkett mentions a strong French artillery fire from the right, after which the first company of the Osnabrück battalion was sent there in platoons, supported by the sharpshooters of the battalion. The detachment would have taken the six guns and their horses. It is not clear whether these were the same guns. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.102-103

9. Cf. Ensign Leeke In: The history of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.55  
Lieutenant Gawler. In: The crisis and close etc. p.305  
According to Gawler, Wellington would have said: "Go on, Colborne, go on, give them no time to rally."  
Ensign Barnett makes the same claim for his unit, the 71<sup>st</sup>. In: Glover, G. – Waterloo archive Vol.VI p.151

<sup>10</sup> Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.299-307, 34.704 p.88-97, 34.705 p.369-382 and 34.706 p.389-399  
Gawler estimated the total front length about the same as the one of Adam's brigade at that moment and he makes the following calculation: 52<sup>nd</sup> 700 men [=100 metre], 71<sup>st</sup> 550 men [=83 metre], 95<sup>th</sup> 400 men [=60 metre].  
Taking the casualties as given by Siborne, the alternative figures would be: 52<sup>nd</sup> 700 men [=100 metre], 71<sup>st</sup> 700 men [=100 metre], 2<sup>nd</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> 400 men [=60 metre], 3<sup>rd</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> 160 men [=25 metre], a grand total of about 300 metres. In: History of the war etc. Vol.II p.502

Gawler estimated each square to be 700 to 800 men strong; in reality they were each about 500 men strong.

Lieutenant colonel Colborne estimated their total strength at 2000 to 3000. Cf. his account to lieutenant Yonge. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. The life of John Colborne, field marshal Lord Seaton p.413

<sup>11</sup> Ensign Leeke (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: The history of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.56  
Lieutenant Gawler. In: The crisis and close etc. p.304  
Captain Taylor (10<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90  
Captain Taylor (10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to Mr. Brownrigg.

In collection of A.Lagden.

12. Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.299-307, 34.704 p.88-97, 34.704 p.129-132, 34.705 p.369-382 and 34.706 p.389-399

In: The crisis and close etc. p.304

Lieutenant Winterbottom (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.32-34

According to Gawler the French squares were in perfect order.

Private Robinson (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In his letter to his brother dated 10th september 1815. In: Regimental Headquarters, The Duke of Wellington's Regiment, Wellesley Park, Halifax.

Major general Adam says there were some battalions of the Imperial Guard. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.406-413

Sir J.Colborne confirms they were units of the Imperial Guard, but doesn't mention any formation. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.84-88

Lieutenant colonel Reynell (71<sup>st</sup> regiment) believes there were two French columns. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.234-239

Captain Cross (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment) thinks there were three columns or squares. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.166-168

Captain Reed (71<sup>st</sup> regiment) confirms there were three squares of the Imperial Guard In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253

While captain Eeles (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment) asserts there were three columns of the Old Guard. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

According to lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment), the 71<sup>st</sup> attacked but did not fire. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.129-132

13. Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.406-413

Captain Budgen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion /95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.56-62

Lieutenant Winterbottom (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.32-34

Lieutenant colonel Reynell (71<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.234-239

Captain Eeles (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

Captain Reed (71<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253 Reed, however, claims the brigade actually broke them.

Some eye-witnesses mention a French musketry-fire:

Cf. Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.163-168 and 34.705 p.369-382 According to Gawler, the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment would have lost one or two officers and 15 men, after the three rounds of fire from the French.

In one of his accounts, Gawler states that the French fired from their front and flanks, as soon as the opposing line drew too near, then ceased firing, faced to the rear and commenced a retreat by word of command. In: The crisis and close etc. p.305

Captain Miller (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.241-245

Ensign Leeke (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment) He states the French fired at 200 yards upon which the 52<sup>nd</sup> advanced. In: The history of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.56

Captain Cross (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.163-164, 166-168

Cross says the fire was given at a range of 135 metres. Erroneously, he situates the confrontation east of the Brussels road.

Colborne states that the French opened a fire until his brigade came within 50 or 60 yards, upon which the French moved off in good order. By the time the brigade got to the crest of the hill they had disappeared on the other side. Cf. his account for lieutenant Yonge. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. The life of John Colborne, field marshal Lord Seaton p.414

In another account Colborne claims the main part of the 52nd regiment fired after which the French got into disorder. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.84-88

In a third one, he gives the (erroneous) impression as if the French stood on the opposite side of the Brussels road and that the 52<sup>nd</sup> (at least most of the companies) fired upon them and that they got into a great confusion. In: BL, Add.ms.708 p.40-49

Neither general Christiani (2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of grenadiers) nor general Petit (1st regiment of grenadiers) state the squares yielded, without mentioning any action whatsoever. In: D'Avout, A. - L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo p.107-113

According to private Robinson (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment) his battalion fired at the squares but it was soon ordered to stop doing so as the cavalry was about the charge them. Then the battalion wheeled to the left and advanced. Cf. His letter to his brother dated 10th september 1815. In: Regimental Headquarters, The Duke of Wellington's Regiment, Wellesley Park, Halifax.

14. Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97

In another version Gawler states that the two French left (for the French) squares fell back to the west of the chaussée, pursued by the 3rd battalion 95th regiment and the 71st regiment.

The one square to the French right would have crossed the chaussée, to be pursued by the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment In: The crisis and close etc. p.305

Captain Reed (71<sup>st</sup> regiment) speaks about three squares, pursued by the 52<sup>nd</sup> and the 71<sup>st</sup> to the west of Plancenoit. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253

<sup>15</sup> Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment) In: The crisis and close etc. p.305

Ensign Barnett (71<sup>st</sup> regiment) describes, however, how his unit drove off some cuirassiers at this stage of the advance. In: Glover, G. – Waterloo archive Vol.VI p.151

<sup>16</sup> Wellington to Croker, no date. In: The Croker Papers Vol.III 1885 (2nd edition) p.282

17. Lord Greenock. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.187-189

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209, 34.707 p.175-176 and in: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.315

18. Lord Greenock. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.187-189

Captain T.Wildman (aide de camp of Uxbridge). In: Letter dated 19th of June 1815. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

Captain Taylor (10th hussars). He would have been there when Uxbridge was hit. Cf. his diary in: Carew, P. - Combat and carnival p.33

Wildman says the joint of the knee was actually shattered.

Adkin confirms the fact that he couldn't have been hit by a cannonball as if this would have been the case, his leg would have been torn off his body and killed his horse. Instead it would have been a shell splinter. Cf. Adkin, M. The Waterloo companion p.106

According to Napoleon, Uxbridge was hit at a later stage, by a battery which was placed near the squares of the 1st regiment of grenadiers, but this is not correct. Cf. Mémoires etc. p.163 Some believe Uxbridge was hit in rear of the 52nd regiment southwest of the orchard of La Haye Sainte not long before the confrontation with the French squares. Cf. Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.389-399 and 34.705 p.369-382

Cf. Ensign Leeke (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.136-138

Lord Greenock's version is the most probable as he was there when it happened.

Captain Wildman wasn't: he mentions the incident, but was more to the front with the brigade as he noticed lord Uxbridge wasn't there, and then went back to find out what had happened.

Shortly before he got wounded, Uxbridge would have warned Wellington not to expose himself too much. Cf. Sir C.Campbell In: Ensign Leeke. BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.136-138

According to the legend Uxbridge would have exclaimed to Wellington after he had got wounded: " By God I've lost my leg ! Have you ? by God ! " , Wellington would have said. Cf. The Greville diary. p.428

Apart from the fact that such words are highly improbable to have been uttered in such a situation of distress, Wellington wasn't with Uxbridge at that particular moment.

19. Lord Greenock. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.187-189

Captain Wildman. In a letter dated 19th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.

20. Lord Uxbridge himself explains he was hit in the low ground in rear of Haye Sainte, the moment he was about to leave the Duke to join Vivian. It may have been about 15 minutes before dusk. Cf. his statement written for Croker in 1852. In: Plas Newydd Papers. In: Anglesey, marquess of - One leg: the life and letters of Henry William Paget p.149

Lord Greenock. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.187-189

Greenock claims the situation was that Uxbridge had crossed the Brussels road, but immediately went back to the area west of this road.

Uxbridge had ordered Vivian through Lord Greenock to advance to the height; the moment Greenock got back to Uxbridge with the information that the brigade had completed its march in rear of the infantry, Lord Uxbridge was hit.

Gore erroneously claims Uxbridge was wounded at the end of the hedge of the sand-pit, east of the Brussels road ! Cf. Gore, A. Explanatory notes etc. p.80

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Lord Greenock, letter to unknown person dated 1st of July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS 3615 f.48

22. Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.389-399

Wellington was on the side from where the shot came and that it passed over his horse's neck; Wellington would have supported him, him thereby preventing from falling to the ground. Cf. Anglesey, marquess of - One leg: the life and letters of Henry William Paget p.149

23. Major general Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.Des 41E XXI k,3

Anglesey, marquess of - One leg: the life and letters of Henry William Paget p.149

Lord Greenock clearly speaks about a group of infantry. Cf. Lord Greenock, letter to unknown person of the 1st of July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS 3615 f.48

Major Lautour (23rd regiment of light dragoons) on the other hand, claims a party of six men of his regiment carried Lord Uxbridge to the rear. Lautour believes Lord Uxbridge had shortly before taken over the horse of sergeant major Stride of the 23rd regiment of light dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.286-289

Some kind of assistance would also have been given by private Esau Senior of the Inniskilling Dragoons (captain Madox's troop). Cf. his letter to Anglesey dated 26th May 1851. In: Plas Newydd Papers. From: Anglesey, marquess of - One leg: the life and letters of Henry William Paget p.149

The fact that Sir Horace Seymour was with lord Uxbridge the moment he got wounded is confirmed by Seymour himself. Cf. The Croker Papers, Vol.I 1884 p.124

24. Cotton, E. – Une voix de Waterloo p.150

<sup>25</sup> During this amputation, Lord Uxbridge would have shown a remarkable level of bravery and humour. Cf. captain T.Wildman in the letter to his mother, dated 19th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.1981-12-53-557

26. Sir H.Vivian in his diary. In: Vivian, Cl. - R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.308

Sir H.Vivian would have told the 10th regiment of hussars: " Tenth, you know what you are going to do, and you also know what is expected of you, and I am well assured it will be done; I therefore shall say no more, only wish you success. " Cf. a letter of a private of the regiment. In: Kelly, Chr. – A full and circumstantial p.146-148

27. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler. In: USJ, 1833 Vol.II p.316

Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108 and 34.703 p.219-222

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116 and 34.706 p.9-10

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.14, 34.703.4 and 34.703.7  
In his diary he accounts the volleys of the Foot Guards on to the Imperial Guard and their advance, after which his regiment advanced over the height. In: Carew, P. Combat and carnival p.32

Private Marshall (10th regiment of hussars). In: The battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny etc. Vol.II p.63-68

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

Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.213-217

Captain Shakespear (10th regiment of hussars). In: NAM, nr.7706-17

Sir H.Vivian in a letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.44-45

Major Von der Decken (1st regiment of hussars) adds that the 3rd and 4th squadron had to accelerate in order to keep up the speed of the column. Both squadrons were on the east side of the Brussels road. In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI, nr.152 p.27-29

Cotton, E. A voice from waterloo p.147

Though there is clear evidence that the brigade got over the ridge close to Bolton's battery (see below), there is no evidence from eye-witnesses of the brigade of Maitland that it

actually did so. There are a few indications that Vivian actually passed very near or even through the Brunswickers. Cf. Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271 and in his diary, in RAI, nr.MD 797

Others claim the cavalry got forward to the right of C.Halkett's brigade.

Cf. Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.253-255 Also his journal in: History of the 30th regiment p.343

Cf. Sketch of lieutenant Slayter Smith (10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.23-26

28. Lieutenant colonel Murray (18<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.175-176 And in: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833, II p.316

29. Captain Taylor (10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.118-123, 34.706 p.155-157, 34.703 p.80-90 and 34.706 p.60-63

Captain Shakespear (10th regiment of hussars). In: NAM, nr.7706-17

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.126-128

30. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.118-123

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45 and 34.707 p.175-176. Also see his journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.308

Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335

Documents relating to the 18th regiment of hussars. In: NAM, nr.7612-19

31. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.

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

Sir H.Vivian claims he had the battery stop firing. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.126-128

Sir H.Vivian also indicates that his brigade got fire from behind from a foreign battery, possibly Van der Smissen's. Vivian had not seen the battery itself as it would not have passed through his battery. Cf. The battery involved was the one of Bolton.

32. Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166

33. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.298-301

In his journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.309

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

34. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and 34.706 p.60-63

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

Lieutenant colonel Quentin had got wounded the moment the 10th regiment of hussars had arrived in the centre of the line, in rear of the infantry. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.326-329

<sup>35</sup> Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.175-176

36. Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116 and 34.705 p.333-334

Lieutenant Banner (23rd regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.16-18, 34.706 p.56-57 and 34.705 p.332-333

Lieutenant Banner (23<sup>rd</sup> regiment of light dragoons). In: USJ, March 1836

Lieutenant Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.118-123

Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler. In: USJ, 1833 Vol.II p.316

According to Banner there were 20 minutes between the moment the squadron charged the French cuirassiers (see above) and the moment the men of the same squadron attached themselves to the 18th regiment of hussars. Cf. lieutenant Banner. In: BL, Add.Ms.34.706 p.56-57

Gawler applies this period of time between the charge and the moment the 52nd regiment crossed the Brussels road. Cf. Lieutenant Gawler. In: USJ, 1836, II p.358

<sup>37</sup> Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833, II p.316

38. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45, 34.707 p.306-307

His journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.309

In fact, Vivian initially mentions the presence of at least two squares but in the description of the action he only refers to one of them (in relation to Howard's charge, see below) and remains silent about the fate of the other one.

There are all kinds of interpretations about the presence of French cavalry.

Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment of hussars) and lieutenant Slayter Smith (10th regiment of hussars) believe there were cuirassiers, dragoons, lancers and hussars. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108 and 34.705 p.23-26

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars) mentions lancers and helmeted dragoons in green uniforms. These may have been the Empress' Dragoons or dragoons of the line (cf. division Lhéritier). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and 34.706 p.60-63

In another letter he mentions the presence of lancers, cuirassiers and dragoons in rear of the French infantry. Cf. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to Mr. Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.

Captain Seeger (2nd regiment of light dragoons KLG) asserts there was a line of chasseurs, lancers and cuirassiers. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.17-22

Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars) shows in his sketch French cavalry (without description) in front of two columns and a square of infantry, all northwest of La Belle Alliance. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335

Vivian himself speaks of cavalry to the right and left of and between two squares of infantry. In: Reply to major Gawler. In: USJ, 1833 Vol.II p.316

<sup>39</sup> Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.316

Lieutenant Bacon (10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335, 34.708 p.162-166

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL. Add.Ms. 34.704 p.106-116

In another letter, however, Vivian states his regiments suffered from some French infantry and gunfire before they actually formed line, but eventually they did so in good order on their front half-squadrons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.306-307

40. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.707 p.298-301 and 34.703 p.44-45. In his journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc.p.309  
 Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108  
 Captain Shakespear (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: NAM, nr.7706-17  
 Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and 34.706 p.60-63  
 Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.  
 On the one hand Vivian claims the charge was carried out in a line, but on the other in échelons. Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45 and 34.707 p.298-301  
 In another account, Bacon claims the delay was caused by the fatigue of the horses and the heavy ground; on top of that, the leading squadron had accelerated, from which Bacon had trouble forming his men in a proper line, so that he charged more or less "en débandade". In: BL,Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335
41. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.60-63
42. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156.p.27-49  
 Colonel Friedrichs (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.30-33  
 Captain Seeger. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.17-22
43. Report of colonel Friedrichs (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.30-33  
 Captain Seeger. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.17-22
44. Journal of the 2nd regiment light dragoons KGL. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.232.p.76+84
45. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156 p.27-49  
 Report of colonel Friedrichs. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.30-33  
 Captain Seeger (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI.nr.152.p.17-22  
 Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL. Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166, 34.707 p.332-335
46. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156.p.27-49  
 Captain Seeger. In: NHA,Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.17-22
47. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156 p.27-49
48. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.25-30, 34.703 p.31-35, 34.703 p.80-90  
 Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108  
 Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45, 34.707 p.306-307 and 34.707 p.175-186 and in his journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.308  
 Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833, II p.316

Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335  
Lieutenant Cartwright led a platoon in the right squadron and mentions the charge against French lancers. Cf. his letter to his father, dated 22nd June 1815. In: Memoirs of the 10th Royal Hussars p.164

49. Captain Seeger. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156 p.27-49  
According to colonel Friedrichs, French cavalry appeared on both flanks of the regiment. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.30-33

50. It would have been the whole regiment which fell back, and not only its right wing. Cf. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156.p.27-49  
Account of major Friedrichs. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.30-33)

51. Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.48-55, 88-97  
Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.406-413  
Major Hunter Blair. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.225-227  
Sir J.Colborne (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.84-88, 319-323  
Captain Budgen (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.56062  
Captain Aldridge (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.98-100  
Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.299-307, 34.705 p.369-382 and 34.704 p.88-97  
Captain Reed (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253  
According to Sir J.Colborne (52nd regiment), the 71st regiment moved to the right of the road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.84-88  
Cf. his account to lieutenant Yonge. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. The life of John Colborne, field marshal Lord Seaton p.413

Gawler describes the road to the front of the right wing of the 52<sup>nd</sup> as about 2.40 and in front of its centre as about 4.50 metres deep. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.48-55  
This description brings the centre of the 52<sup>nd</sup> about 150 metres south of the southern extremity of the orchard of La Haye Sainte.

52. Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment of hussars) In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108  
Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45  
Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166  
In another document Bacon shows in a sketch that only the right squadron halted and that the two other squadrons pursued the French cavalry as far as beyond the sand-track which connects La Belle Alliance and Gomont voert; and this during the action of the 18th regiment of hussars. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335

53. Report of colonel Boreel. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. In: La campagne de 1815 Vol.III, nr.27

54. Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116  
According to Sir H.Vivian lieutenant colonel Murray rode to the left of the regiment. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.11-12

55. Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209 and 34.704 p.106-116

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45

Captain Shakespear (10th regiment of hussars). In: NAM, nr.7706-17

56. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116

57. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45, 34.707 p.306-307

In his journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc. p.308

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.9-10 and in NAM, nr.1974-06-35

According to Sir H.Vivian, the regiment took 14 guns. Cf.his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: Regimental history of the 18th regiment hussars p.310

French sources claim that Napoleon's duty squadrons were sent against the hussars, but this is not being corroborated by British eye-witness accounts. Cf. French bulletin. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.554

58. Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116

Both lieutenant colonel Murray and lieutenant Bacon erroneously claim the regiment crossed the Brussels road. Cf. Bacon (10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.332-335

Bacon indicates in his sketch that the regiment was fired at the moment it crossed the road by a French column which was on that road, north of La Belle Alliance.

Cf. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.191-193

Whether the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars of the army of the Netherlands actually participated in the actions remains unclear. Colonel Boreel mentions two actions against the Imperial Guard but does not give any details. Cf. His report. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815. Vol.III p.418-421

59. Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705. p.369-382

Captain Reed (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253

Captain Cross (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.163-164, 166-168

Lieutenant Colborne (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.319-323

Private Robinson, 2nd battalion 95th regiment. Cf. In his letter to his brother dated 10th September 1815. In: Regimental Headquarters, The Duke of Wellington's Regiment, Wellesley Park, Halifax.

Yonge, W.C. Memoir of Lord Seaton's services p.228

60. Lieutenant colonel Colborne. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.40-49

Ensign Leeke (52<sup>nd</sup>). In: The history of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.60

Gawler says his regiment came in contact with a French column of infantry and artillery which moved back from the right wing in the hollow road which comes from Smohain. The square of the Imperial Guard crossed its front, but the bank of the hollow road hid the 52nd regiment, which was approaching. As the distance had got that short, both units got mingled in a bayonet action, after which the French got taken prisoner. The French guns were also taken and turned against the French (see below). In: Gawler, G. The crisis etc. p.23-24

61. Captain Reed (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253  
Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.48-55 and in *The crisis and close etc.* p.305

62. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.11-12, 34.703 p.44-45, 34.707 p.306-307 and 34.707 p.175-176

63. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.Ms.34.703 p.80-90

According to Taylor there were 3 to 4 companies.

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.

Sir H.Vivian doesn't mention this action at all; this may be explained by the fact that at time he was still near the 18th regiment of hussars.

Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars) mixes up both actions as he refers to a charge of the right squadron led by major Howard against a square east of the chaussée and in which he fell. In: BL, Add.ms.708 p.162-166

64. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.163-165

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

In another account, Vivian claims he found Howard with a small body of men of the 10th which he had collected and with whom he charged after the permission of Vivian. Before, the body had been losing men fast from the fire of the square. Cf. Sir H.Vivian. In: *Reply to major Gawler etc.* In: USJ, 1833,II p.317

Captain Taylor(10th regiment of hussars) claims the unit was the left squadron of his regiment. Cf. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. extensive note. The fact that it was general Hew Halkett who did so is stated by:

Letter of H.Halkett to captain Benne, dated 20 December 1837. In: WL, nr.706.19

The report of H.Halkett to Sir H.Clinton. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.53-56

H.Halkett in a letter to his wife, dated 19th June 1815. In: Halkett, Frhr.Von - *Gefangennahme des Generals Cambronne etc.* In: *Militär Wochenblatt, Beiheft*, 1912 p.206

H.Halkett's report to General Alten, dated 24th June 1815. In: NHA, Des.41E, XXI k nr.2 p.54-56

Wellington's report to Lord Bathurst, 19th June 1815. In: WD, Vol. X p.489

Accounts of lieutenant Richers, sergeant Führung and ensign Lyra of the Osnabrück Battalion, in: *Das Landwehr Battalion Osnabrück etc.* NHA, nr.41.XXI nr.157

Captain Eeles (3rd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

Bericht über den Antheil etc. In: NH, Des.41 E, XXI k nr.6

Notes of ensign Bergmann (2nd battalion line infantry KGL). In: Halkett, Frhr.Von - *Gefangennahme des Generals Cambronne etc.* In: *Militär Wochenblatt, Beiheft*, 1912 p.207

Lieutenant general Alten to the duke of Cambridge, dated 20<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: VPH, nr.20

Captain Eeles (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup>). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.129-132

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

and 34.703 p.219-222

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

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.m.s34.707 p.175-176

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and 34.706 p.60-63

Lieutenant Slayter Smith (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.23-26

This would mean Sir H.Vivian would be wrong in his statement that he would have asked Howard to cooperate with the infantry for the attack on the French square. Cf. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

Vivian would have hoped the Osnabrück battalion that it would charge the square from another side as Howard would do that, but this did not happen. Instead, it took would have fired but in doing this it also hit the hussars. This was also the reason that the charge failed. Cf. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler. In: USJ, 1833 Vol.II p.317-318

According to captain Shakespear Vivian decided to charge the moment he saw a British [= the Osnabrück] battalion. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.482-485

Lieutenant Arnold (commander of the right squadron of the regiment) would have been near the battalion to the left rear and asked major Howard to halt in order to have the infantry fire at the French square, before carrying out any charge. Major Howard however didn't comply and charged. Cf. Lieutenant Bacon. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166 and 34.707 p.332-335

67. A traveler, Dr.S.Butler, who visited the battlefield in July 1816, remarks that Howard fell near a bush; this was around Trimotia. In: Tours abroad.1816-1822. In: BL, Add.ms.34.598  
Sir H.Vivian was present at the charge of Howard. Cf. journal. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, fist baron Vivian etc. p.310.

Private J.Marshall (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter to his father-in-law, dated 11th July 1815. In: USJ, 1831, I p.316

Lieutenant G.Gawler incorrectly believes the charge was supported by the 71st regiment. Cf. Gawler, G. The crisis etc. p.306

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Sir H.Vivian. Sketch. In: BL.Add.Ms.34.707 p.175-176

Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler. In: USJ, 1833 Vol.II p.318

According to captain Shakespear (10th regiment of hussars) the French fired and then fell back. Cf. Manuscript letters and journals of the service of captain Arthur Shakespear. In: NAM, nr.7706-17

69. Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.406-413

Colonel Colborne (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.40-49

Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97

He confirms that the members of one of the squares threw away their knapsacks halfway between between the last houses of Plancenoit and the Brussels road, in the vicinity of the squares of the 1st regiment of grenadiers.

Captain Reed (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.250-253

General Christiani (2nd regiment of grenadiers). In: d'Avout -L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo p.113

<sup>70</sup> Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL. Add.Ms.34.704 p.106-116 and in NAM, nr.1974-06-35

71. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.25-30, 34.706 p.60-63 and 34.703 p.80-90  
 Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter dated 16th of July 1815 to mr.Brownrigg. In collection of A.Lagden.  
 Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209 and 34.704 p.106-116  
 Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.50-57  
 According to captain Taylor the 18th regiment of hussars would have carried out a fruitless charge on the square, but members of the same regiment do not mention this charge at all. Cf. Taylor. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.25-30 and 34.706 p.60-63  
 Lieutenant colonel Murray mentions the favourable positions of the squares, the fatigue of the horses, the heavy ground and the insufficient number of men to pursue the enemy. Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116
72. According to lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars) it was at a distance of about 270 metres. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166 and 34.707 p.332-335  
 Lieutenant colonel Slayter Smith (10th regiment of hussars) claims the regiment was in rear of the interval between the two front regiments. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.23-26
73. Sir H.Vivian. Sketch. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.175-176
74. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.109-120 and in his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45  
 Lieutenant colonel Von Wissell (1st regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.98-102  
 Major Von der Decken (1st regiment of hussars). In: VPH, nr.56  
 Sir H.Vivian would have said to the regiment: "I know you 1st hussars, therefore I keep you in reserve". Cf. VPH, nr.55
75. Sketch of Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.175-176  
 Here the 1st regiment is in front and to the left of the brigade of Vandeleur.
76. Before the battery crossed the Ohain-road, it had a second position to the left near the Brunswickers and a third to the right of the brigade of C.Halkett. Cf. Sketch in the diary of lieutenant Ingilby. In: RAI, nr.MD 797
77. Lieutenant Swabey in a letter dated 24th June 1815. In: Regimental Museum XVth / XIXth The King's Royal Hussars, Newcastle upon Tyne  
 Captain Hardinge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.32-35  
 Lieutenant Ingilby. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.471-473 and 34.703 p.266-271 and his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797  
 Ingilby's plan dated 1834 is highly misleading. First of all, he depicts the brigade of Vivian and the infantry east of the Brussels road. He also depicts the brigade of Vivian as having passed the Brussels to the right so as to come into action to the west of it. Additionally, he gives the battery a far too western course, north of Gomont and the Nivells-road. In this way, Gardiner could never have a meeting with the brigade of Vivian near Trimotia. On the other hand, Ingilby says the battery got into a bivouac near the observatory by 10 p.m. In: BL,

Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271

In his original sketch of the action from his diary, Ingilby comes much nearer to the truth. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

Sir H.Vivian says he lost sight of Gardiner after crossing the Brussels road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.235-237

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars) claims he talked to captain Gardiner near Trimotia. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116

78. Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.311

Captain Schreiber (11th regiment of light dragoons) says there was a march in column of divisions. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.99-100

79. Captain Barton (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons) In: The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.311

Captain Schreiber (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.99-100

Schreiber says the men left the main position along the right flank of the Foot Guards.

80. Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140

According to captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons) the dragoons passed to the left of the Bois de Callois, thereby having the observatory to their rear. Then he mentions the action against the French, but this did not take place south of the wood. In: The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.311

81. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.44

Sir H.Vivian says it was a broken square. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.24

82. Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704.37

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons).In: Tomkinson, W. The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.312

83. Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: Tomkinson, W. The diary of a cavalry officier etc. p. 313

Captain Schreiber confirms the brigade formed a line. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.99-100

84. Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer p.313

Captain Barton (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.99-100

Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.109-120 and 34.707 p.177-179

Cornet Beckwith (16th regiment of light dragoons) mentions two French squares and four charges of his regiment. He also claims the regiment took 20 guns and 1000 men infantry. In: Letter dated 19th June 1815. In: Queen's Royal Lancers Museum

Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment of light dragoons) confirms the capture of guns. Cf. Hay, W.

Reminiscences under Wellington, p.189

85. Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Corporal Farmer (11th light dragoons). In: *The Light Dragoon* p.157-158

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: Tomkinson, W. *The diary of a cavalry officer etc.* p.312-313

86. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.109-120

Captain Childers (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.165-166

Vivian says he spoke briefly with Vandeleur.

87. He did so through captain Keane. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.109-120 and 34.707 p.177-179

Vandeleur felt insulted as Vivian didn't ask him himself, being insubordinated to him.

88. During this movement, the 12th regiment of light dragoons (to the left side of the brigade) was covered in its flank by a swarm of skirmishers which had the instruction not to provoke any French counter-action. Cf. Hay, lieutenant. In: *Reminiscences under Wellington* p.190

89. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.169-170

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140

90. The reason for this movement is not entirely clear. According to captain Barton (12th regiment of light dragoons) the men went back to take up a bivouac. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment of light dragoons) says the dragoons went back to charge a brigade of French cavalry to their rear. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

91. Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment of light dragoons) says the 11th and 16th regiment of light dragoons were involved. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Sir H.Vivian mentions a part of the 11th regiment of light dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.175-176

Major general Vandeleur says the whole brigade was involved. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.169-170

Some only mention their own regiment:

Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704.37 Captain Barton (12th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Captain Childers (11th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.165-166

92. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.169-170

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Captain W.Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: *The diary of a cavalry officer etc.* p.314

Captain Barton (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140  
He asserts there was a charge of the hussars and not of the light dragoons.  
According to Sir H.Vivian it was the 11th regiment of light dragoons which escorted a number of prisoners to the rear, which made the impression to the hussars that the enemy was approaching. Cf. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.321

<sup>93</sup> Colonel Von Herzberg. In; BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55  
Ensign Cappel (Leib-battalion). Cf. his account. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: NSA, 276 N15  
Corporal Meyer (4th company 1st light battalion of Brunswick infantry). Cf. his letter dated 14th of July 1815. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: NSA, 249 AN190  
Their presence is also confirmed by Hew Halkett in his report to count Alten, dated 24th June 1815. In: VPH, nr.46  
Cf. His report dated 14th July 1815. In: NHA, Hann.41.D.XXI nr.151 p.57-58  
Major Hammerstein (battalion salzgitter). In: VPH, nr.45  
Lieutenant colonel Müller (2nd battalion KGL line infantry). In: VPH, nr.33

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Private Pritchard (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: NAM, nr.1968-07-157-17  
He suggests as if his battalion emerged from Gomont in pursuit, while both ensign Montagu and lieutenant colonel Mercer of the same battalion speak of the battalion's advance into the wood, the skirmishing for some time and the recall to a position north of Gomont.  
Cf. Lieutenant colonel Mercer's statement dated 26<sup>th</sup> June 1834. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk)  
Original in: National archives of Scotland. GD 172/1201/1  
Ensign Montagu (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.115  
Ensign Cochrane (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards) mentions his driving out the enemy from the wood. Cf. his letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> January 1842. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) original in: NLS,MS 2282

<sup>95</sup> In the process, Brue protected a 12-pounder battery against the Prussian skirmishers with three companies of the 95th regiment, of which one – consisting of *voltigeurs* – was led by chef de bataillon De Rullière. Cf. Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours Vol.II p.315

<sup>96</sup> The regiment originally counted about 1100 men.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. brigade general Noguès (division Marcognet). He states his brigade went back the moment Lobau quit his positions. In: Mémoires du général Noguès 1777-1853 p.275

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Diary of the 1st corps. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Das I.Korps Zieten bei La Belle Alliance und Wavre p.201

99. Report of general Zieten. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III nr.31.3B

In the regimental history there is no such evidence about this action. Cf. Kraatz-Koschlau, M.T. - Geschichte des 1.Brandenburgischen Dragoner-Regiments nr.2 p.103

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Report of general Schmitz. In: Brouwet, E. Mémoires et documents etc. In: Revue des études Napoléoniennes, 1932

101. Durutte had sabrecuts over his right eye, his left cheek and his right wrist. The fact that he wasn't recognized as divisional commander may have had to do with the fact that he had lost his hat, his own horse and cloak.

Initially, by 9.30 p.m., Durutte was cared for by a subaltern cuirassier officer, but not longer after that an officier of his staff found Durutte and he led Durutte through Gosselies to Charleroi, which both men reached by 6 a.m. From there they continued their way to Mariembourg, where Durutte's right hand was amputated. Cf. *Mouvements de la 4e division* etc. p.78-79

102. Wellington in his memorandum dated 1836. In: *WD, Vol.X* p.513

103. According to sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment), Wellington would have risen from his horse and would have waved his hat, but from his position at the left wing, it is impossible that Robertson could have seen this. In: *Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo* etc. p.163  
According to another source, Uxbridge would have expressed his alarm that the troops should not go beyond the range of heights originally occupied by the French. Wellington would then have said: "Oh, damn it ! In for a penny, in for a pound is my maxim; and if the troops advance they shall go as far as they can." However, by the time Uxbridge would have said this, he was already carried off the field, wounded. In: the journal of general Allan, Wellington's private secretary, 15th July 1815. In: *The Times*, 18 June 1934.

104. According to lieutenant Kincaid the shouting came from the right and spread to the centre. Cf. *Kincaid, J. Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* p.343

105. Other times are given, such as:

7 p.m. Cf. *Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment)* In: *The journal of sergeant Robertson* p.158

7.30 p.m. Wellington's memorandum van 1836 In: *WSD, Vol.X* p.513

Major general Lambert. In: *BL, Add.ms.34.706* p.64-67

8 p.m. Cf.

Major general Von Vincke. In: *Hann.41.XXI.nr.152* p.90-103

The journal of the 1st battalion of the line KGL. In: *Hann.38D.nr.236* p.27-28

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

Major Baring (2nd battalion of KGL light infantry). In: *NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152* p.41-47

9 p.m. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Von Muller (2nd battalion KGL line infantry). In: *Hann.41.XXI.nr.152* p.51-53

After 8.15 p.m. Cf. *Ensign Leeke*. In: *History of the etc. Vol.I* p.56

Jérôme Bonaparte confirms the time that Wellington unleashed his cavalry as 8 p.m. and that the general panic in the French army came in by 9 p.m. In his letter to his wife Cathérine, dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: *Mémoires et correspondance du roi Jérôme* etc. p.24 (original in Archives nationales, Paris 400 AP/88)..

<sup>106</sup> For the reconstruction of this attack:

J.von Pflugk Hartung. In:

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.35-41

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4F.2.p.28-41

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4A.2.p.12  
GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4B.p.31-33

<sup>107</sup> Dörk, G.M. Das Königlich Preussische etc p.132

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments etc. p.35

<sup>109</sup> J.von Pflugk Harttung. In: GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.

Report of Bülow. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.534

Report of Pirch I as referred to in: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.II p.506

Major Von Pfeil, in his diary. In: Militärarchiv der DDR, PR.19/109 (B1.20-22R)

Report colonel Von Hiller. In: Ollech, Von. Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.248-249

Ollech, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.249

Damitz, Von - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.311-315

Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée Vol.II p.435

Von Damitz gives a different order of battle for this third attack. According to his account, the 2nd and the 3rd battalion of the 1st Pommeranian regiment came into position in battalion columns opposite the church of Plancenoit (the 3rd battalion to the right and the 2nd battalion to the left), while the 1st and the 2nd battalion of the 5th regiment of Westphalian Landwehr infantry directed their assault upon the north-side of the village.

The 1st battalion of the 1st Pommeranian regiment followed the interval which was between these columns of attack.

Major Von Witzleben. With the 3rd battalion of the 25th regiment of infantry, turned Plancenoit on its south side by advancing along the heights there; the musketeer battalions of the regiment, as well as its Jäger were detached against the Bois de Virère.

In support, in the second line, the 11th regiment of infantry (two battalions) and the 2nd regiment of Pommeranian Landwehr (three battalions) of Von Ryssel's brigade followed, as well as the 15th regiment of infantry (1st and 2nd battalion) with the 1st regiment of Silesian Landwehr (1st and 2nd battalion), both of Von Hiller's brigade.

The whole was covered by skirmishers and a bombardment of the Prussian artillery. The first line advanced in a storm-pace. In: Geschichte etc. p.311-315

Colonel Von Hiller acknowledges the role of the units of Von Tippelskirch, but not in a position in front of his own. He also adds a correction in the plan as published by W.Siborne in his work of 1846. In: Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.251.

<sup>110</sup> The fact that Plancenoit was taken during the third attack becomes clear from the reports of general Bülow and colonel Von Hiller (see above).

In his memoirs, colonel Von Hiller mentions four attacks, in which account he enters relatively short into the third. He also believes that during the last attack he suffered a relatively low percentage of losses. Cf. Hiller, Von - Denkwürdigkeiten, p.252

<sup>111</sup> Horse battery nr.12 also fired grenades which made building catch fire. Cf. diary of major Von Pfeil. In: Militärarchiv der DDR, PR.19/109 (B1.20-22R)

Von Hiller himself, however, claims that it were the French who set fire into the buildings. In:

Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.251.

<sup>112</sup> Mach, A.von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen etc.p.339

<sup>113</sup> Mach, A.von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen etc.p.337

<sup>114</sup> Mach, A.von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen etc.p.339

<sup>115</sup> Odd enough, it is Stawitzky who situates the actions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 25<sup>th</sup> regiment on the right bank of the Lasne, while it operated on the opposite one, on this side of Plancenoit. He claims the battalion passed the Lasne at the mill of Virère (near the farm of Hubermont), near a pond, but it was the small side-stream of the Lasne, at the south-side of the village. He then has the battalion, preceded by two platoons of skirmishers (one of which was led by lieutenant Ribbeck), advance against the east-edge of the Bois de Chantelet, as if it was the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment. In: Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.93

<sup>116</sup> Mach, A.von Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen etc.p.339

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Captain Heuillet (2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of chasseurs). In: Journal de Toulouse 24<sup>th</sup> October 1845 p.2

<sup>118</sup>. Stawitzky, E.H.L. Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.106 Pelet. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache, 1905. p.33-54 and 107-128

Diary of major Von Pfeil (commander of the horse battery nr.12).In: In: Militärarchiv der DDR, PR.19/109 (Bl.20-22R) Major Von Pfeil was severely wounded at this time.

Cf. Captain Heuillet (2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of chasseurs). In: Journal de Toulouse 24<sup>th</sup> October 1845 p.2

<sup>119</sup>. According to Pelet, he evacuated Plancenoit at 8 or 8.30 p.m. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache. 1905 p.51

Bülow, in his report, states it was "gegen den Abend". In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.536

For 8.30 also see: Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée Vol.II p.437

<sup>120</sup>. It was in the period that the two first assaults on Plancenoit took place. Cf. Dörk, E.M. - Das königlich Preussischer 15tes Infanterie Regiment p.133

General Radet believes it was around 8 p.m. Cf. report of general Radet, dated 19th June 1815. In: Combier, A. Mémoires du général Radet p.343

Colonel Duuring (1st battalion 1st regiment of chasseurs) believes it was 5 and 6 p.m. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache. 1905 p.117

H.Houssaye and H.de Mauduit state it was 7 p.m. Cf.

Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.

Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée Vol.II p.396

<sup>121</sup>. Dörk, E.M. - Das königlich Preussischer 15tes Infanterie Regiment p.133

GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4A.2.p.19, V.4F.2.p.40

<sup>122</sup>. It is not clear which battery these guns came from. Duuring gives no further details about the position of the detachment either. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo p. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache, 1905. p.117

Marchand confirms that the men guarding the baggages pulled against the enemy into the adjacent wood. In: Mémoires de marchand premier Valet etc. p.164

Major Von Keller himself, mentions the pushing back of the enemy by captain Von Humbracht. Cf. Major Von Keller in: Narrative of the particular circumstances etc. In: A description of the costly and curious etc. p.11

According to Von Hiller though, Von Keller's men almost hadn't got involved in any fighting that day. Cf.Hiller, Von Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.253

<sup>123</sup>. Duuring mentions 200 men. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache. 1905, p.117

<sup>124</sup>. Report of Radet, dated 19th June 1815. In: Combier, A. Mémoires du général Radet p.343  
Colonel Duuring claims 100 men were detached twice.In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache, 1905. p.117

<sup>125</sup>. Report of Radet, 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: Combier, A. Mémoires du général Radet p.343 He claims the Prussians had lost 14 men killed.

Account of colonel Duuring. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache.1905 p.117

Houssaye uses both accounts in an incorrect way. First, he believes the Prussians advanced in and beyond the Bois de Chantelet (which they didn't) and secondly he claims the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment chasseurs pushed them back, while it was the temporarily formed battalion under adjudant Granier which did so. In: 1815.Waterloo p.424

Also see:

Siborne, W. History of the war in France etc. Vol.II p.242 He mentions the presence of grenadiers in stead of chasseurs.

<sup>126</sup> Dörk, E.M. - Das königlich Preussischer 15tes Infanterie Regiment p.133-134  
GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4A.2.p.19, V.4F.2.p.4041

<sup>127</sup> These were carriages / waggons registered under the numbers 410, 379, 165, 111, 407, 399, 357 and 389.

Cf. Delloye, S. "Le sort des équipages impériaux" In: Bulletin de la Société belge d'Etudes Napoleoniennes (1997), nr.29 p.4-23

Marchand, L.J.N. - Mémoires de Marchand. Premier valet de chambre et exécuteur testamentaire de l'empereur p.164-166

<sup>128</sup> GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4D.p.24

<sup>129</sup> GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4D.p.26

<sup>130</sup> GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4D.p.28-29

<sup>131</sup> GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4D.p.30-33

<sup>132</sup> GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.26,28

<sup>133</sup> GSA, VPH-HA, VI nr.V.5B.p.23-24

Count Von Wedel of the 1st regiment Pommeranian hussars nr.5 (Von Sohr) confirms his regiment was at this extreme left flank at the edge of the wood. From here it would have charged only once on French cavalry which charged Prussian squares, but the hussars had to wheel back for the French infantry which was further to the rear. In: Wedel, C.von Geschichte eines Offiziers etc. p.250

The 2nd regiment of Brandenburg hussars nr.3 was instructed to halt near Plancenoiit when it tried to follow the infantry. Cf. Ardenne, A.von - Geschichte des Zieten'schen Husaren-Regiments p.492

Dziengel, however, claims the 2nd regiment of Silesian uhlands was to the right of Plancenoiit. He also cites from the account of a sergeant Knothe who says his brigade (Von Thümen) was to the right and that it actually passed through the village. It may well have been that the scattered houses here, to the right of the wood, may have been held for Plancenoiit as such. Cf. Dziengel, J.D.von - Geschichte des königlichen Zweiten etc. p.390

<sup>134</sup> GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.5B.p.31

<sup>135</sup> GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4C.p.24

<sup>136</sup> GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V E.1.p.48 and 4A.1.p.22

<sup>137</sup> GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4A.1.p.18-19

<sup>138</sup> GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.73, 4 E.2.p.24, 4B.p.15-16

Reports of both battalions, as cited by Hofschroer. In: 1815. The Waterloo campaign Vol.II p.140-141

Report of the 1st battalion. In: Schulze, M. Das 2<sup>e</sup> Neumarkse Landwehr Infanterie Regiment p.177

GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.4B.p.11, 4 E.p.69-70

<sup>139</sup> Report of the 2nd battalion. In: Schulze, M. Das 2<sup>e</sup> Neumarks Landwehr Infanterie Regiment p.178-179

<sup>140</sup> Report of the battalion. In: Schulze, M. Das 2<sup>e</sup> Neumarkse Landwehr Infanterie Regiment p.179

GSA,VPH-HA, nr.V.4B.p.19 and 4 E.1.p.73

<sup>141</sup> GSA, VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4B.p.13

<sup>142</sup> GSA,VPH-HA, VI nr.4 E.2.p.19 and 4A.1.p.30-38

<sup>143</sup> GSA,VPH-HA,VI nr.V.4 E.1.p.74 and nr.V.4B.p.18

<sup>144</sup> GSA,VPH-HA, VI nr.V.4C.p.13-14

