

## The situation on the battlefield before the start of the second French offensive.

*The Anglo-Netherlands-German army.*

After the defeat of the 1st corps, allied infantry units which had advanced were recalled to their former positions into the main position, while others were assigned other positions. Yet others had gone back to the rear, accompanying prisoners and did not return to the front at all.<sup>1</sup> While the brigades of Kempt, Pack and Best were initially re-established in their former positions, colonel De Jongh – as successor of major general Van Bijlandt – was able to collect most part of the brigade of Bijlandt in its former positions at the Ohain-road in front of the 42<sup>nd</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> regiment.<sup>2</sup>

Vivian's brigade was kept in a position in rear of the Ohain-road and immediately west of the small road which leads to Vert Coucou.<sup>3</sup> After its charge, and covered by its skirmishers, the brigade of Vandeleur was taken back behind the ridge to the left of Best's brigade. There it dismounted, out of range of the French artillery.<sup>4</sup>

Severely thinned in ranks during the battle of Quatre Bras and the first French offensive, major general Kempt – now in command on the left wing - now decided to fill the gap which had existed between the 8th and 9th British brigades.

Towards 4 p.m. therefore both brigades of Best and Pack were initially slightly withdrawn to the rear and then to their right so as to close in upon Kempt's left flank. From there they advanced upon the slope of the ridge.<sup>5</sup> It can be supposed the same happened to Van Bijlandt's brigade.

In Best's brigade, the battalion of Verden was placed in square on the left flank, near the battery of Von Rettberg. Sometime later it switched into line. Its former position was now taken by the Lüneburg battalion.<sup>6</sup> By pulling his infantry to its right, major general Kempt increased its interval towards the cavalry of Vandeleur and Vivian. Van Merlen's brigade was kept stationary in rear of Lambert's and Kempt's brigade.<sup>7</sup>

Alten's battalions had been in squares during the charge of the French heavy cavalry, but now as the French grand battery had reopened its barrage after the first offensive, they deployed in line in order to decrease their exposure.<sup>8</sup> For the same reason, both battalions of Foot Guards lay down on the ground.<sup>9</sup>

After d'Erlon's strike in his left centre, Wellington deemed it necessary to shore up his centre.

First of all, he pulled Lambert's brigade up towards his main line between 3 and 3.15 p.m. Coming from the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, the brigade crossed the Brussels road, marched to the left rear of the farm of Mont Saint Jean and then to the frontline near the crossroads of this road and the Ohain-road.

The 27<sup>th</sup> regiment took up the former position of the 32<sup>nd</sup> regiment, which now got into the second line. The 4<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> regiment came to the right and left respectively lower in rear of the ridge. All battalions came in columns of companies on quarter distance.<sup>10</sup>

Again instructed by sir Guy Campbell (assistant adjutant general), the brigade Von Vincke also moved towards the Brussels road. While doing so, Von Vincke however received contradictory instructions to move and to halt. The result was that the brigade lost men due to the enemy fire, and eventually took up a position in reserve in rear of Lambert's brigade, immediately to the left of the main road, about 300 metres south of the farm of Mont Saint Jean and 200 metres north of the *maison Valette*.

Here, due to an apparent threat of French cavalry, the brigade placed itself in two squares, the left one consisting of the battalions Gifhorn and Hameln and the other, consisting of the battalions Peine and Hildesheim, and led by count Von Westphalen, to the right.<sup>11</sup> It was not long after these battalions had taken these positions, that both the battalions of Hildesheim and Peine were ordered to fall back along the Brussels road. Eventually they did so to a position beyond the

village of Waterloo.<sup>12</sup>

After its gallant charge, the Union brigade was taken back in the immediate vicinity of the tiny wood at about 700 metres east of the farm of Mont Saint Jean. Here, units were re-established as well as was possible. The men remained dismounted until they were called to the other side of the Brussels road by 3.30 p.m.<sup>13</sup> Here, they probably came in rear of the Household brigade.<sup>14</sup> By then it was 4 p.m.<sup>15</sup>

This last brigade, after having gone back on both sides of the Brussels road, initially came in rear of its former position in front of the orchard of the farm of Mont Saint Jean, but some time later it took this position on the slope of the hill again.<sup>16</sup>

Initially, after its charge, the brigade of De Ghigny was assigned a position about 100 metres in rear of the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment. Here, it had strict instructions (as given by Uxbridge) not to leave its position without orders, as it served here as a support for the infantry.<sup>17</sup>

Between 3 and 4 p.m. though, De Ghigny got the order through a British adjutant to lead his brigade to the other side of the Brussels-road as fast as he could. Ghigny – the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons leading – did so in a gallop and here he was ordered by his superior, general Collaert, to advance to the ridge. Here he posted the brigade in two lines, the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons in the first and the 8<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars, plus one squadron of the former regiment in the second, in rear of the interval which was between Von Kruse's and Colin Halkett's brigades.<sup>18</sup>

It may have been around the same time that Trip's brigade was pulled away from its former position near the Brussels road to the right, to a position about 120 metres to the right rear of the Bremen and Verden battalions (Kielmansegge's brigade) and to the left rear of Kruse's brigade, and in front of the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of KGL hussars.<sup>19</sup>

The Cumberland hussars kept their position directly southwest of the orchard of the farm of Mont Saint Jean; meanwhile it suffered from French gunfire.<sup>20</sup>

The centre of the main line of the army, on both sides of the Brussels road, was also strengthened with artillery. With Lambert, Braun's troop advanced over the Brussels road from its position near this brigade.<sup>21</sup> To make sure about a proper site to place his battery, captain Braun had gone ahead of his unit to reconnoitre the area to the left of the Brussels road. He found it at some 140 metres east of the road, in front of Kempt's brigade and to the right of Whinyates' battery.

As he accompanied his unit to the front, Braun was wounded on his left thigh by a cannonball, upon which 1st lieutenant Von Schulzen took over the command. The battery had hardly reached its position on the ridge when the limber of a howitzer was hit by French gunfire and exploded. The gun was disabled and the crew suffered some casualties.<sup>22</sup> Not long after also lieutenant Von Schulzen was killed and succeeded by captain d'Huvelé.

As the guns had lost their position due to the deep soil, d'Huvelé now (it was about 3.30 p.m.) decided to move them forward to the south-side of the Ohain-road. All the men and materials not directly needed were placed some 400 metres to the rear, near the small road which leads from the farm of Mont Saint Jean to the Ohain-road. The limbers remained in the initial position of the battery.

While the batteries of Von Rettberg [<sup>23</sup>] and Bijleveld kept stationary in their positions, the one of Rogers was moved in the last stages of the attack of the 1st corps to the right of the Brussels road. Here it got into a position to the right of the one of captain Ross and in front of the brigade of Kielmansegge. Here it came into action with five guns instead of six, as one had been spiked by its commander during the preceding action; later this gun was sent to the rear for repair.<sup>24</sup> To the left of Rogers, captain Ross' four pieces were still on the slope in rear of the farm of La Haye Sainte, in front of the brigade of Von Ompteda and south of the Ohain-road. The other two pieces which were on the Brussels road had been disabled during the attack of the 1<sup>st</sup> French corps.<sup>25</sup> The British foot-battery of Sinclair had stood in reserve near the windmill of Mont Saint Jean, until it was led to the front-line between 3.30 and 4 p.m. After having advanced

over the Nivelles-road, it turned to the left and took up a position to the right rear of the farm of La Haye Sainte, in front of the brigade of Kielmansegge, south of the Ohain-road.<sup>26</sup> Whether the battery was to the left or to the right of Rogers is unclear. Just before Rogers left his position, captain Whinyates had established his guns in close proximity of Roger's troop.

Somewhere between 3 and 3.30 p.m. lieutenant Dansey was ordered by Whinyates to move two guns towards the abatis on the Brussels road. Dansey himself went ahead to find out but discovered that the position was untenable for two guns due to the French skirmisher-fire and the presence of the high banks of the high road a little further. Therefore, Dansey now went back to his unit and had his men take some rockets to the front instead. As they did so, they installed themselves in rear of the abatis and started firing towards the French position. Soon after, both Dansey and lieutenant Wright (both on horseback) got wounded by musketry-fire. Sergeant Dunnett now took over the command of the detachment and kept firing until it had spent all of its ammunition and then went back to its former position on the ridge.<sup>27</sup>

At La Haye Sainte, shortly after having repulsed the first attack upon the farm and having suffered major casualties, major Baring made a request for the reinforcement of his garrison.

Not long after, two companies (the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup>) of skirmishers of the 1st battalion of light infantry KGL led by captain Von Gilsa and captain Von Marschalk (some 160 men strong) descended from the main position. Having reached the farm, they were posted in the vegetable garden north of the farm, where also a small part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of light infantry was stationed.<sup>28</sup>

This last battalion had left the orchard altogether and had pulled back into the farm itself, where lieutenants Graeme and Carey and ensign Frank were in command.<sup>29</sup> The east-gate was open again and the abatis re-occupied.

Of the Lüneburg battalion, which had been severely cut up near the farm by enemy cuirassiers, regiment surgeon Karsten, the assistant surgeon Schmeisser and 80 men assembled behind the first house in the village of Mont Saint Jean, and were joined half an hour later by several officers (captain Rall, Jacobi, lieutenant Borries, Creydt and Ritter), as well as 50 men they had been able to collect.

Adjutant Von Pentz was now sent to major general Von Kielmansegge to get permission to lead the remnants of the battalion back out from battle. He received the order to collect all of the men who had been dispersed there, along with others from the brigade who had gone missing.

But before this order could be obeyed, captain Rall and Jacobi had already advanced with those men who had been collected and took a position behind the first line of the brigade as it reformed. They later obeyed the order and arrived in Brussels towards midnight.<sup>30</sup>

On Wellington's extreme right flank, probably somewhere between 3.30 and 4 p.m., the French cavalry division of Piré (2<sup>nd</sup> corps) started to make demonstrations.<sup>31</sup> In order to do so, Piré posted his cavalry in two lines in rear of the road which starts from Braine l'Alleud, and which leads across the Nivelles-road to the Brussels-road, near Rossomme. The division stood west of the Nivelles-road, with its battery to the opposite side.<sup>32</sup>

Initially, these demonstrations had their effect as Wellington ordered Lord Uxbridge to oppose this French cavalry. The result was that Lord Uxbridge instructed major general Grant to charge the French with the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars and the 13<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons.

The 15<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars stood with two squadrons in rear of the Foot Guards and with one squadron west of the Nivelles-road; a picket was at this same road, near the avenue of Gomont.

Both squadrons took up a position more near to the Nivelles-road, more to the front and in rear of the Ohain-road. Shortly after they crossed the road and took up positions on the other side, in rear of the Ohain-road. It was from here that the two squadrons advanced around 3.15 p.m., in connection with the 13th regiment of light dragoons, to a position in rear of the road which connects Gomont to Braine l'Alleud. Here, the squadron of captain Wodehouse joined the

regiment.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, also the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of KGL light dragoons (brigade Von Dörnberg) advanced from its position south of the Nivelles-road towards Braine l'Alleud under captain Streenewitz, with the aim of charging from there the French units of Piré, but only after having received orders to do so. The regiment moved over the road which connects the Nivelles-road with Braine l'Alleud and which passes south of Merbraine; close to Braine l'Alleud it turned to the left into the hollow road which leads to Lillois. In this way, the horsemen were able to approach the French unseen.<sup>34</sup>

The other regiment of the brigade of Grant, the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars, moved - together with the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars - around 2.30 p.m. further to the right, to the point where the Nivelles-road and the Ohain-road merge. Here it took up a position in rear of the Ohain-road and dismounted because of the French gunfire.

As Grant himself saw that Piré's activity was only to divert the attention of his regiments to the right, he decided to leave the right squadron of the 15th regiment of hussars, led by captain Wodehouse, where it was and to lead his remaining forces to the front-line further left, the 13rd regiment of light dragoons leading.<sup>35</sup> It was then running towards 4 p.m.

These regiments, together with the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars, now came in an action near the Brunswick squares, east and north-east of Gomont.

The 13<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons operated to the left, the 15<sup>th</sup> hussars in the centre and the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars to the right.<sup>36</sup> Of the brigade of Von Dörnberg, the 23<sup>rd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> regiment of light dragoons were now taken further to the right in front of their former position, to the left and to the right.<sup>37</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of light dragoons KGL had left towards Braine l'Alleud at about 3.15 p.m. but was led back towards the main position some time later, probably after the French second offensive had started. Having suffered slightly from the French guns of Piré, it initially took up a position north of the Nivelles-road, but soon it advanced to a position south of this road (this was the former position it had had that day).<sup>38</sup>

As Adam's brigade suffered considerably in its position parallel to the Nivelles-road and south of Merbraine under French artillery-fire, it took up a position directly southwest of the small wood which lies halfway between Gomont and Merbraine.<sup>39</sup> This probably took place before 4 p.m.<sup>40</sup>

In relation to their advance later (see below) the battalions were probably in a row from east to west: 2nd battalion 95th regiment, 52nd regiment, 71st regiment, 3rd battalion 95th regiment.

As Piré developed after 3 p.m., it was also colonel Detmers of the 1<sup>st</sup> brigade of the division of Chassé who ordered the 2nd company of the 6th battalion of national militia to a position west of Braine l'Alleud and the 6th company of the same battalion to another south of the village.

Not long after, Chassé was ordered by Lord Hill to have the four battalions of Detmers' brigade which were immediately to the east of Braine l'Alleud to advance to the main position; this was carried out in column.

It was before 4 p.m. that these four battalions got south of Merbraine, where they were ordered by a British adjutant to form all in one square. Meanwhile, general Chassé had pulled up the brigade of d'Aubremé as well; it marched along a more northern route, through Merbraine.<sup>41</sup>

By 3 p.m., the 14<sup>th</sup> regiment got the order of lord Hill (through his aide de camp captain Bridgeman) to advance. This order was carried out under heavy French gunfire in a column of companies from the low ground where the regiment stood to an open valley where it halted to form square. Even though the men lied down to prevent further losses from the French fire, this didn't stop the regiment of losing more men. It caused the unit to move to another position a bit more to the front, at about 90 metres from the Nivelles-road; from there it had to observe the French cavalry.<sup>42</sup>

Of the Brunswick contingent, the 1<sup>st</sup> light battalion (led by major Holstein) and the Leibbataljon (led by major Pröstler) were now posted south of the Ohain-road, west and east of the Nivelles-

road respectively, opposite each other, north of Gomont. Here they were in communication with the units of 51<sup>st</sup> British regiment (brigade Mitchell) to their right. The horse battery of captain Heinemann was in front of the Leib-battalion.<sup>43</sup> The horse battery, mostly occupied by supporting the defence of Gomont with its fire, was covered by a squadron of Brunswick hussars led by captain Schnelle.<sup>44</sup> The five remaining battalions stood in a row in masses on, along and in rear of the Ohain-road, between the units of Maitland and the isolated trees near the Ohain-road. Further to their rear was the Brunswick cavalry and the foot battery of captain Moll. Not long after, these troops advanced.<sup>45</sup> The foot battery was most of the time involved in a fire on the French batteries which enfiladed the front line from the right.<sup>46</sup>

During the latter stages of the first main French attack and for at least an hour after that, Wellington and his staff were near the centre of the line, somewhere between the brigades of Von Ompteda and Kielmansegge.<sup>47</sup> It was also here that colonel Sir William Howe Delancey got mortally wounded by gunfire.<sup>48</sup> He was succeeded by Sir Charles Broke.<sup>49</sup>

At Gomont, while part of the buildings were ablaze and the garrison held out, the orchard had been retaken by the British. Around 3.30, colonel Hepburn arrived unaccompanied at the orchard and here met lord Saltoun with the remains of his companies. Saltoun now handed over the command of all the units in the orchard to him and went back with the remains of his two light companies to the other units of his brigade on the main ridge. It was not long after that Hepburn took up a position at the southern hedge of the orchard. At that time, the hedge at the southern side of the orchard was weakly occupied by the British and the French were swarming round there. Of Mercer's detachment, the 6th and the 7th companies took up positions at the left end of it, while the 8th company did so near the gate which led through the hedge to the wood and fields where the French pulled back.<sup>50</sup>

Not long after, around 4 p.m. the news arrived that major general Cooke had got seriously wounded and that major general Byng had succeeded him. As a result, Hepburn now took over the command over the brigade and colonel Mercer succeeded Hepburn as commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion / 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of Guards.<sup>51</sup>

As has been shown before, there had been a regular communication during the day between Von Müffling and Von Bülow and Gneisenau about progress of the Prussian flank-march. Despite this chain of information, it was around 3 p.m. that Wellington sent captain Staveley of the Royal Staff Corps to Prussian headquarters to gain information about the situation. Staveley found Prussian high command most probably just east of the Bois de Paris where he was told and could see for himself that the intervention was to take place as soon as all forces had been probably formed. By the time Staveley returned to the duke, probably around 5 p.m., the intervention had started.<sup>52</sup>

### *The French army.*

After the collapse of the French forces in their confrontation with their opponents, their remnants streamed back into safety beyond the intermediate ridge where the 6<sup>th</sup> corps, parts of Milhaud's corps as well as the light cavalry of the guard were stationed.

There, in the hollow ground, the men were re-assembled and had some time to settle down. Napoleon also paid a visit to encourage the men to go forward into battle again. At the same time, he passed along the ranks of the cuirassiers of Milhaud and the light cavalry of Lefebvre Desnouettes.<sup>53</sup> At that moment, while being at Napoleon's side, lieutenant general baron Desvaux de Saint Maurice, commander of the artillery of the imperial guard, was killed by a cannonball. He was succeeded by general Lallemand, commander of the foot artillery of the old guard, but he was wounded not long after.<sup>54</sup>

After this inspection, Napoleon returned to his former position near opposite the Decoster-house. A number of the fugitives of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps, however, went back to the rear as far as Le Caillou. Here stood the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the 1st regiment of the imperial guard, led by colonel Duuring. Seeing his comrades stream back from the frontline, he now ordered two of his companies to take up a position on the chaussée, while he put one on each flank, at the side of the road. In this position Duuring was able to halt the flow of fugitives, which lasted for about one hour, and in which he was assisted by the gendarmerie who were attached to the imperial headquarters.<sup>55-56</sup> Other fugitives, probably those of Durutte, fell back to the east and were received by the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars which stood on the extreme right flank of what had been the 1<sup>st</sup> corps.<sup>57</sup> All in all, it took d'Erlon about one hour to re-assemble the remnants of his units after their defeat.<sup>58</sup> Of the grand battery, the three 12-pounder batteries had fled to the rear, of which one later returned back to the front. The losses of the battery were now balanced by some artillery of the 6<sup>th</sup> corps, led by lieutenant general baron Noury. A little later, as the 6<sup>th</sup> corps moved out to the right against the Prussian army, these guns were replaced by some horse artillery of the Imperial Guard, led by colonel Duchand.<sup>59</sup> It was before long after the defeat of the first main attack that the guns of the grand battery resumed their fire.<sup>60</sup>

As this was all taking place, Napoleon – accompanied by his staff - pondered about a second strike against Wellington. Meanwhile, his brother had joined him too to discuss the situation.<sup>61</sup> It did not take Napoleon long to decide. Having seen the virtual annihilation of Wellington's heavy cavalry and taking it for granted that his centre and left wing were weakened by the attack, he swiftly decided to carry out a second effort. As a prelude to this second offensive, a second attack upon La Haye Sainte was to take place. Meanwhile, the 1<sup>st</sup> corps would be launched as large masses of skirmishers to soften up Wellington's centre and left wing. After that, the 6<sup>th</sup> corps would be unleashed *en echelon* for the main assault upon Wellington's centre. This corps still stood on the intermediate ridge. By then it would be about 4.30 p.m. Further to the left, units of Reille, as well as the cavalry of Kellermann and Guyot, would be again ready to advance upon Wellington's centre as soon as Lobau would be penetrating in it from the right.<sup>62</sup> Though the action at Gomont had not been completed as projected, Jérôme had to stick to his general aim by protecting the 2<sup>nd</sup> corps on its left by maintaining his position in front of the buildings of Gomont and by the renewal of his offensive against it orchard.<sup>63</sup> The cavalry of Milhaud and Lefebvre Desnouettes and the infantry of the imperial guard would be ready from their positions in rear of Lobau to consolidate his success not long after, while the grand battery was to advance to the intermediate ridge to pound Wellington's line at close range. It was calculated then to be about 5 p.m. It was probably not long after the start of the action against the farm of La Haye Sainte, probably by 3.45 p.m. that major De La Fresnaye delivered Grouchy's report of 11 a.m. to Napoleon.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to Basil Jackson, some 160 men of the army of the Netherlands [Van Bijlandt's brigade] accompanied the prisoners taken during the first offensive. In: Reminiscences etc. p.83

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the papers of colonel De Jongh, as published in the Militaire Spectator of 1866 One of the members of his battalion, lieutenant Pronk of the 8<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia, however, states that it was dispersed after the British cavalry had ridden through its centre; men attached themselves to neighbouring units. Cf. his diary. In: The family-prospectus "Pronkstukken"

<sup>3</sup> Major Von der Decken (1st regiment KGL hussars). In: Hann.41.nr.152 p.27-29

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297  
Captain Childers (11<sup>th</sup> regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.165-166  
Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment of light dragoons) In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.184-185

<sup>5</sup> Ensign Mudie (1st Regiment of foot). In journal. In: The Royal Scots Museum, Edinburgh castle.  
General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302  
Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271  
Sir W.M.Gomm. In: Letters and journals etc. p.360  
Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344  
Lieutenant Black (1st). In a letter dated 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1815 to surgeon Black. In: NLS, MS10488  
An anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment. In: United Service Journal II 1841 p.184

<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Shelton (28<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135  
Lieutenant Kincaid (1<sup>st</sup> battalion, 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: Adventures etc. p.337  
Lieutenant colonel Barnard (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265  
Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 215-217, 388-391  
Lieutenant Drewe (27th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.386-388  
Lieutenant Cathcart (aide de camp of Wellington). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.146-150  
VPH,nrs.19, 22-24  
Major Winchester (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.335-338  
BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.278-283

<sup>7</sup> Van Merlen's presence here by 3.30 p.m. is confirmed by major Browne (40<sup>th</sup> regiment). He mentions the presence of Belgian cavalry in rear of the flanks of his regiment. Browne depicts them as dressed in yellow (while in reality they were dressed in light green with yellow facings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705.85

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.206

<sup>9</sup> Ensign Batty (3rd battalion / 1st Foot Guards) in a letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815. In: The Harrington collection.

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<sup>10</sup>. Lieutenant Drewe (27th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.417-419 and 34.707 p.386-388

Sergeant Lawrence (40th regiment). In: Mémoires d'un grenadier anglais p.208

Captain Leach (1<sup>st</sup> battalion 95th regiment). In: Rough sketches etc. p.389

Major general Lambert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65 and 34.706 p.64-67

Lieutenant Bakewell (27th regiment).Diary. In: NAM, nr.7509/75

Major Calvert (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.169-170

Sergeant Robertson (92th regiment). In: The journal of sergeant Robertson p.156

Report of major general Kempt to Wellington, 19th June 1815. In: WSD, Vol. X p.535-537.

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals) mentions an advance in closed columns of sections and he refers erroneously to the 52nd regiment. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.98-100

<sup>11</sup>. Colonel Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.89-93 and Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.90-103

Lieutenant colonel Hartmann (Battalion Hameln).In: WL,nr.704.67

According to Weinhold, the square of the battalions of Hameln and Gifhorn took place east of the road and the other one to the west; this is incorrect. In: Erinnerungen an Waterloo p.64

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Extensive note.

<sup>13</sup>. Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). In: NWMS nr.A.213.2.07

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.151-154, 34.707 p.91-94 and 34.708 p.13-16

Major Miller (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.67-69

Lieutenant Mills (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.223-226

Major Dorville (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.231-232

Captain Phipps (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.141-142

Lieutenant colonel Clifton (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.73-76

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

Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.23-27 and 34.704 p.171-174

Cornet Clape (Scots Greys) Cf. his letter to his mother, dated about one week after the battle of Waterloo. In: Almack, E. – The history of the second dragoons p.71

According to major Clarke, some 100 men were left of the Scots Greys. Cf. his letter dated 11th July 1815 to Sir J.Stewart. In: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.76

According to sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys) the men were first collected in the position from which they started their charge, before being led to the small wood alluded to. Cf. his journal. In: Atkinson, C.T. A Waterloo journal. JSAHR.Vol.38.1960. p.39

<sup>14</sup>. Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62

Major Miller (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.67-69

Captain Clark Kennedy (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.151-153

Lieutenant Mills (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.223-226

Major Dorville (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 231-232

Lieutenant colonel Clifton (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704.23

Sergeant Johnston erroneously places his unit on the crest of the ridge, about 60 metres from the enemy. Cf. his journal in: Atkinson, C.T. A Waterloo journal.JSAHR.Vol.38.1960.p.39

<sup>15</sup> Lieutenant colonel Miller (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62

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Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 67-69  
Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: 705.49

<sup>16</sup> Lord Edward Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140  
Cf. his diary. In: NAM, nr.6807-344  
Cf. his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: Bodleian library MS Eng.hist.d. ff.49-60  
Lieutenant Marten (2nd regiment of Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.5-6 and 34.707 p.179-181  
Luitenant kolonel Lygon (commander of the 2nd regiment Life Guards) cited by lieutenant Waymouth (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.263-268

<sup>17</sup> Major general De Ghigny. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.416-417  
Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of De Ghigny). In: CBG, nr.95 and in: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263  
Another witness mentions a position near the brigade of Van Bijlandt, the light dragoons getting there first and the hussars some time later. Cf. Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4<sup>e</sup> regiment lichte dragoniers p.18

<sup>18</sup> Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt, chief of staff of the brigade Ghigny. In: Archive of the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263  
He believes it was then 3 p.m.  
De Ghigny himself mentions a position between the Nassau units and the Foot Guards, but what he means here are the men of Colin Halkett. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.416-417  
The position and time of 4 p.m. is confirmed by 1st lieutenant Morbotter, brigade major of Trip's brigade. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263  
For 4 p.m. also see squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4<sup>e</sup> regiment lichte dragoniers p.19 He confirms the horsemen galloped towards their new position which he places between a Nassau unit (to the left) and a Hanoverian one (to the right).  
Lieutenant colonel Renno claims it was 6 p.m. but this is wrong. He states the 3rd and 4th squadron of his regiment were in the first line, and the 5th in the second. In: Groninger Museum, Groningen. Collection Offerhaus Foundation

<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant Warin (3rd carabineers). Cf. his undated letter. In: Rijksarchief van de provincie Utrecht. Familie archief Van Ortt, 74 inv.nr.157  
Lieutenant Morbotter (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of carabineers). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.263  
Private W.Schalkwijk – he refers to Brunswick and Nassau infantry in front and British cavalry in the rear, but for the Brunswickers he refers here to a later moment in the action and the British were in fact the Hanoverian hussars. In: KHA,  
Lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment) also confirms a position to the left of the brigade of Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.369-382 and 704 88-97  
Major Von Schnehen (3<sup>rd</sup> hussars) confirms a position of Trip to the right rear of Kruse. In: VPH nr.59  
Major Von Goeben (3<sup>rd</sup> KGL hussars) confirms the presence of Trip in front of his regiment. In: VPH nr.60  
Lieutenant general Trip, dated 16th July 1823. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La

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campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas.Vol.III p.408-414,402-406

Report of general major Trip, dated 25th october 1815. In: Aerts, W. Le colonel J.B.Debruyn etc. In: Carnet de la Fourragère, 3<sup>e</sup> série, p.57

Account of surgeon M.Rodi (3rd regiment of carabineers).In: Dommelen, G.F.van Levensbericht etc. p.4

D.Theys (rank unknown, 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of carabineers). In: LMB, archief-fonds Franse periode, vol. IV

<sup>20</sup> General Hanoverian report. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.156 p.27-49

Lieutenant general Alten in his report to the duke of Cambridge, 20th June 1815. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.150 p.1-10

<sup>21</sup> Captain Braun. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.149-151

Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.152-155

He mentions a time of 2 p.m.

Beamish, L.von - History of the KGL. Plan

<sup>22</sup> Captain Braun. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.149-151

Captain Von Rettberg. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.159-163

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

Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.152-155

Beamish, L.von - History of the K GL. Plan

<sup>23</sup> Report of captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH, nr.66

Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-234

Lieutenant Heise of the same battery confirms that it remained in position until the Prussians arrived (he puts this at 6 p.m. which is too early), but also adds that its fire slackened in the period between the end of the attack of the 1st French corps and the arrival of the Prussians. The battery then retired for a couple of hundred metres. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.190-191

Major general Best, on the contrary, states that the battery had run out of ammunition by 3 p.m. and had to go back for some distance. Having replenished its ammunition one hour later, it resumed its position. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.278-282

<sup>24</sup> Captain Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.227-234, 240-241

Lieutenant Maule (Rogers' battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.120122

Lieutenant Wilson (Rogers' battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.44-47

In his plan, Wilson assigns the guns a position too far to the rear.

<sup>25</sup> Captain Ross. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 255-259

Sabine, E. - Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer. Letter XXV, p.560

In another letter captain Ross claims three guns were still involved in the action after the attack of the 1st French corps. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.318

<sup>26</sup> Lieutenant Wilson (battery Sinclair). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.281-282

Lieutenant Poole. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.155-158

Captain W.Siborne. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 155-158

<sup>27</sup> Captain Whinyates. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.187-188, 251-254, 513-515, 531-533

Lieutenant Dansey. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.20-22, 25-28, 29-31, and 34.706 p.468-470

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Sergeant Dickson (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.90, 94-95  
Sergeant Dunnett (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.92-93, 96-97  
Captain Leach (1<sup>st</sup> battalion, 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.18-19  
Sir Horace Seymour. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.495-497, 517-519, 522-524

<sup>28</sup> General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.156 p.27-49  
Adjutant Buhse (1st battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.264-267  
Captain Von Gilsa (1<sup>st</sup> battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.227-229  
Shaw Kennedy, J. – Notes etc. p.122

There is a hint of captain Wynecken that he would have taken up a position east of the Brussels road with the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> company of the battalion, having the 32<sup>nd</sup> British regiment - immediately in rear of the hedge of this road – in his left front. The assertion lacks further corroboration. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.224-225

<sup>29</sup> Baring, G. Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. In: Hannoversches Militärisches Journal.1831 p.76

Luitenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.273-276  
Here, he cites Sir A.Barnard of the 1st battalion 95th regiment.

<sup>30</sup> In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: NHS, Hann.48a, I, nr.368

<sup>31</sup> Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.305-308  
Here he writes that it was 3 p.m., but in his diary he writes that it was 2 p.m. In: Wylly - H.C. The military memoirs of etc. p.71

Colonel Friedrichs (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.30-33

Friedrichs thinks it was 2 or 3 p.m.

Others claim it was 4 p.m.

Cf. Captain Seeger (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.17-22

Lieutenant general Von Dörnberg. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.1-4

<sup>32</sup> Captain Mercer. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.347-354

In his Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.II p.300

Mercer mentions the presence of three batteries of light artillery and one of heavy artillery.

Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.305-308 and 34.704 67-70

Cf. his diary. In: Wylly, H.C. The military memoirs of etc. p.71

<sup>33</sup> Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.67-70 and 34.705 p.305-308

Cf. his diary. In: Wylly, H.C. The military memoirs of etc. p.71

Lieutenant Doherty (13th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.229-230

Lieutenant Lane (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.95-98

Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192 and in a memorandum in the Plas Newydd Papers.

Private Wheeler in a letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815 (51st regiment). In: NAM, nr.6806/42

Major Turner (13th regiment of light dragoons). In: NAM, nr.7509-62

Lord Uxbridge in a letter to general Adam, dated 18th December 1815. In: NAM, nr. 6507-1

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- <sup>34</sup>. General Hanoverian report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.156 p.27-49  
Journal of the 1st regiment of light dragoons KGL. In: NHA, Hann.38D. nr.231 p.15-16  
Journal of the 2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL. In: NHA, Hann. 38D, nr.232 p.76,84  
Colonel Friedrichs (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.30-33  
Captain Seeger (2nd regiment of light dragoons). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.17-22  
Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192 and in a memorandum in the Plas Newydd Papers  
Lieutenant general Von Dörnberg. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.1-4  
According to Von Nettelblatt, the whole brigade got a more westward position, near the Nivelles-road, and later detached the 2th regiment of light dragoons. Cf. Nettelblatt, A.von Die Althannoverschen Überlieferungen etc. p.36
- <sup>35</sup>. Memorandum of lord Uxbridge. In: Plas Newydd Papers  
Captain J.Thackwell in his diary. In: Wylly, H.C. The military memoirs of etc. p.71
- <sup>36</sup>. Major general Thackwell. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.305-308  
Captain Robbins (7th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 127-130  
Lieutenant O'Grady (7th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.73-75  
Lieutenant Doherty (13th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.229-230  
Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704.21 and in his diary. In: Wylly, H.C. In: The military memoirs of lieutenant general Sir J.Thackwell p.71  
Lieutenant Lane (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.95-98  
Captain Verner (7th regiment of hussars). In: Verner, W. Reminiscences of William Verner. In: JSAHR.1965, nr.8  
Major Turner (13th regiment of light dragoons). In his letter dated 3rd of July 1815 to a man called Busby. In: NAM, nr.  
He mentions the presence of French infantry, while Lane mentions grenadiers à cheval, Doherty saw dragoons, Thackwell cuirassiers and O'Grady mixed cavalry. Captain Wodehouse saw grenadiers and lancers of the guard. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.97 ,plan nrs.10-12  
Captain Wodehouse (15th regiment of hussars) also mentions the presence of French infantry in squares, and which was attacked by the 15th of hussars at 5 p.m. between Gomont and the Ohainroad. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.97
- <sup>37</sup>. Journal of the 1st regiment of light dragoons. In: Hann.38D,nr.231 p.15-16  
Major general Von Dörnberg. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.1-4  
Major Lautour (23rd regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.286-289  
According to lieutenant Von Wissell (battery Von Kühlmann ?) they were here in rear of his battery. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.262-263
- <sup>38</sup>. Journal of the 2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL. In: Hann.38D.232.p.76,84  
Colonel Friedrichs (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: Hann.41.XXI.152.p.30-33  
Major Seeger (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). In: Hann.41.XXI.152.p.17-22
- <sup>39</sup>. Captain Miller (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.241-245  
Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.312-318  
Captain Logan (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In a letter to W.Sylvester. In: Miscellany.1934, p.86-87. BL, Add.mss.43.830

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Cf. Yonge, W.C. - Memoir of Lord Seaton's Services p.220 Yonge mentions squares.  
Cf. Cusick, R. - Waterloo, the legacy of Sir John Moore. In: The Waterloo Journal Vol.20 nr.1 p.4 (Position G)

For the march of the 52nd regiment, ensign Leeke gives other directions, positions and times.  
In: History of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I.p.28

According to lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment) his battalion relieved two Brunswick battalions in rear of the ridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.312-318

<sup>40.</sup> Captain Miller (2nd battalion 95th regiment) believes it was 3 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.241-245

Cf. Yonge, W.C. - Memoir of Lord Seaton's Services p.220

Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment) claims it was between 3 and 4 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.241-245

Private John Smith (71st) claims it was after 2 p.m. See his letter dated 14th July 1815. In: Cusick gives noon. Cf. Cusick, R. - Waterloo, the legacy of Sir John Moore. In: The Waterloo Journal Vol.20 nr.1 p.4

<sup>41.</sup> For the reconstruction of the marches and positions of this division the following sources have been used:

Report of lieutenant colonel Van Delen. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.364-366

Report of colonel Detmers. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.374-376

Letter of general Chassé to the prince of Orange, dated 4th July 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.354-357

Account of captain Mercer (battery Mercer). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.347-354

Letter of lieutenant Breuer (36th battalion of chasseurs) dated 13th February 1855 to general Renard. In: Eenens, A.M. – Dissertation etc. p.55-56, 89

Letter of private A.H.Munter (4th battalion of national militia, brigade d'Aubremé), dated 22nd July 1815. In: NIMH, no reference

Captain Schäfer (adjutant of colonel Detmers). In: NA, nr.2.13.04

Account of 2nd lieutenant P.P.Roorda van Eysinga. In: Iets betreffende den slag van Waterloo. In: Recensent der recensenten. 1831 nr.6-7

Account of captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia). In: private archive family Rochell

Craan, W.B. Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo

<sup>42.</sup> Colonel Von Olfermann. In: VPH,nr.67

Lord Hill praises the battalions of majors Von Proestler and Von Holstein (the Leib-battalion and the 1st battalion of light infantry) for their behavior in this part of the battle. Cf. his report of the 20th of June. In: Supplementary Despatches. Vol.X, p.544-545

Captain Mercer noted the very young age of the Brunswick (18 years at most) and the lack of order in the squares which the Brunswick officers attempted to restore. Cf. his letter dated 24th January 1866 to an unknown person. In: RAI, nr.MD88

Schneidawind confirms all French cavalry charges were thrown back. In: Der letzte Feldzug etc. p.107-108

<sup>43.</sup> Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armeekorps etc. p.39-40

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Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

Brandis, S.von Übersicht der Geschichte etc. Plan

Private Wheeler (51st regiment, brigade Mitchell) in a letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: NAM, nr.6806/42

Ensign Keppel (14th regiment). Keppel confirms the presence of Brunswick jäger in front of the 14th regiment (which then stood about 90 metres of the Nivelles-road) at a road (probably the one coming from Gomont) and where they were in action against the French skirmishers. In: Albemarle, Vol.II p.31

Ensign Cappel (Leib battalion) suggests as if his battalion faced French forces / cuirassiers east of Gomont. Cf. former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: NSA, nr.276 N15

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Internet. Herzoglich Braunschweigisches Feldkorps.2001

<sup>45</sup> Schneidawind, F. Der letzte Feldzug etc. p.94

Colonel Von Olfermann. In: VPH, nr.67

Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.40  
VPH,nr.68

Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

Cf. Internet. Herzoglich Braunschweigisches Feldkorps.2001

Lieutenant Gronow (Foot Guards) paints the presence of a Brunswick square 50 metres from his unit. In: The reminiscences and recollections etc. p.71

Ensign R.Batty (3rd battalion 1st Foot Guards) is another witness mentioning the presence of the Brunswickers (two battalions in squares). In a letter dated 23rd June 1815 p. 17 Private collection.

Captain Mercer mentions his advance in between two Brunswick squares. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.106 and in his Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.II, p.312

Members of the brigade of Adam confirm the presence of the Brunswick squares at the foot of the slope. Cf.

Ensign Leeke (52e regiment). In:

Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.404-405, 406-413

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

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

Also see: lieutenant O'Grady (7th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.73-75

Lieutenant general Von Dörnberg. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.1-4 The fact that the Brunswick squares were in two lines can be taken from the account of captain Bull, as he states that his battery fell back to the second line of squares and the fact is that in his rear were the 23rd regiment and the Brunswickers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.11

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Internet. Herzoglich Braunschweigisches Feldkorps.2001

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.152-156 and 516-518

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Extensive note.

E.Heeley (assistant of Sir G.Scovell). Journal. In: NAM, nr.8409-98

Colonel Elphinstone (33rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.50

According to lady De Lancey it took place at 3 p.m. but this is corrected by the editor of her book. Cf. Ward, B.R. – A week at Waterloo p.109

Wellington himself states he fell in the middle of the action, which was towards 4 p.m. Cf. his report to Lord Bathurst. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom, - La champagne de 1815

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Vol.III p.480

According to Kelly, De Lancey fell the moment he led a Hanoverian battalion to the front and which had been in confusion just before. In: The battle of Waterloo p.51

<sup>49</sup> Sir James Shaw Kennedy. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.72-74

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.Ms. 34.703 p.311-316

Lord Saltoun. In: BL, Add.Ms.34.703 p.227-229

Lieutenant colonel Home (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> December 1836.

In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NLS, Mss 866

Captain Mercer (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of FG). In: BL, Add.Ms. 34.703 p.203-206

Cf. his 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 Gronow (Foot Guards). In: The reminiscences etc. p.199

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Major general Byng. In a letter to the duke of York, dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In:

[www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards

Lieutenant colonel Home (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> December 1836.

In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NLS, Mss 866

Ensign Berkeley Drummond (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> May [no year]. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: National Archives of Scotland, nr. GD.172/1223/12/1

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ensign Batty (1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards) who had this information from Staveley himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.211-213

And in: Historical sketch etc. p.105

Unfortunately, Staveley himself remains silent about this mission in his letter to his mother, dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: NAM, nr.1999-06-149-11

<sup>53</sup> Mémoires pour servir etc. p.145

<sup>54</sup> Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France p.145

Napoleon states as if he went there during the action itself, but this is highly improbable.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Colonel Duuring. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache.1905 p.33-54 and 107-128

<sup>56</sup> Corporal Canler of the 28<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line (brigade Bourgeois) got into captivity as the attack of his brigade had failed, but he was saved by cavalry which in its turn pushed back the British cavalry.

As Canler went back to the French position he found a wounded comrade of the other regiment of his brigade (the 105<sup>th</sup>) and dragged him to the rear on his back. Unable to find his own unit, Canler was then ordered by some high officer to take up a position on the great road to halt the fugitives there. This is what he did until the total collapse of the army. In: Mémoires etc. p.27-29

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Chef d'escadron Dupuy (7<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars). In: Souvenirs militaires p.287-294

<sup>58</sup> Captain Duthilt. In: Mes campagnes et souvenirs p.304

Captain Martin (45<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line). In: Souvenirs etc. p.292-293 (between 3 and 4

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p.m.)

Lieutenant Hope (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment) confirms there was a lull in the fighting between 3.30 and 4.20 p.m. (which is incorrect in itself, but which corroborates with the length of one hour). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.18-21

Though he uses the incorrect hours (between 2 and 3 p.m.), this period of time is also corroborated by lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: *Adventures in the Rifle brigade etc.* p.338

Cf. Mauduit, H.de – *Les derniers jours etc.* Vol.II p.329

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Gore, A. - *An historical account of the battle of Waterloo fought on the 18th of June etc.* p.22, 24

De Salle. In: *Souvenirs et correspondance etc.* p.54-55

Neither De Salle, nor Gore mention the number or identity of the guns involved.

The imperial guard contained five batteries of horse artillery: four assigned to the cavalry of the guard and one assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> corps.

<sup>60</sup> Captain Martin (45th regiment of the line). In: *Souvenirs etc.* p.293

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: *Historisch verhaal etc.* In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8

Captain Von Scriba (Fieldbattalion Bremen). In: VPH, nr.41 and in: *Das Leichte etc.* p.91

He adds that the combined square of his battalion moved slightly to its right to avoid the French gunfire; shortly after it deployed into line. It had just done so when two powder-carts of a battery exploded, thereby causing several killed and wounded.

Cf. Major Müller (battalion Bremen). In: VPH, nr.40

<sup>61</sup> Jérôme in his letter to his wife, dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: *Mémoires et correspondance du roi Jérôme et de la reine Cathérine* p.24

<sup>62</sup> Napoleon himself writes: “Le mouvement de la cavalerie sur le plateau, pendant que l’attaque du general Bülow n’était pas encore repoussée, fut un accident fâcheux; l’intention du chef était d’ordonner ce mouvement, mais une heure plus tard, et de le faire soutenir par les seize bataillons d’infanterie de la garde et cent pièces de canon.” In: *Mémoires pour servir etc.* p.187

His brother, Jérôme phrases it on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1815 to his wife: “l’empereur ordonna au maréchal Ney de se porter avec une grande partie de la cavalerie, deux corps d’infanterie et la garde sur le centre de l’ennemi pour donner le coup de massue, et certes c’en était fait de l’armée anglaise, si le maréchal eût exécuté les ordres de l’empereur; mais, emportée par son ardeur, il attaqua trois quarts d’heures trop tôt.” In: *Houssaye, H. – 1815. Waterloo* p.367

At this stage, enemy’s guns were able to hit Bachelu’s division. The damage inflicted was such that it prompted Bachelu to draw his division more towards a position in the low ground east of the wood of Gomont, *l’arme au bras*. Cf. Colonel Trefcon – *Carnet de campagne etc.* p.188

<sup>63</sup> Jérôme himself claims he was called to his brother right after the failure of the first grand offensive. According to one of his aides, however, it was towards 4 p.m. that Drouot came to instruct him - on behalf of his brother - to keep Gomont in control so as to support the attack on the centre. Cf. Captain Bourdon de Vatry. In: *Grouchy, G.de – Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy* Vol.IV p.107

<sup>64</sup> It took De la Fresnaye at least 4 hours to cover the distance involved and this was (from

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Walhain through Gembloux, Point du Jour, Quatre Bras and Genappe to the Maison Decoster) about 38 kilometres.

Napoleon kept De la Fresnaye on the battlefield. Cf. De La Fresnaye's letter to Grouchy, dated 17<sup>th</sup> December 1829. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy Vol.IV p.71