

The order of battle of the Anglo-German-Netherlands army.

Introduction.

Having spent a miserable night in the rain, the troops in their bivouacs attempted to prepare themselves as well as they could for the coming confrontation.¹

In order to procure some food, there were no or little provisions were available, foraging parties were sent out by individual units. Breakfasts were cooked from whatever the men had or had acquired. There where fires had gone out because of the rain, new ones were set up by using anything that would burn, like shutters, doors, furniture etc.

It was not until 9 a.m. that the rain ceased falling and that the sky slowly cleared up.² Also, a wind started to blow which successively dried the battlefield bit by bit.³ However, until the afternoon, some drizzling rain fell now and then. That day, the sun never really completely broke through.⁴

It made it possible for the men, in combination with their fires, to dry themselves, their equipment and their arms. Additionally, parties were sent out to the rear to get ammunition there where it was needed. In some cases these attempts succeeded, in others they didn't.

Central headquarters.

Wellington, with his staff, left Waterloo around 6 a.m.⁵ Elated, the group rode in a high speed.⁶ Wellington in all probability arrived at the front around 7 a.m.⁷ There, he rode towards the 2nd British division on the right and from there he rode to Gomont. Having given orders to reinforce the garrison – by then it was around 8 a.m. - he proceeded towards the 3rd division of Alten and after having pulled it back in rear of the Ohain-road, he continued his way to the left, as far as the farm of La Haye and the chateau of Fichermont.⁸⁻⁹ By then it was around 9 a.m. From there, he returned to the centre of his line, near the Foot Guards.

As the 2nd French corps developed in front of his right centre and right wing (between 10 and 11 a.m.), the duke accordingly went to Gomont to observe the enemy. This was around 10.30 a.m.¹⁰ It was here that he rode over the track which leads through the wood of Gomont towards La Belle Alliance to the extreme western edge of this wood, from where he observed the French lines and accordingly left Gomont around 11 a.m.¹¹ From Gomont he returned to his former post near the Foot Guards.¹² Here and there, the Duke would have made a change in the order of battle.¹³

That morning, Wellington also issued the following order to lord Uxbridge regarding the dispositions of the cavalry:

*We ought to have more of the cavalry between the two high roads. That is to say, three brigades at least, besides the brigade in observation on the right & besides the Belgian cavalry & the D.of Cumberland's hussars. One heavy & one light brigade might remain on the left.*¹⁴

Apart from the division of Collaert and the regiment of Cumberland hussars, Wellington indeed initially only had two full brigades between both high-roads: those of Somerset and Von

Dörnberg. On the left wing he had two brigades of light cavalry (Vivian and Vandeleur), one regiment of hussars (the 7th) and the Union brigade. Eventually, all were kept there, except for the 7th regiment of hussars, which was taken between the high-roads.

To the right were the 13th regiment of light dragoons as well as the 15th regiment of hussars and these were pulled to positions between the high-roads as well.

The prince of Orange had spent the night in the farm of Abeiche near the hamlet of Chenois. Around 2.30 a.m. he used his breakfast with Constant Rebecque, colonel Abercombrie and some other members of his staff.¹⁵ From Abeiche, the prince headed towards the front, probably through the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean. That day he rode his favourite brown charger called Wexy; it was probably only covered with a British saddle and a blue schabrak.¹⁶

Once at the front-line, he sent Constant Rebecque towards Braine l'Alleud in order to find out about the situation of the division of Chassé.

Meanwhile, one of the staff officers of Constant Rebecque, major Van Gorkum, had been looking for his superior. Having spent the night somewhere in the field, Van Gorkum had been looking for him in the village of Waterloo in the very early morning, but this was in vain. Being on his own now, by 6 a.m. Van Gorkum attached himself to the staff of Delancey and soon he got the instruction of the Duke of Wellington to find the prince of Orange.

Wellington requested him to ask the prince about complaints which had reached him about the fact that the ammunitions carts of the British artillery were not able to reach the front as the road was blocked by all sorts of carts and baggages. These ammunition carts had got stuck on the evening of the 17th of June during the confusion resulting from the French bombardment.

Major Van Gorkum found the prince in the centre of the line by 8 a.m. The prince requested Van Gorkum to disengage the carts; for this he was allowed to use 100 men of the Netherlands heavy cavalry. Van Gorkum immediately went over to its commander, Trip, but he refused to give him 100 men; 50 men were all he could spare.

Van Gorkum, now in rear of Waterloo, found out himself about the situation on the road: here were all kinds of deserters and un-drawn carts. To the sides of the road were deep ditches which made the accessibility even worse; on top of that, access roads into the forest were blocked by cut trees. Though Van Gorkum was able to disengage a few ammunition carts, he realized he needed much more assistance to do the job. Therefore he sent his wagenmeester ordonnans of the guides with a written order to captain Esau of the company of engineers (Van Gorkum presumed this was still at Espinette or Brussels) to advance over the road, disengage it and guard it. To assist Esau, van Gorkum sent him some officers of the carabineers; their mission too was to escort the carts towards the front. Soon, all these measures took their effect: ammunition carts started dropping in the front-line.¹⁷

Ammunition cleared from the road was also those for the 2nd Dutch division; having been distributed, the carts were parked west of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean. At 9 a.m. another distribution was carried out, i.e. one for supplies, for the brigade of Van Bijlandt in particular.¹⁸

Having taken care of the positions of his sector, the prince then took up a position on a height in the centre of the division of Alten, near the brigade of Kielmansegge.¹⁹

Lord Uxbridge left Waterloo in the early morning. At that morning he was at least accompanied by one of his aide de camps, major Thornhill.²⁰

Wellington was accompanied by representatives of countries of the coalition, like general Pozzo di Borgo for Russia (²¹), general Vincent for Austria (²²), general Von Müffling for Prussia(²³), general Alava for Spain (²⁴), general Von Hügel for Württemberg (²⁵), count Reede for the Netherlands (²⁶) and the duke of Richmond for England. ²⁷ A staff officer described the scene as: “The duke’s tail at Waterloo was composed of at least forty. There was his personal staff, consisting of a military secretary and six or eight aide-de-camps; the adjutant and quarter master generals, each with his suite of half-a-dozen officers; the commanding officers of artillery and engineers, with their followers. Besides our own people, we had generals Alava, Müffling, and Vincent, all attended by aides-de-camp; so that we formed an imposing cavalcade.” ²⁸

The communication with the Prussian army.

There is no clear idea when Wellington and Von Müffling spoke about the different options for cooperation with Blücher, but most probably they did so after the moment Wellington received Blücher’s assurance of support and before the duke left Waterloo, so somewhere between 2.30 and 6 a.m. The result was that Wellington asked Von Müffling to work out some disposition for all scenarios one could think of when it came down to a confrontation with Napoleon, and what role the Prussian army could play.

After that, Von Müffling joined the duke in his visit to the frontline. During this visit, Von Müffling took the chance to examine the heights beyond Fichermont as a possible point of irruption for the Prussian army. ²⁹ Having done so to some extent (he was pushed back by French vedettes), and after having discussed them with Wellington, he wrote proposals for the Prussian leadership what to do in some specific cases of a French attack. They read:

1st case. The enemy attacks the right wing of the duke of Wellington. In that case, the Prussian can reinforce him through Ohain.

2nd case. The enemy attacks the centre and left wing of the duke of Wellington. In that case, an offensive of the Prussian army from the chain of heights would be the most effective; the low ground near la Haye which is hard to cross will accordingly be avoided.

3rd case. The enemy turns against Saint Lambert. Then the duke of Wellington would advance with the centre against Genappe and attack the enemy in the left flank and rear.

Von Müffling ³⁰

The document was most probably written and sent by Von Müffling to Blücher around 8.30 a.m. after the duke had approved of it. Its bearer was lieutenant Wucherer. ³¹ Just as Von Müffling was about to dispatch Wucherer, Von Müffling received the intelligence that Von Bülow was on his way to support Wellington. As a result, Von Müffling instructed Wucherer to show the disposition to Von Bülow in case he would meet him, so that he would know what was expected of him (and this is what happened). ³²

Some hours later - it was probably somewhere between 11.30 a.m. and noon –Von Müffling received Blücher’s letter dated 9.30 a.m.

Not long after, it was around 12.30 o'clock, that Von Müffling was handed the report which Von Bülow had written at Chapelle Saint Lambert around 11.30 a.m.³³ It had been received by a post of the 10th regiment of hussars, led by captain Taylor, near Smohain.³⁴ The content of both these reports was forwarded to Wellington right away. After having discussed the situation with Wellington, Von Müffling now forwarded Von Bülow's disposition with slight variations to Blücher. It reads:

Im Fall, dass die Mitte oder der linke Flügel des M.W. angegriffen wird, so ist der General B. willens, mit seinem Korps bei Lasne die Lasne zu passieren und sich auf dem Plateau zwischen La Haye und Aywiers zu formieren und so dem Feinde in seine rechte Flanke und Rücken zu gehen.

Mein Rath ist, dass dann ein anderes preussisches Korps über Ohain geht, um nach Umständen einen sehr bedrohten Ort der englischen Stellung zu unterstützen. Ein drittes preussisches Korps könnte über Maransart und Sauvagemont vorgehen, um die linke Flanke und den Rücken des IV.Armeekorps zu decken. Das noch übrig, bleibende vierte Korps würde bei Couture als Reserve aufzustellen sein.

*Vom Bülow'schen Korps waren um ½ 12 Uhr zwei Brigaden bei St.Lambert angekommen; die Queue des Korps könnte aber nicht vor 4 Uhr daselbst eintreffen.*³⁵

Apart from the 10th regiment of hussars, the 1st regiment of hussars KGL had patrols towards Lasne to communicate with the Prussians.³⁶

Forces on the move.

As the troops had got under arms and the duke of Wellington had passed his frontline between 7 and 9 a.m., units started to take their assigned positions.³⁷ While numerous units had had their bivouacs virtually there where they were supposed to be in the order of battle, numerous other ones had to move into these positions one way or another.

On the extreme left wing, at 6 a.m, major Van Coustol with some others was sent out to the front by colonel Van Saksen Weimar to find out about the situation in Fichermont and Smohain; as a result both points were occupied.³⁸ As a result of Wellington's inspection there, the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment Nassau had been detached to Gomont by 9 a.m. (see below). It was only as the battle had started that the two remaining battalions of this regiment advanced and took up positions in the frontline.³⁹

On Saksen Weimar's right, Von Vincke's brigade advanced to a position slightly to the left front of the one of Best, in rear of the Ohain-road, on the slope.⁴⁰

Best's infantry brigade advanced about 10 a.m. from his position north of the Ohain-road to take up a position on the ridge, just in rear of the Ohain-road.⁴¹ It was also shortly after 10 a.m. that the 95th regiment was ordered to be under arms.⁴²

Vivian's cavalry brigade left its bivouac around 10 a.m. (⁴³), in and around the hamlet of Vert Coucou, to take up a position to the left of the one of Vandeleur (⁴⁴). Yet, the squadron of the 10th hussars led by captain Taylor left his bivouac with his squadron at dawn to relieve the squadron of the 18th hussars led by captain Grant which was in and in rear of Smohain.⁴⁵

Taylor had the posts and the chain of pickets south of Smohain relieve and posted the remainder

of his squadron on a road in the low ground towards Smohain. As the squadrons of Jacquinet developed their posts and pickets skirmished with Taylor's men.

It led Taylor to pull back his posts and to lead his squadron through Smohain to a high ground in rear of this hamlet. Here he placed a platoon forward with pickets to prevent the French from advancing further. By that time it was around noon and the squadron joined the remainder of the brigade which had arrived.⁴⁶

Of Gardiner's horse artillery, lieutenant Ingilby was instructed that night by general Vivian to start before dawn to look for a road which would lead from Vert Coucou, parallel to the Brussels-road, through the forest of Soignes, just to be sure about an alternative route in case things would go wrong.

Ingilby left before dawn, found such a road and he went back even far as Brussels. By 10.30 a.m. he returned to his unit and reported to sir H.Vivian; some time later the battery followed the cavalry brigade of Vivian to the extreme left flank of the position.⁴⁷ The brigade of Vandeleur left its bivouacs, west of Vert Coucou, to take up position, by 9 a.m.⁴⁸



View of the battlefield from a position north of the farm of Papelotte (to the left).

It would also have been around 9 a.m. that at least the Scots Greys moved to their position.⁴⁹

It was probably around the same time that the units of the division of Alten were called in to positions north of the Ohain-road, after Wellington had passed them around 8.15 / 8.30 a.m.⁵⁰

By 8 a.m. the 1st British division of Cooke was posted by the prince of Orange between the brigade of Colin Halkett on its left and the Nivelles-road to its right.⁵¹

Since the evening of the 17th of June, four companies of the Foot Guards (360 men) were at Gomont. These were the two light companies of Maitland's brigade and those of the one of Byng.⁵² The first two companies were led by lieutenant colonel Alexander Saltoun (1st regiment Foot Guards), the two other ones by lieutenant colonel James Macdonell (of the 2nd battalion Coldstream Guards). Those of Maitland were in the wood and the orchard, while those

of Byng had their positions in the buildings and the formal garden.

It was by 8.30 a.m. that the prince of Orange, most probably instructed by Wellington, ordered general Perponcher to send the 1st battalion of the 2nd regiment of Nassau infantry, led by captain Büsgen (900 men) to Gomont.⁵³ Perponcher now sent the same officer, a British one, through to Bernhard van Saksen Weimar. The same officer finally met colonel Sattler, commander of the regiment of Nassau, and then he led the battalion along the frontline towards Gomont.⁵⁴ The battalion reached Gomont between 10 and 10.30 a.m.⁵⁵ By the time the battalion arrived the buildings had been brought into a state of defence, but were unoccupied.

Some time before, they had been evacuated by the light companies of Byng's brigade, which had then taken up positions in rear of the buildings and the garden, in the hollow road.⁵⁶

In the short time which was left before the fighting started here, captain Büsgen posted his grenadier-company in the buildings, two fuselier-companies in the formal garden, one fuselier-company in rear of the northern hedge of this garden, one voltigeur-company near the Hanoverian Jäger in the edge of the wood and one fuselier-company deeper into the wood.⁵⁷

Just about the time the Nassau battalion reached Gomont, about 10.30 a.m. Wellington got there for a short inspection. He made some rearrangements of which the result was that the light companies of the 1st regiment of Foot Guards left the wood and entered the orchard.⁵⁸

Before the battle started, a Hanoverian detachment of the brigade of Kielmansegge joined the garrison. It was the 1st company Feldjäger commanded by captain Von Reden (150 men), plus a detachment of 100 sharpshooters coming from the battalions Lüneburg and Grubenhagen (50 each). They were posted in the outposts in the wood.⁵⁹ Finally, there were at Gomont several sections of pioneers, one of which was the one of the 2nd battalion of light infantry KGL.⁶⁰

The brigade Lambert consisted of the 1st battalions of the 4th, 27th and 40th regiment and had its bivouac at Espinette; the 81st regiment was in Brussels. During the night the brigade was ordered to advance to the position of Mont Saint Jean. After this march, hindered by numerous convois, the brigade reached the north side of the village of Waterloo by 6 a.m. It was here that the men cooked a small meal. The brigade was meant to continue its march, till it was instructed by Sir George Scovell, a member of the general staff, to clear the Brussels road from all the waggons and carts which now obstructed it completely.⁶¹

After the road was cleared, general Lambert sent brigade major Smith to Wellington for further orders. Smith found the duke near Gomont, and here he got the order for the brigade to advance right up to the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, at the bifurcation of the roads.⁶²

The brigade marched out accordingly; yet, somehow, general Lambert got the instruction to wheel to the left as soon as he left the wood (⁶³), until brigade-major Smith came with the order as mentioned. The brigade hadn't gone far, until it returned to a position near Mont Saint Jean, in the bifurcation of the roads. The regiments came in columns of companies; it was then 11 a.m. The men were exhausted from the long marches they had had and soon most of them fell asleep, even though the battle started shortly after.⁶⁴⁻⁶⁵

There is no information about the bivouac of the horse battery of Bull during the night. At 10 a.m. it took up its position in the order of battle to the right of Ponsonby's brigade, to the left of the Brussels road. An hour later, however, it was ordered by Lord Uxbridge to move to a position above Gomont. The moment captain Bull and his crew got there, they immediately opened fire on the French who were attacking the complex.⁶⁶ The brigade of Von Arentschildt

consisted of one regiment, the 3rd hussars KGL, and this consisted of seven companies in stead of ten.⁶⁷

The regiment was during the night somewhere at Brussels and suburbs, but left around 3 a.m. for Waterloo. As it arrived in the forest of Soignes it halted to feed the horses and to await further orders. Some time later, they came and the regiment marched through Waterloo, turned to the right near Mont Saint Jean towards the Nivelles-road. This was between 10 and 11 a.m.

The regiment took up a position in rear of the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the brigade of Von Kruse, 20 metres in rear of the Nivelles-road, north of the track leading to Merbraine.⁶⁸

The Nassau troops of Von Kruse were during the night further east as they came in position in the order of battle.

That morning, the 7th regiment of hussars had pulled in its picket which stood south of the Ohain-road and in front of the division of Picton; then it pulled from its position near the farm of Mont Saint Jean (east of the Brussels-road) to a position south of Merbraine, halfway between this village and the small wood south of it. Here it stood dismounted for some time, until it was brought to the front, to the position mentioned above.⁶⁹

It is not known in what formation the brigades of the division of Collaert stood, but it was around 10 a.m. they moved to a position in the corner between the Brussels and the Nivelles-road.

That morning, a part of the 2nd regiment Life Guards was detached to a position on the Brussels road near the farm of Mont Saint Jean in order to keep it open. It kept this position for the rest of the day.⁷⁰

Of the artillery, captain Ross was ordered at 10.30 a.m. to move his troop to the heights on the right of the Brussels road, leaving two guns on it near the sandpit.⁷¹ It would have been at 10.00 a.m. that general Clinton sent orders to general Adam to get his brigade under arms.⁷² Of the Osnabrück battalion, brigade H.Halkett, during the night a detachment led by sergeant Führung would have been sent to Waterloo; it was called back by 8 or 9 a.m. to the position of Merbraine.⁷³ The positions of the units of Chassé's division during the night of the 17th of June didn't change until after the battle had started.⁷⁴

Early that morning, however, some staff-officers were sent out towards Alseberg (7 kilometres northeast of Braine l'Alleud) and Hal (12 kilometres west of Braine l'Alleud) to find supplies and to find where any ammunition could be procured in case this would prove necessary. The shortage of supplies was that serious that the men plundered the village and its surroundings. Accordingly, the 19th battalion of national militia was committed to prevent this; in some cases it did so by severely handling those who plundered.⁷⁵

That morning, several skirmishing actions took place between the sentries of Piré and those of Chassé. It was in these actions that some men of the 36th battalion of chasseurs were taken prisoner and a sergeant of the 12th battalion of the line got wounded.⁷⁶

In a general way, the order of battle can be described as that the 1st corps stood between the high roads, forming the centre of the frontline. The reserve stood to the left of the Brussels road, thus forming the left wing. The majority of the 2nd corps had positions west of the Nivelles-road, thrown back as the right wing, occupying Merbraine and Braine l'Alleud for the security of that flank.⁷⁷

With this, the majority of the left wing fell under the command of sir Thomas Picton, i.e. the 5th division, the parts of the 6th division and the 2nd division of the army of the Netherlands. ⁷⁸

In the centre, the prince was formally in command, in this case over his divisions of Cooke and Alten, but as the prince had his actual position in the centre of the 3rd division while Wellington had his in the right centre in rear of Gomont, practice limited his command to the left centre, i.e. north-west of the farm La Haye Sainte. ⁷⁹

On the right wing, lord Hill was in command. It meant that he was in command of not only the division of Clinton, but also the one of Chassé. By 6 a.m. general Chassé was informed by a staff-officer that the prince of Orange would be in command of the centre of the front-line and that he would receive orders from Lord Hill or Wellington himself. ⁸⁰ The one brigade of the 4th division, the one of Mitchell, in turn, was placed under the orders of general Clinton. ⁸¹



The fields between the Nivelles road and Braine l'Alleud (to the right).

Of the cavalry, the majority was in reserve in rear of the left wing and the centre, while other parts were in observation on the high ground to the right of Gomont and others extended on the left towards La Haye. The overall cavalry was led by lord Uxbridge, but the command over the Netherlands division of cavalry – as requested by the prince of Orange - was not assigned to him until 10 a.m. that morning. ⁸² It also becomes apparent that Uxbridge had *carte blanche* to handle the cavalry as he felt proper; as a result he sent the cavalry brigade commanders instructions authorising them to act discretionally under certain limitations. ⁸³ The majority of the artillery was advanced along the line to the brow of the ridge. ⁸⁴ As a general order, all commanders of cavalry brigades had received permission from lord Uxbridge to act discretionally. ⁸⁵

The order of battle at 11.30 a.m. ⁸⁶

The left wing.

Of Kempt's brigade three battalions stood about 100 metres in rear of the Ohain-road in close columns with intervals to deploy: the 28th was to the left, the 79th in the centre and the 32nd was on the right, having its right leaning on the Brussels-road. ⁸⁷ In front of the 79th was the battery, led by captain Rogers; this battery was covered by the light company of this battalion. ⁸⁸ Of the 1st battalion 95th regiment one company, led by captain Leach, was located in the sandpit. ⁸⁹ Part of the hedge above it was cut down. ⁹⁰ The remainder of this battalion was partly on the knoll in rear of this sandpit and the Ohain-road, and partly behind the Ohain-road itself. ⁹¹

The bivouac of the brigade of Van Bijlandt was on the night of the 17th of June south of the Ohainroad, having its skirmishers about 200 metres further in front and to their right leaning on those of the 95th regiment. ⁹²

After Wellington had inspected his left wing, the brigade was ordered to pull back behind the Ohain-road. By then, it was most probably towards 10 a.m. In the process, the prince of Orange transmitted the order to the divisional commander, general Perponcher. ⁹³ The result of this decision was that the majority of the battalions of the brigade took up a position in line immediately in rear of the Ohain-road. Companies used as skirmishers were in front of the road till halfway down the slope (aligning with those of the 1st battalion / 95th battalion), while their reserves were placed in the Ohain-road. ⁹⁴ The total front of the brigade most probably extended for a distance of about 350 metres, from a point in front of the 42nd regiment to the left to one in front of the 28th regiment to the right. ⁹⁵

In this position, Van Bijlandt's brigade stood about 30 metres in front of the 5th British division. ⁹⁶ The moment the French attacked, the battalions of the brigade stood *en bataille*, two files deep. ⁹⁷

The battalions in the first line - from left to right - most probably had the following sequence: 8th battalion of national militia, the 7th battalion of national militia, the 7th battalion of the line and the 27th battalion chasseurs. In this position, the last battalion was somewhat *en echelon* to the 7th battalion of the line. ⁹⁸ The 5th battalion of national militia was placed in the second line in reserve. ⁹⁹ Here, it was most probably in rear of the 7th battalion of national militia and aligned with the brigade of Pack to its right (i.e. the 1st regiment).

The seven guns of Bijleveld came in position slightly to the front and to the right of the brigade, at the same line as those of Rogers, which battery a bit further to the right. This meant a position in rear of the bank and the hedge of the road, in which openings were cut to get a clear field of fire. ¹⁰⁰ After major Van Opstall had got wounded on the 16th of June, captain Bijleveld had succeeded him as commander of the artillery of the 2nd Netherlands division.

The battalions of Pack's brigade stood in columns at half or quarter distance, at about 175 metres in rear of the Ohain-road, next to each other at intervals for deployment, immediately to the right of the track which leads from the Ohain-road to the farm of Mont Saint Jean. ¹⁰¹

To the left, next to the bushes near the track, was the 44th; then followed further to the right the 92nd, the 42nd and the 1st regiment. ¹⁰² The 44th was almost in rear of the extreme right flank

of Best's brigade. Between the 1st regiment and the 28th regiment (Kempt's brigade) was an interval of more than 200 metres.

Immediately to the left of Pack's brigade, just in rear of the Ohain-road, was the one of Best.¹⁰³ Major general Best himself isn't very explicit in his information about the formation of the battalions, but from details of the later actions it can be concluded that they were in line. They were, from left to right, Osterode, Lüneburg and Verden, having the one of Münden in second line in rear of the interval which was between those of Lüneburg and Verden.¹⁰⁴

The brigade of Von Vincke stood in rear of that part of the Ohain-road which lies between the track which leads from the farm of La Haye to Vert Coucou and the one which leads from the farm of Papelotte to the Ohain-road.¹⁰⁵ It would have been formed in columns of battalions, having the ones of Hameln and Hildesheim in the first and those of Peine and Gifhorn in the second line.¹⁰⁶ Their front was to the south; pickets were formed by sharpshooters.¹⁰⁷

East of the road which leads from La Haye to Vert Coucou was the cavalry-brigade of Vandeleur.¹⁰⁸ Its front was in a southwest direction and it stood in rear of the one of Von Vincke, and was separated from it by a low ground.¹⁰⁹ The men were dismounted and the regiments were in a line next to each other, in columns of squadrons, left in front.¹¹⁰ The 16th regiment light dragoons was to the right, the 11th regiment light dragoons was in the centre and the 12th regiment to the left.¹¹¹

The brigade led by Hussey Vivian had a position to the left of the one of Vandeleur (¹¹²), north of the hamlet of Smohain, in rear of the road which connects this hamlet with Vert Coucou, front to the west.¹¹³

Both British regiments were in line, the 10th to the right and the 18th to the left.¹¹⁴ The 1st regiment KGL hussars was also in line, further behind.¹¹⁵ It was from here that it sent several patrols to the defile of St.Lambert in order to find the Prussians.¹¹⁶

That morning, Sir H.Vivian would have got the instruction from where he could expect the Prussians, and to leave his position as soon as they would have linked up to his immediate left.¹¹⁷

By 11 a.m. Saksen Weimar's units took their positions in the order of battle. The weak remains of the Nassau Voluntary Chasseurs took did so in the chain of outposts in and near Fichermont.¹¹⁸

As the 2nd battalion Nassau advanced then to a position some 350 metres north of the farm of La Haye and took up position in closed column, the 3rd battalion Nassau did so in relation to the farm of Papelotte.

Of the 1st battalion Oranje Nassau, four companies were sent to Fichermont, while the other two remained further in the rear. Of the 2nd battalion Oranje Nassau five were also in the rear; the remaining one was in position between Fichermont and Smohain.¹¹⁹

Bernard van Saksen Weimar himself had taken up a position near the 3rd battalion Nassau.¹²⁰

The artillery-section of Winssinger (three guns) had maintained its position about 500 metres north east of this farm, at the crossing of the Ohain-road and the road which led to La Haye.

Over its entire front the brigade was covered by a chain of skirmishers and outposts which stretched on the slopes from Fichermont to the position of the brigade of Best.

The munition- and train-column of the 2nd Netherlands division was immediately to the west of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean.

The Hanoverian battery of Von Rettberg had six guns and was temporarily attached to the 5th British division. It stood in rear of the Ohain-road, very close to the point where it splits to the farm of Papelotte. Here, it stood to the right-front of the brigade of Best, to the left front of the one of Pack and to the right of the one of Van Saksen Weimar. Its orientation was towards La Belle Alliance; Von Rettberg had his howitzer on his right flank. This position was a very favourable one, as the field gently sloped down towards the French position and as it stood in rear of the hedge of the road, in which gaps were cut openings for firing. In its rear, in the low ground, it had parked its ammunition-waggon.¹²¹

Captain Rogers' battery was in rear of the Ohain-road and in front of the 1st battalion 79th regiment (brigade Kempt). It was covered by light troops of this battalion, which stood south of the road.¹²²

Ponsonby's brigade spent the night in the low ground in rear of the division Picton, south-east of the farm Mont Saint Jean, in rear of the track which connects this farm with the Ohain-road.

In this same position it was in the order of battle, having its right flank against the track mentioned. The regiments were in a row, each in column per squadron, on deployment-intervals.¹²³ To the left were the Scots Greys, to the right the Royals and in the centre were the Inniskillings.¹²⁴ In this position, the brigade was 450 metres in rear of the Ohain-road, in rear of the interval which was between the brigades of Kempt and Pack.¹²⁵

The battery of Gardiner probably stood to the left of the brigade of Vivian.¹²⁶ Whinyates' battery had a position to the right rear of the brigade of Ponsonby.¹²⁷ It had advanced around noon from its bivouac, which was between the farm Mont Saint Jean and the front line.¹²⁸

The British foot-battery of captain Sinclair belonged to the 6th British division of Cole. As the other batteries of Braun and Bean, it was in reserve near Mont Saint Jean; by 11.30 a.m. it was near the mill of Mont Saint Jean, east of the Brussels-road, about 500 metres in rear of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean.¹²⁹ The foot battery of Bean had arrived on the field during the night preceding the battle; it came straight from Britain. That morning it bivouaced at the edge of the orchard of the farm of Mont Saint Jean.¹³⁰ In a low ground, east of the Brussels-road, about 600 metres north-east of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, there was a reserve-park.¹³¹

The centre.

In accordance with the orders of the prince of Orange and the duke of Wellington lieutenant general Alten posted his division in two lines of columns of battalions, with two battalions close to each other at quarter distance, the one on the right marched off to the left, and the one left marched off to the right, so that each battalion could easily form either line or square, depending upon the circumstances. The columns of the brigades of Colin Halkett and the majority of Kielmansegge were arranged in a chequered line.¹³²

Of the brigade of Von Ompteda, the 2nd battalion of light infantry KGL, led by major Georg von Baring (¹³³), counted six companies, of which three occupied the orchard, two the buildings and one the garden of the farm of La Haye Sainte.¹³⁴ The garrison counted barely 400 men.¹³⁵

After the battalion had arrived in the farm on the evening of the 17th of June, its members started to bring it into a kind of defence as far as the rain and the darkness allowed it, but shortly after major Baring was instructed to send his engineers to Gomont. To make matters even

worse: the mule with their tools had gone missing the very same day and therefore means for scaffolding were absent.¹³⁶

The west-gate, which had been removed on the evening of the 17th of June so as to make bivouac-fires, was barricaded with whatever means present, but the east-gate was kept open until the battle started.¹³⁷ In the east-wall three loopholes, or better, apertures, were cut on a level with the high road.¹³⁸

Very near the farm, the Brussels road was barricaded with an *abatis* consisting of trees which had stood in rear of the sandpit [¹³⁹] and which was erected in the morning. Its position was in line with the extreme southern edge of the buildings.¹⁴⁰⁻¹⁴¹

The 8th battalion of the line was under arms since dawn and was since 11.30 a.m. in the corner of the Brussels road and the Ohain-road, having the left flank resting on the high road and having its front towards the hollow road. The battalion was in column of companies on quarter distance on its two centre-companies.¹⁴²

To the right of the battalion was the 5th battalion of the line. It had taken up its position here between 7 and 8 a.m. It stood in a column of companies on a quarter distance on its two central companies as well (¹⁴³), though before the battle actually started it switched several times into line or square.¹⁴⁴

Behind the interval between both battalions was the 1st battalion light infantry KGL, in the same formation as the other ones, left in front.¹⁴⁵

The brigade of Kielmansegge was composed of the battalions of Duke of York, the field-battalions of Grubenhagen, Bremen, Lüneburg, Verden plus two companies of jäger.

To the right of the 5th battalion of the line KGL of the brigade of Von Ompteda was the battalion of Lüneburg, in column of companies on quarter distance, on the two centre-companies. The front of the column was in line with KGL-battalion.¹⁴⁶

Further to the right, at same distance, were the battalions of Bremen and Verden. They were very close to each other in columns of companies on quarter distance, the battalion of Bremen to the right (having left in front), the battalion of Verden to the left (having right in front). Their formation was such that they could deploy or form one square together. The whole was led by colonel Von Langrehr. Both battalions had started to take up their positions by 11 a.m.¹⁴⁷

Both battalions of York and Grubenhagen were in the same formation as those of Bremen and Verden. These battalions were in rear of the interval which was between both these battalions and the battalion of Lüneburg. The battalion York was to the right, the one of Grubenhagen to the left.¹⁴⁸

These battalions too were able to form one square, or deploy. The battalion of Lüneburg was alone, to be used according to whatever circumstances.¹⁴⁹ Of both Jäger-companies, the first company was sent - with 100 sharpshooters (50 of the battalion Lüneburg and 50 of the battalion of Grubenhagen) - towards Gomont. The second company, under the command of major Von Spörcken, was extended in outposts west of the farm of La Haye Sainte.¹⁵⁰

The right flank of the brigade leaned on the track which led from the Ohainroad towards Merbraine.

The brigade of Colin Halkett consisted of the 2nd battalion of the 30th regiment, the 2nd battalion of the 33rd regiment, the 2nd battalion of the 69th regiment and the 2nd battalion of the 73rd regiment. The brigade stood to the west of the said track. The moment the battle

started, the 30th and 73rd regiment stood in one square, and the 33rd and 69th formed the other.¹⁵¹

The square of the 30th / 73rd regiment was to the right of the track leading to Merbraine and in rear of the Ohain-road, in rear of the crest of the ridge.¹⁵² The 73rd regiment was to the left, the 30th to the right.¹⁵³ Initially both units were in columns of companies on quarter distance.¹⁵⁴ The square of the 33rd / 69th regiment stood in echelon to the right rear of the one of the 30th / 73rd.¹⁵⁵ The 33rd regiment was to the left, the 69th to the right.¹⁵⁶ Four light companies of the 30th regiment, led by lieutenant colonel Vigoureux, formed the outposts and covered the guns.¹⁵⁷

The brigade of Maitland consisted of the 2nd and 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment of Foot Guards. Each battalion had ten companies: eight battalion companies, one grenadier-company and one company of light infantry. Both light companies of the battalions were at Gomont. The 3rd battalion of the 1st regiment Foot Guards was immediately behind the Ohain-road, on the crest of the ridge, on a distance of a deployment-interval in front of one battalion of the right column of the brigade of C.Halkett. The battalion stood in a column of companies on quarter distance. To the right rear, at nearly 100 metres, from the 3rd battalion, on the reverse side of the ridge, stood the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment Foot Guards, in the same formation.¹⁵⁸ Of Byng's brigade, both battalions, the 2nd battalion Coldstream Guards and the 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards, stood south of the Ohain-road. The first battalion was in rear of Gomont, directly in front of the Ohain-road and west of the track which leads to the Brussels-road. The 2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards was directly east of this track, in front of the Ohain-road. Both battalions stood in columns, with intervals.¹⁵⁹

In second line of the Anglo-Netherlands-German centre stood the brigades of Somerset, Von Kruse, Von Arentschildt, Von Estorff, the regiment of Cumberland hussars, the brigades of Von Dörnberg, Grant, Lambert as well as the Netherlands cavalry division of Collaert. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the 1st and 2nd regiment Life Guards, the regiment King's Dragoon Guards and the Royal Horse Guards, came that morning west of the Brussels road in a low ground halfway the house of Valette and the orchard of the farm of Mont Saint Jean.¹⁶⁰ The regiments stood in closed columns of squadrons, at deployment-intervals.¹⁶¹ There is no certainty how the regiments were placed, as sources lack and are most contradictory.¹⁶² Taking the formation of the brigade during its first charge, it stood in two lines: in the first line from left to right the 2nd regiment Life Guards, the regiment Dragoon Guards and the 1st regiment Life Guards and the Royal Horse Guards in the second line.¹⁶³

The brigade of Von Kruse consisted of the 1st regiment Nassau and this initially stood about 200 metres in rear of the Ohain-road, immediately to the east of the track which leads to Merbraine. It formed three columns, having the 1st battalion to the right (marched off to the right), and then the 2nd and the 3rd battalion (marched off to the left).

After the roll-call the battalions were drawn a hundred metres to the rear, in the second line. Shortly thereafter, shortly before the battle started, the 1st battalion was drawn to the front again and got a position at about 150 metres to the right front of the 2nd battalion.

In this situation the 2nd and 3rd battalion were in closed columns in the same line as the brigade of Somerset, east of the track which leads to Merbraine, the 2nd battalion to the right and the 3rd

to the left.

At about 150 metres to the right front of the 2nd battalion and at about 150 metres in rear of the Ohain-road, leaning to the track, was the 1st battalion, in open column and formed upon its central company. Here it stood in rear of the middle of the interval which was between the brigades of Kielmansegge and C.Halkett.¹⁶⁴

The 3rd regiment of hussars, basically the only regiment of Von Arentschildt's brigade at Waterloo, stood in a half-closed column, with the companies marched off to the right, in rear of the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the brigade of Von Kruse, 20 metres in rear of the Nivelles-road, north of the track leading to Merbraine.¹⁶⁵

The regiment of Cumberland hussars was attached to the brigade of Von Dörnberg and stood in the southern corner of the road which leads from the Ohain-road towards Merbraine and with the Nivelles-road.¹⁶⁶ The regiment stood in columns of squadrons on intervals of deployment.¹⁶⁷

The Nassau troops of Von Kruse were during the night further east as they came in position in the order of battle. That morning they made a movement to the rear; initially Von Dörnberg's brigade was in their rear, but shortly after daybreak it moved further west. By doing so it got a position east of the Nivelles-road and north of the Ohain-road, in the corner of both roads (in rear of the brigade of Colin Halkett). At the same time, the brigade withdrew its outposts.¹⁶⁸

In the brigade, the 23rd regiment of light dragoons was on the left, the 2nd regiment in the centre and the 1st on the right. The regiment Cumberland hussars stood to the left rear of the 23rd regiment of light dragoons.¹⁶⁹

All regiments stood in columns of squadrons, marched off to the right.¹⁷⁰ The 1st and 2nd regiment were very close to each other, fronting the ridge.¹⁷¹

Of the brigade of Grant, two regiments were present on the battlefield: the 7th and the 15th regiment of hussars. The 2nd regiment of hussars KGL had been detached. For this regiment, the 13th regiment of light dragoons was attached to the brigade instead.¹⁷²

At the moment the battle started the main body of the brigade (15th regiment of hussars and the 13th regiment of light dragoons) stood, regiments next to each other, in rear of the 1st British division of Cooke, east of the Nivelles-road.¹⁷³ The regiments stood in columns of squadrons, marched off to the right.¹⁷⁴

The 15th regiment of hussars (three squadrons) stood with two squadrons in rear of the division of Cooke (¹⁷⁵); the other squadron was, led by captain Wodehouse, about 400 metre west of the Nivelles-road, north of the road which runs from Gomont towards Braine l'Alleud. The regiment also had patrols in this direction and towards Mon Plaisir.¹⁷⁶ Of the same squadron a picket was on and near the Nivelles-road, to the right near the abatis a bit north of the point where the avenue of Gomont touches this road, about 30 paces in rear of the outposts of the 51st regiment of infantry. Between this picket and the squadron was another picket to maintain communication.¹⁷⁷

The 13th regiment of light dragoons was near the brigade; first it stood near the 15th regiment of hussars, immediately to the left of the Nivelles-road.¹⁷⁸ Before the action started the regiment was detached for a short time to the extreme right flank of the position, but when the battle started it was drawn back to its original position.¹⁷⁹

This position was in all probability directly at the Nivelles-road; east of the regiment stood the

15th regiment of hussars and then the 7th.¹⁸⁰

The division of Collaert stood in the corner of both the Brussels and Nivelles-road.¹⁸¹ It is not known in what formation all brigades of this division stood, but it was around 10 a.m. that they moved to a position in the corner between the Brussels and the Nivelles-road.

Here the brigade of De Ghigny came to the right of the Brussels road (the 4th regiment of light dragoons in front and the 8th regiment of hussars in the rear); to its right stood the brigade of Van Merlen; the brigade of Trip most probably stood to the right of the Nivelles-road. The units stood in column per regiment and their fronts towards Gomont.¹⁸²

It was towards 12.15 o'clock that the the brigades took up other positions, as ordered by lieutenant general Collaert.¹⁸³ As he got the instruction to advance to his left, Trip crossed the Nivelles-road and brought his brigade in rear of the brigade of Kielmansegge, the regiments in columns on large intervals, the 3rd regiment in front, the 2nd regiment in its rear and in the rear the 1st regiment – per regiment in column with the right wing in front.¹⁸⁴

It was on the right flank of its 5th regiment of light dragoons that a platoon of the 4th regiment of light dragoons, led by 2nd lieutenant De Loys, joined in. It had been sent out earlier that morning to forage and was faced with some cavalry the moment the battle had started; after that, it headed back for its regiment but failed to find it – it was then Van Merlen himself who gave it permission to attach itself to the right flank of the 5th regiment of light dragoons.¹⁸⁵

After the battle had started, the brigade of De Ghigny advanced from its position more towards Somerset, as it had moved up as well.¹⁸⁶

As has been stated above, the brigade of Lambert stood in a position near Mont Saint Jean, in the bifurcation of the roads, with the regiments in columns of companies.

The horse battery of Bull, having been moved to the front the moment the French started to threaten Gomont, came to the right of the 2nd battalion of the 3rd Foot Guards (brigade Byng), west of the track which leads from the Ohain-road to La Belle Alliance.¹⁸⁷

The horse battery of Ramsay stood next to the one of Bull, on the east side of the same track.¹⁸⁸

The moment the battle started, around 11.30 a.m., the battery of Webber Smith stood in front of the Ohain-road, with its right flank leaning upon the Nivelles-road. Here the battery was in action for a short time, until it was ordered to take up a position further to the east, near the other units of the Royal Horse Artillery, in this case to the left of the battery of Ramsay.¹⁸⁹ Here, it stood in front of the interval between the brigades of Byng and Maitland.

Horse battery Petter-Gey stood for the most in the centre of the division of Collaert, while it still stood to the left of the Nivelles-road. It was until about 11 a.m. that the two guns which had been with the brigade of Van Merlen and then rejoined the remainder of the brigade.¹⁹⁰

Foot battery Bean had a position at the edge of the orchard of the farm of Mont Saint Jean.¹⁹¹

The Hanoverian horse battery Kühlmann and the British foot battery of Sandham, both attached to the 1st British division, stood in front of this division, the one of Kühlmann to the right and the one of Sandham to the left, both upon the Ohain-road.¹⁹² Both had been placed here shortly after 8 a.m. by the prince of Orange.¹⁹³

Both the foot batteries of Cleeves and Lloyd stood in front of their division, the one of Alten.¹⁹⁴

The one of captain Lloyd was on the ridge a bit to the right of the 33rd and the 69th regiment [¹⁹⁵] while the one of Cleeves had a position in front of the 73rd / 30th regiment.¹⁹⁶

During the night the horse battery Mercer stood in the orchard of the farm Mont Saint Jean; the moment the battle started it was still there.¹⁹⁷

The moment the battle started the horse battery of captain Ross had four guns in the corner of the Brussels road and the Ohain-road. These stood west of the cobbled road and south of the Ohain-road, in front of the brigade of Von Ompteda. The remaining two guns were in the same line on the Brussels-road itself by the sandpit. The limbers of the battery were in the hollow road.¹⁹⁸

The Hanoverian battery of Braun had had its bivouac for the night - as the brigade of Lambert had - in the forest of Soignes. From here it left in the early morning of the 18th of June and halted for a while in front of Waterloo, from where it continued its march upon Mont Saint Jean.¹⁹⁹ It got there by noon.²⁰⁰

Eventually, the unit took up a position to the right of the Brussels road, in the extreme corner of both high-roads. The reserve of the battery had been sent back some time before. It was here that it kept its position for a few hours, apart from some slight movements to avoid the French gunfire.²⁰¹

The right wing.

Mitchell's brigade, of the division of Colville, was composed of the 3rd battalion 14th regiment, the 1st battalion 23rd regiment and the 1st battalion of the regiment.

Early that morning it moved out of a muddy field; by 8 a.m. it moved further to the front to take up a position to the right, in rear of Gomont.²⁰²

Of the 23rd regiment the light company came at the avenue of Gomont, east of the Nivelles-road.²⁰³ That morning, the remainder of the regiment went to a position to the left of the road, in rear of the units of Byng. Here it stood in column, but came into line the moment the action started.²⁰⁴

Initially, the 51st regiment was south of Merbraine, but advanced around 10.15 a.m. to a position about 180 metre in rear of the hollow road which led from Gomont towards Braine l'Alleud.²⁰⁵

The light company of the 14th regiment was also in rear of this (hollow) road.²⁰⁶ The remaining units of this regiment were 300 metres in rear of the 51st regiment, in column, on the southern slope of the plateau, north of the Ohain-road.²⁰⁷

This 2nd British division (comprising the brigades of Adam, Du Plat and H.Halkett) initially was on the plateau between Merbraine and the Nivelles-road.

The Hanoverian brigade of Du Plat was composed of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th battalion line infantry KGL. Most probably, this brigade had its bivouac south of Merbraine but the moment the French started to threaten Gomont (around 11 a.m.) the brigade advanced (as well as the other units of the 2nd division) to the foot of the slope of the plateau, oblique to the Nivelles-road, in front of and along the hollow road which leads to Merbraine.²⁰⁸

Here it took up positions in open columns of companies, right in front, i.e. front in a southwestern direction; from left to right were the 2nd, 4th, 3rd and the 1st battalion.²⁰⁹

The four light companies of the brigade supported the battery of Bolton, but exactly where is not known.²¹⁰

The brigade of Adam consisted of the 1st battalion of the 52nd regiment foot, the 1st battalion of the 71st regiment light infantry and the 2nd and 3rd battalion of the 95th regiment foot.

It was also this brigade which advanced at 11 a.m. from its bivouac, having its right flank forward; it took up position to the right of Du Plat, but fronting to the south.²¹¹

The battalions came in columns of companies on quarter distance.²¹² At dawn, of all regiments of the brigade companies were sent to Merbraine in order to occupy it. Of the 52nd regiment this was the right-company (nr.1 led by captain Diggle). This company occupied a house on the west-side of the village.²¹³ Apart from them, there were two companies of the 2nd battalion 95th regiment.²¹⁴ However, the moment the brigade had to advance, these companies evacuated the village and rejoined the brigade, which then was in open column.²¹⁵ Then the brigade advanced, each regiment in two columns.²¹⁶ Then, it halted to the right of the one of Du Plat (²¹⁷), on the height south-east of Merbraine, south of the road which led from the Nivelles-road to this hamlet. There is no information about the exact positions of the regiments, but what we do know is that the two companies of the 3rd battalion of the 95th regiment were on the extreme right flank.²¹⁸

By 11 a.m. the brigade of Hew Halkett advanced towards the Nivelles-road, while keeping its position in rear of Adam's. With this move, the brigade also came south of the track which passes the southern edge of Merbraine.²¹⁹ The battalions here stood in a line of columns, with divisions on half distance, front in a southern direction, with from left to right the battalion Osnabrück, Salzgitter, Quackenbrück and Bremervörde.²²⁰

The position of the KGL-battery Sympher, containing five 9-pounders and one howitzer, was at 11.30 a.m. on the left of the 2nd division, to the right of the Nivelles-road, fronting towards the south-west. From here it observed the French cavalry of Piré. In this, it may have been to the left of the units of Du Plat but this is not sure.²²¹ The battery of Sympher probably had a reserve-position east of the one of Bolton. After 11 a.m., Bolton's battery came to the left of the brigade of Du Plat, to the right of the Nivelles-road, front towards Mon Plaisir.²²²

It is assumed that the Brunswick corps had the same positions at the start of the battle, as that it had during the night as no further details are available. From Brunswick headquarters, colonel Olfermann wrote a letter to the Royal Secret Raadscollegium at Braunschweig. It reads:

Im Bivouac bei Braine la Leu(de), den 18.Junius, Morgens 9 Uhr.

Nach einer im heftigen Regen im Bivouac zugebrachten Nacht befinden wir uns noch in derselben Stellung, wie Tags zuvor am 17., wo eine retrograde Bewegung gemacht wurde, ohne dass etwas von Bedeutung vorgefallen ist. Ich eile, dieses abzuschicken, damit diese Nachrichten bald in Braunschweig ankommen mögen.

*Unterzeichnet,
Olfermann (Obrist und Brigadier)²²³*

As has been stated, the positions of the units of Chassé's division during the night of the 17th of June didn't change until after the battle had started. At about 350 metres west of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean would have been a general reserve-park.²²⁴

The detachment at Halle on the 18th of June.

By the early morning, general Colville received the order to move his troops from Braine le Comte to the position of Halle.²²⁵ These troops were the infantry-brigades of Johnstone and Lyon, as well as the battery of captain Brome.²²⁶ It was around 10 a.m. that the vanguard of these troops reached the vanguard of prince Frederik's troops near Tubize.²²⁷

The British troops took up positions on the heights in rear of this village, thereby covering the road which leads to Braine le Comte.²²⁸ After the long marches they had had, the troops were exhausted.²²⁹

After general Colville had arrived with his troops, he sent lieutenant colonel Woodford to Lord Hill to inform him about his arrival. Hill held Woodford on the battlefield for the remainder of the day.²³⁰

As a result of the arrival of Colville's division, the Indian brigade moved to a position somewhat further to the rear in a position on both sides of the road Enghien – Halle.²³¹

The brigade of colonel Von Estorff reached the position of Halle in the early morning of the 18th of June. Here, according to his orders, its commander put himself under the orders of prince Frederik. That morning, another order was issued by this prince, which read:

Hoofdkwartier te Hondsock, 18 junij 1815

Ingevolge dispositie van Z.K.H. prins Frederik gelieve Uw Ed.Gestr. de cavallerie onder deszelfs bevelen volgender wijze te verdeelen.

Agt compagnieen te Saintes welke hunne patrouillen zullen uitzenden in de rigting van Hautecroix, Enghien langs den straatweg van Halle na die stad en na Quenoist. Vier compagnieen te Tubize welke patrouillen zullen laten gaan tot Merbosch, Braine le Comte en Oostkerke. Twee compagnieen te Vogerberghe, welke patrouillen gaan zullen in de rigting en tot aan Braine la Leud, Wauterbraine, Braine le Chateau en Tubize.

... Gestr. gelieve aan de commandeerende officieren welke niet den dienst belast zijn hier omtrent de nodige wijzing te geven.

*Op last van Z.K.H., de graaf van St. Aldegonde*²³²

As a result of these orders the brigade Von Estorff had the following positions on the 18th of June: the regiment of Bremen and Verden hussars was in position between Saintes and Mussain in order to cover the right flank of the 1st brigade d'Hauw. It detached one squadron forward of Bierghes, on the road to Enghien.²³³ The regiment also sent out patrols towards Hautecroix and Quenast.²³⁴ Four companies of the other regiment, the regiment hussars Prince Regent, stood in rear of Tubize, near the farm of Herbosch, with pickets along the road Enghien – Halle, in front of Tubize and with outposts and patrols on the roads of Braine le Comte and Oisquercq.²³⁵

Two companies were placed at Vogerbergh to support Eerens' brigade.²³⁶ They sent out patrols towards Plasmarque, Vraimont, Landuit, Braine l'Alleud, Wauthier Braine, Braine le Chateau

and Haut Ittre.²³⁷

With the arrival of the brigade of Von Estorff and the division of Colville, the whole detachment in front of Halle came to a strength of about 17.140 men with 22 guns (24 battalions, 3 batteries and 8 squadrons).²³⁸

In the early morning of the 18th of June, prince Frederick left his headquarters to visit his outposts and to inspect the position of the 1st division. After that, he established his headquarters at Lembecq.²³⁹ This can be derived from the following order:

Hoofdkwartier te Halle 18 Juny 1815

Aan de adj.gen.Roye van Wichem,

Ik heb de eer Uw.Ed.Gestr. bekend te maken dat Zijne K.H. zig in persoon met Hoogstdeszelfs aides de camp na Tubize begeven zal ten einde aldaar de positie van Lt.[?] den Heere Lieut.Gen.Stedman te bezigtigen, dat na gedane bezigtiging Hoogstdezelve zig begeven zal na Lembeck, alwaar Z.K.H. zig voor het grootste gedeelte van den dag zal ophouden.

Dat alle in [...] geattacheerd aan het hoofdkwartier met uitzondering der tot de administratie behorende personen zig tegens Hallef vijf of zes uren van deeze morgen na Lembeck zig zullen begeven en dat in geval Z.K.H. zig aldaar niet mogt bevinden een van hoogstdeszelfs adjudanten aanduiden zal waar Z.K.H. zig bevind [sic].

Alle fourgons, bagagewagens en verder voerwezen tot het hoofdkwartier behorende zal zig om Hallef zes uren precies in het parcq vervoegen om aldaar onder de directie van den Lieut.wagemeester Pape [?] zig op Brussel te dirigeeren, zij aldaar agterwaards die stad in een parcq te formeeren, en nadere bevelen af te wagten. Zijnde van deeze laatste dispositie alleen uitgezonderd het reserveparcq van de artillerie en de ambulance.²⁴⁰

Towards the evening, prince Frederik established his headquarters in the farm of Yserbyt at Hondsock, near Halle on the road to Enghien.²⁴¹



The former farm of Yserbyt at Hondsock, near Halle on the road to Enghien.

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¹ Lieutenant Maule claims his unit, Rogers battery, was under arms some time before daylight; by 9 a.m. the enemy appeared busy. Cf. his journal. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 1953/110

Ensign Standen (3rd Foot Guards) states his unit was under arms at 7 a.m. In a letter dated 27th June 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Regimental HQ Scots Guards

² Report of captain Von Rettberg. NHA, Hann.41 XXI,nr.151 p.159-163

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

Private J.Marshall (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter to his father-in-law, dated 11th July 1815. In: USJ, 1831, I p.313

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F. – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.332

The official French report. In: Bas, F. – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.551

General Christiani (2nd regiment grenadiers). In: d'Avout – L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo p.112

Letter of a private of the 10th hussars. In: Kelly, Chr. - p.146-148

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.242

General Drouot. In: Speech in the Chambre des Pairs, 24th June 1815. In: Additional particulars etc. Vol.II p.111

Baudus. Etudes sur Napoleon. Vol.I p.225

Baron Petiet. Souvenirs militaires p.212

Others claim it was around 8 a.m.

Cf. Gourgaud. La campagne de 1815 p.72

Lieutenant Mackenzie (42nd regiment). In: BWRA-414

Brevet major Radclyffe (1st Royal regiment of dragoons). Letter dated 7th of July 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, nr.413/382

Captain Von Scriba (Battalion of Bremen) In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI,nr.151 p.21-28

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment).In: BL. Add.Ms. 34.705 p.105-109

Lieutenant Riach (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.Ms. 34.707 p.107-110

Lemonnier-Delafosse, J.B. – Souvenirs militaires etc. p.214

For 6 a.m. see:

Morris, sergeant (2nd battalion 73rd regiment of foot) Recollections p.75

It is the diary of the 1st regiment of Nassau infantry which describes the sky getting clear between 9 and 10 a.m. In: VPH, nr.71

Cf. colonel De Jongh (8th battalion of Dutch national militia). In: papers published in the Militaire Spectator in 1866

Another (anonymous) officer (of the 1st battalion 95th regiment) claims the sun came around 10 a.m. In: Letter cited in: Swiney, G. Historical records of the 32nd (Cornwall) light infantry p.125 Also see: Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Zie: Letters from Portugal etc. p.

Sergeant Döring of the 1st battalion Oranje-Nassau believes it was 11 a.m. Cf. Die Schlacht bei Waterloo etc. In: Heimatblätter etc. nr.5 (1989)

Napoleon believes it was already at 5 a.m. that the weather improved. Cf. Mémoires pour servir etc. p.122

For 4 a.m. see chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment of line infantry, division Durutte). In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.374

Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment of light dragoons) confirms that the rain ceased falling in the morning. In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.176

³. Report of captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen). In: zie VPH, nr.41
Colonel Baudus. In: Etudes sur Napoleon Vol.I p.225

⁴. The fact that some rain fell during the day, after the battle had started, is confirmed by:
Colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.332
Tomkinson, lieutenant – Diary of a cavalry officer p.288
Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.Ms. 34.706 p.465-467
Mémoires pour servir etc. p.84

A member of the QMG department (probably captain Jessop). In: Recollections of Waterloo p.182

Report of chasseur Diederich (VI.E.35, 113, former Kriegsarchiv, Berlin). In: Pflugk Hartung, J.von In: Die Verzögerung der Schlacht bei Belle-Alliance p.331

Cornet Clape (Scots Greys) does speak of sunshine though. Cf. his letter to his mother, dated about one week after the battle of Waterloo. In: Almack, E. – The history of the second dragoons p.70

5. FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

Captain Drewe (27th regiment, brigade Lambert) claims his regiment marched through the village after 6 a.m. and that he saw Wellington there. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.706 p.417-419

6. Initially, lieutenant Gronow was an extra aide-de-camp to the staff of general Picton, but at Mont Saint Jean on the 17th of June major Chambers sent him back to his original regiment, the 1st Foot Guards. The reason for doing so was the fact that the regiment had suffered losses on the 16th.

Having arrived at the regiment, Gronow got the task of joining a detachment which was led by captain Clements, and which had to escort a group of several hundred French prisoners of war to Waterloo. Though some of them managed to escape, they were all housed in the barns and courtyard of a local farm. Gronow was on foot as he had sold his horse to captain Stopford of the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards, brigade Byng.

In Waterloo, Chambers invited Gronow to eat a bit in Picton's headquarters. It may very well have been that Gronow spent the night here. At daybreak the detachment was relieved by one of

the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards, led by captain Wigston and ensign G.Anson. Then, the detachment of captain Clements returned to its regiment. It was during this march that Gronow saw the Duke, accompanied by the duke of Richmond with his son Lord William Lennox, the prince of Orange, Pozzo di Borgo, Vincent, Alava, prince Castel Cicala, Lord FitzRoy Somerset, F.Harvey, colonel De Lancey and several aide-de-camps (see below). In: The reminiscences and recollections etc. p.67-68,186

⁷ Cf. Hervey in a letter to Mr.Carroll (1815) In: Leeds, F. A contemporary letter on the battle of Waterloo. Nineteenth Century 1893 p.433

8. Lord FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, 6507-1

He states the group the group passed to the road which leads to Dendermonde; however, this town is situated far north-west of Brussels, so this must be an error.

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

Von Müffling. In: The memoirs of baron Von Müffling etc. p.241

Surgeon J.H.James (1st Life Guards) claims Wellington passed his brigade after 10.30 a.m. Cf. Vansittart, J. (ed) Surgeon J.H.James's journal p.31

At 10.00 a.m. Wellington would have passed the 92nd regiment. Cf. an anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment, in: United Service Journal II 1841 p.175

According to ensign Mudie (1st Royal Scots) Wellington passed the left wing around 10 a.m. In: Operations of the fifth etc. p.176

In: The diary of ensign C.Mudie, 3rd Bn.The Royal Scots. Describing the battle of Waterloo and occupation of Paris, 1815. In: The Thistle. April, July and October 1931 p.184

Wellington passed the 1st battalion / 95th regiment before 10 a.m. as then the battalion was ordered to stand to its arms. Cf. In: Adventures in the Rifle brigade p.329

Sir J.C.Smyth, commander of the British engineers, would also have formed part of the group. Cf. John Sperling, in: Letters of an officer etc. p.131

⁹ The fact that Wellington was at Gomont well before 9 a.m. can be taken from the fact the Nassau battalion, which went to Gomont as a reinforcement, did so by 9 a.m. (see below).

10. Constant Rebecque. Cf. his account in: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

11. Ensign Standen (light company of the 3rd Foot Guards).In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.19-22

¹² Constant Rebecque. Cf. his account in: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

¹³ Cf. Hervey in a letter to Mr.Carroll (1815) in: Leeds, F. A contemporary letter on the battle of Waterloo. Nineteenth Century 1893 p.433

¹⁴. In: Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London, nr. WM 1258-1948. It has been written on prepared skin.

15. Constant Rebecque. Cf. his account in: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Adjutant general Van der Wijk (of the general staff) was in Brussels that night. On the 17th of June he had tried to join the prince but this had been in vain.

On the morning of the 18th of June he left Brussels on horseback and just out of Brussels he met general Gunkel who advised him to take up quarters in the suburb as he expected the headquarters there too. The moment he found his horses there at 2 p.m. (he had lost them on the 15th of June) he left for Waterloo. While doing so he met numerous fugitives and French prisoners of war, which were escorted by Dutch gendarmes, led by lieutenant Leutner.

Assisted by these gendarmes and 30 Dutch horsemen, Van der Wijk managed to halt the fugitives. Now, Leutner and Van der Wijk decided to return to Brussels as the passage had become extremely difficult.

All in all, Van der Wijk was neither at Quatre Bras, nor at Waterloo. Van der Wijk himself gives a few reasons for this: the straying of his horses, the absence of orders of headquarters and the presumption in which he, as well as general Gunkel were, i.e. that headquarters were to be established in a village just south of Brussels on the evening of the 17th of June. Cf. his account dated 27th June 1815. In: NA, nr. 2.13.13.01 inv.4

16. Wexy was born in 1802 and died in 1838. Nowadays it still can be seen in the Museum of Koninklijke Stallen in Den Haag, the Netherlands.

17. Diary and memoirs (p.89-97) of major Van Gorkum (private collection). Having done all this, Van Gorkum went to the front of the battle and was there from about 2.30 p.m. and in which he assisted in finding ammunition for the Nassau troops in Gomont. Cf. memoirs (p.97-100)

1e lieutenant S.F.Klijnsma of the company of captain Esau mentions the order of major Van Gorkum, in the stretch Spinette - Waterloo.

Captain Esau's company, in Brussels, had got the instruction to proceed to the Porte de Halle. Having remained here for about one hour, Esau was ordered to proceed to the Porte de Namur and from there to Waterloo, via Spinette (6 kilometres north of Waterloo). Outside of Brussels the company met numerous troops which went back and which were not halted and led back to the front.

While moving south, captain Esau received Van Gorkum's order and was busy for the rest of the day to clear the road. It was at 2 a.m. that the sappers arrived at Waterloo. Cf. notes of 1st lieutenant Klijnsma. He claims the company took up quarters at Spinette, but this was probably in Waterloo as before, Esau had got the instruction to clear the road south of Spinette. Cf. Letter of S.F. Klijnsma. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

Constant Rebecque also mentions the mission of major Van Gorkum, being assisted by an officer, 30 horsemen and a detachment of pioneers. Towards 8 a.m. Constant Rebecque rode to Waterloo himself to find out what Van Gorkum was doing. He found him, while he was giving

orders to his detachment. Constant then returned to the battlefield where he arrived towards 9 a.m. Cf. Constant Rebecque. Account in: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

18. Account of private Rem (7th battalion militia). In: Aantekeningen van een veteraan etc. Private Rentenaar of the 7th battalion of militia. Account in private collection of Mr.Borst, Tuitjehorn.

¹⁹ Constant Rebecque. Account in: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25
Scriba, C.von - Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.89

The uniform worn by the prince on the 18th of June was basically one of a general of the British hussars, but with some variations. He wore a darkblue pelisse of which the sleeves and collar were trimmed with black velvet. The same pelisse had gold stitching.

Under the pelisse he wore a scarlet dolman or a vest with a collar of the same colour and this dolman was also covered with golden galons and strings. Further, he wore grey-blue wide trousers (*à la cosaque*) with at the sides two wide ribbons of red cloth. In stead of the busby he wore the head-dress of a Dutch general, a black cocked hat with two points with a large, orange cockade, a golden loop, orange and gold tassels and a large bunch of hanging white feathers. His shoulders would have been covered by a small blue cloak without sleeves, either to protect him against the rain or to keep away his insignia. He wore an Oriental sabre. The variations on the typical uniform of the hussars existed in the absence of the sash of gold strings with the giberne and the sabretache. Cf. Wilde, F.G.de - De uniform van de prins van Oranje in de slag bij Waterloo. Armamentaria, 1966 nr.1 p.19-21

20. Major Thornhill (7th regiment of hussars) In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.95-97

Lord William Pitt Lennox claims he met Uxbridge that morning in Waterloo, just at the moment he was about to leave this village. At that time it would have been about daybreak, but it was later as Lennox had left from Brussels early morning. In: BL, Add.ms.nr.34.708 p.36-38

During the battle Lord Uxbridge was dressed in the uniform of the colonel of the 7th regiment of hussars.

21. Pozzo di Borgo had left Brussels that morning around 6 a.m. and joined the Duke somewhere on a height in rear of Gomont. Cf. his letter dated 22nd September 1837 to the countess of Archiac In: LMB, archief-fonds 1792 to 1815, box 31

Pozzo di Borgo got slightly wounded during the battle. Cf. Wellington's report to Lord Bathurst, 19th June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.484

Report of Von Hügel to the king of Würtemberg. In: Kriegsarchiv Wien, 1031, 1815 b, 296 c
In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Belle Alliance p.286

22. He got wounded at one of his hands during the battle. Cf. Report of Wellington to lord Bathurst of the 19th of June and the report of Von Hügel (see above). Also see the report of

Vincent himself to fieldmarshall Schwarzenberg, dated 26th June 1815. Kriegsarchiv Wien, F.A.1815 H.A.VI.370 In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Belle Alliance p.296

23. He was slightly wounded at Waterloo by a graze. Cf. Von Hügel's report.

24. Though he had no orders to do so, Alava had joined the Duke on the morning of the 18th of June. Cf. his report to Don Pedro Cevallos, minister of the interior. In: Kelly, Chr. - The memorable battle of Waterloo p.65

25. General Von Hügel would have been with Wellington the whole day. Cf. Report of general Von Hügel to the king of Württemberg. In: Kriegsarchiv Wien, 1031, 1815 b, 296 c In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Belle Alliance p.286

26. He got slightly wounded when he fell after the fall of his horse. Cf. report of Von Hügel.

²⁷ William Pitt Lennox, one of the duke of Richmond's sons, had become an extra aide de camp of general Maitland, and for this reason he had gone from Brussels to Enghien, where he injured his right arm and eye by a fall from his horse. This did not prevent him from joining into the campaign and to ride on the morning of the 18th of June to the battlefield. In: Fifty years etc. p.223-224, 241

Yet, according to Georgiana Lennox, daughter of the duke of Richmond, her father and brother William were on the battlefield until somewhere in the afternoon, when Wellington had sent them back. They arrived in Brussels around 6 p.m and returned to their family. Cf. Memoirs of G.Lennox. In: Swinton, J.R. - A sketch of the life etc. p.135

The presence of the duke of Richmond during the morning is also confirmed by lieutenant Clarke (Scots Greys) and lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). Cf. Clarke's journal. In: NWMS, nr.A.213.2.07 and Hope's Letters from Portugal etc. p.248

²⁸ In: Recollections of Waterloo, by a staff officer p.183

The officer involved may be captain Jessop, of the 44th of regiment, as he makes a reference to an ex-colleague of his of this regiment.

²⁹ Von Müffling - The memoirs of baron Von Müffling etc. p.241

³⁰ Original in former KA, nr.VI.C.3.II.211 (written in pencil). Cf.

Pflugk harttung, J.von - Von Wavre bis Belle Alliance p.620

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von - Napoleons Untergang Vol.3 p.401

Ollech, Von - Geschichte etc. p.214-216

Von Müffling mentions the document without giving the full text. In: The memoirs of baron Von Müffling etc.242

Varnhagen von Ense publishes the document with the following introduction: "Vorschläge des General majors Von Müffling, im Auftrage des Feldmarschalls Herzog von Wellington, wie die preussische Armee in Ubereinstimmung mit der englischen Armee agiren könne, im

Fall dass letztere am 18. Juni von der französischen Armee angegriffen würde.” Cf. Varnhagen von Ense, K.A. - Leben des Generals Grafen von Bülow von Dennewitz p.420

³¹ Cf. Von Müffling in a letter written to general Von Hofmann. In: Hofmann, G.W.von - Zur Geschichte etc. p.138

Von Müffling himself states it was 8 a.m.

In this version of the events, however, Von Müffling also projects too much from hindsight as he [Von Müffling] would have asked Wellington whether he could agree in two corps arriving near Plancenoit by 3 or at the latest 4 o'clock in the afternoon and the remaining other two three hours later on the Anglo-Netherlands-German extreme left flank. This is too much of explaining away the Prussian delays beforehand.

In his first publication, Von Müffling mentions the three options contained in the document, yet more in a theoretical way, not in a chronology of events. In: Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.22-23

³² Von Müffling – The memoirs of baron Von Müffling etc. p242

³³ The distance between Chapelle Saint Lambert – through Beau Chêne and Cheval de Bois - and Mont Saint Jean is 8 kilometres.

There may be a connection here with a report mentioned by lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment of hussars) at 11.30 a.m. that 30.000 Prussians were advancing. Cf. his letter dated 19th of June 1815. In: Hunt, E. - Charging against Napoleon: diaries and letters of three hussars, 1808-1815 p.245

Bleibtreu believes the report (dated noon) reached Wellington only by 2.30 p.m. In: England's grosse Waterloo-Lüge p.212

³⁴ Captain Taylor. In: BL, Add.Ms.34.703 p.25-30, 80-90

In a letter to mr.Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In collection A.Lagden.

In this letter he mentions Ohain, but he also says that the village was about 1.5 mile from Vert Coucou, which is in fact Smohain and not Ohain.

In another letter, dated 19th June 1815, he also erroneously mentions Ohain in stead of Smohain. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.25-30

Taylor also says: "Having seen the chain secure I moved the squadron into a road of the village in the bottom, when a Prussian officer with a patrol arrived at my post and desired me to inform the Duke of Wellington that general Bülow with his *corps d'armée* was advancing to join us, and that he was *trois quarts de lieue* distant. Having communicated with our army the officer was to return directly. I sent lieutenant Lindsay to headquarters with this intelligence."

In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.17

In this document Taylor also writes about Ohain instead of Smohain, but from the details he gives it becomes clear that it was Smohain. The fact that Taylor uses French phrases is

probably caused by the fact that the Prussian messenger spoke French.
For a similar version, see his diary. In: Carew, P. *Combat and carnival* p.30-31

The fact that an officer of the 10th regiment of hussars had seen the Prussian messenger is confirmed by Sir G.Wood. In: *Papers relating to the battle of Waterloo*, British Museum. Department of manuscripts, Add.mss.19.590

Sir Augustus Frazer also mentions the contact of an officer of Von Bülow's corps with captain Taylor. Erroneously, Frazer believes Taylor had a picket at Chapelle Saint Lambert and that Von Bülow had told him that he had 25.000 men at a place called Occey (which Frazer cannot find on the map). According to Frazer it was major W.Thornhill who initially carried the message to Wellington. Frazer met this aide de camp of Uxbridge on the left flank and transmitted the news to general Picton. Cf. Sabine, E. *Letters of Sir Augustus Frazer*. Letter nr.XXV. 20th June 1815 p.553-554

In other documents Taylor precises the location at "trois quarts de lieue distant" as Saint Lambert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.7

In a letter to Mr.Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In collection A.Lagden.

Also see his diary. In: Carew, P. *Combat and carnival* p.31

The identity of the letter as intercepted by the French and delivered to Napoleon not long after 1 p.m. remains unclear. The reference in Soult's order is not explicit enough in stating: "Une lettre qui vient d'être interceptée porte que le général Bülow doit attaquer notre flanc droit."

Additionally Napoleon himself states: "La lettre était effectivement l'annonce de l'arrivée de ce corps [the 4th]; ce général [Von Bülow] demandait au duc de Wellington des ordres ultérieures." In: *Mémoires pour servir etc.* p.138-139

And Gourgaud states: "...un ordonnance Prussien, porteur d'une dépêche, qui apprit que les troupes que l'on apercevait [near Saint Lambert] étaient l'avant garde du corps de Bülow." In: *La campagne de 1815* p.138-139

Apparently, someone in the French general staff was able to read German, as there is no doubt that it was a letter from Von Bülow to Von Müffling. Alternatively, the carrier might have been questioned, as possibly being able to speak French.

Calculating back in time, from 1.30 p.m. onwards, the messenger might have been captured around 12.30 o'clock, having left from Chapelle Saint Lambert around noon.

³⁵ Original (written by Von Müffling in pencil) in former KA, nr. VI.C.3.II.213

A signature is missing, but this would according to Von Pflugk Hartung have been caused by a lack of space at the bottom of the paper. In: *Von Wavre bis La Belle Alliance* p.621

Also see: Lettow Vorbeck, O. von – *Napoleons Untergang* Vol.III p.401-402

The variations with the one of Von Bülow himself are the abbreviations, the words "mit seinem Korps" and the last sentence, which is absent in the one of Von Bülow himself.

Regardless the absence of a proper introduction, a signature and the slight variations, the trouble with this letter is that it is hard to believe that Von Müffling would have sent it this way. First of all, it would be quite bold to do, as he could safely assume that Von Bülow had sent a similar proposal, as Von Müffling sent him, to Blücher. Now, Von Müffling simply used the proposals of Von Bülow regarding the other army corps for himself.

This question can only be fully elucidated while having the actual original available. What the first general proposals coming from Von Müffling (dated about 8.30 a.m.), those coming from Von Bülow (dated around 11.30 a.m.) and Von Müffling's reaction (dated around 12.30 p.m.) have in common is that they apparently lack proper introductions, finalisations, dates and signatures.

The version as given by Von Müffling himself is a combination of the above document, plus the one he wrote at 8.30 a.m., so therefore not trustworthy. In: CvW - Geschichte des Feldzugs der englisch-hanovrisch-niederländisch-braunschweigschen Armee p.22-23

³⁶ Report 1st regiment of KGL hussars. In: VPH, nr.55

Report of major Von der Decken of the same regiment. In: VPH, nr.56

Von der Decken mentions that his officers succeeded in gaining information about the Prussian approach twice and that this information was forwarded to Wellington, but Von der Decken does not enter into any further detail.

³⁷ Major Von Wachholtz (Brunswick contingent) states that Wellington ordered the different corps of his army to advance and to take their positions in the line at 10 a.m. but this is incorrect. Cf. his report dated 16th September 1841. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, VI Hs.18 nr.8

38. The fact that the chateau was occupied during the morning of the 18th and not on the evening of the 17th of June is confirmed by Bernard van Saksen Weimar himself. Cf. Diary of Van Saksen Weimar. In: HHA, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A,XXIV 30, p.194

³⁹ Major Sattler. Cf. his account In: HHA, Abt.202 inventory nr.1015

40. Report of lieutenant colonel Von Strube. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.104-105

Report of Von Vincke himself. In: VPH-LBA, nrs.25 and 26

Reports of major general Best. In: VPH-LBA, nrs.22 and 24

41. Report of major general Best. In: VPH-LBA, nr.24

Cf. General Hanoverian report. In: VPH-LBA, nr.22

Lieutenant Von Berckefeldt (Münden battalion) confirms a time between 9 and 10 a.m. that the troops stood to their arms. In: Geschichte des Königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Bataillon Münden

⁴² Captain Kincaid (95th regiment). In: Adventures etc. p.329

43. Captain Ingilby (battery Gardiner) says it was 11 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271
Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment hussars) says the signal to mount the horses sounded at 9 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.9091

According to captain Shakespear (10th regiment hussars) it was by daybreak that the brigade left its bivouac. In: NAM, 7706-17

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

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

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

Captain Tomkinson. In: Diary of a cavalry officer p.299

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

Shakespear mentions the Nassau units in front of him, covering the road to Franchimont [sic].

45. Captain Taylor. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108

46. Captain Taylor. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.25-30, 80-90, 94-95

In his diary he also writes that he crossed Ohain to rejoin his brigade, but what he means is Smohain. In: Carew, P. - Combat and carnaval p.31

47. On his way back, Ingilby met a lot of wounded plus 400-500 Prussian refugees from the battle of Ligny. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.465-467 and in his diary in RAI, nr.MD 797

Lieutenant Swabey (battery Gardiner) writes the battery took up its position at 6 a.m. Cf. his letter dated 24th June 1815. In: Regimental Museum XVth / XIXth The King's Royal Hussars
2nd captain Dyneley adds the battery advanced over a distance of about 750 metres. Cf. his letter dated 23rd august 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI, nr.MD 1051

48. Lieutenant colonel Ponsonby (12th regiment light dragoons). In; BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.116-118

In another letter he writes about 10 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.116-119

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

According to captain Tomkinson (16th regiment light dragoons) it was 11 a.m. In: Tomkinson. Diary of a cavalry officer p.299

Just before the attack of the 1st French corps, lieutenant Hay claims a movement to the left in order to communicate with the Prussians, but it doesn't become clear whether this was for the whole brigade or his regiment. Soon after, however, a counter-order was given and the men returned to a position to the left of the infantry in open columns of squadrons. In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.176-177

According to surgeon J.Gordon Smith (12th regiment of dragoons) his regiment advanced to

its position at 10.30 a.m. In: The english army in France etc. p.129

Private Farmer (11th regiment of light dragoons), however, describes that his regiment mounted shortly before daybreak and that it moved to the brow of the hill just after that; there – having dismounted - the men started to dry their clothes and accoutrements. In: The light dragoon p.153

⁴⁹ Major Clarke (Scots Greys) states it was 9 a.m. In a letter dated 11th July 1815. In: NWMS, no reference

⁵⁰ Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment) believes it was then 11 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705.28
Towards 9 a.m. the Bremen battalion had got the instruction to prepare muskets. Cf. Captain Von Scriba. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.21-28

The 2nd battalion / 33th regiment, placed as a picket in front of the division of Picton to the east of the Brussels road, was also pulled in towards the division.

Cf. Captain Knight (33rd regiment) in a letter to lieutenant colonel Elphinstone, dated 16th November [?] 1834. In: BL, Mss.Eur. F.89.42

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion / 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle brigade p.330

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (2nd battalion, 33rd regiment). In: Recollections etc. p.16

⁵¹ Captain Von Kühlmann. In: VPH-LBA, nr.62

⁵² Lieutenant Ellison (1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.1-2

Major Woodford (Coldstream Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.490-493

Ensign Standen (3rd regiment Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.705 p.19-22

Lieutenant Bowles (1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.235-237

Lieutenant Lascelles (2nd battalion 1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.79-80

Lieutenant colonel Home (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards) Cf. his account dated 1816. In: BL, Add.ms.19590 (Mudford papers).

⁵³ Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815. Vol.III p.330

Bernard van Saksen Weimar himself claims he detached the battalion at 8.30 a.m. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Constant Rebecque is wrong in stating that the battalion had already marched there on the evening of the 17th of June. Cf. his journal. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

According to Starklof it was at 10 a.m. that the battalion was detached. Cf. Starklof, R. - Das Leben etc. p.197

Major Von Sattler confirms it was before the battle started. Cf. Report of major Sattler. In: HHA, Abt.202, inv.nr.1015 p.338

⁵⁴. Captain Büsgen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.75
Colonel Sattler. In: VPH-LBA, nr.74
Report in HHA, Abt.202, Inv.nr.1015, p.38
Private Leonhard (1st battalion, 2nd regiment Nassau). Cf. his account in: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in private collection.
Both believe it was an adjutant of Wellington, but it may well have been a British one of the staff of the prince of Orange.

⁵⁵. For 10 a.m. cf. MacKinnon. Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.215
Private Leonhard (1st battalion 2nd regiment Nassau) claims that the French reached the wall of the garden shortly after the men had taken up their positions at it. Cf. his account in a private collection.
Lieutenant colonel Home (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards) believes it was at 11 a.m. Cf. his account dated 1816. In: BL, Add.ms.19590 (Mudford papers).

⁵⁶. Captain Büsgen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.75
Major general Von Kruse. In: VPH-LBA, nr.73

⁵⁷. Captain Büsgen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.75
Private Leonhard (1st battalion 2nd regiment of Nassau). Cf. his account in a private collection. Leonhard was a member of one of the companies (the 1st) in the garden. He assigns the following numbers to the companies involved: 1st and 3rd in the garden, 5th and the 7th behind the hedge of the garden and in the wood, flankers in the edge of the wood, grenadiers within the buildings.
Letter of officers of the 2nd regiment of Nassau. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III, p.571
Colonel Sattler. In: VPH-LBA, nr.74
MacKinnon. Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.215
Schmidtborn. Antheil der etc. p.23-24
Schmidtborn probably used the report of Büsgen.

⁵⁸. The reason for these conclusions is that these companies were not in the wood during the action, but in the orchard.

⁵⁹. General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302
VPH, nr.19
Ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p. 19-22
Captain Büsgen (1st battalion 2nd regiment Nassau) erroneously refers to them as Brunswick jäger. In: VPH nr.75
According to Mackinnon, these Hanoverian units were posted at Gomont on the evening of the 17th of June. In: Origin and services etc. Vol.II p.214
The Lüneburg journal suggest as if the 50 sharpshooters of the battalion (led by ensign

Brandt) were detached during the initial stages of the attack, but this is unlikely. In: NHA, Hann.48a I, nr.368

^{60.} Major Baring (2nd battalion light infantry KGL). In: *Erzählung etc.* p.73
There is no information available about what happened further with this unit that day.

^{61.} Lieutenant Drewe (27th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.416-419
Sir George Scovell would have been accompanied by a squadron of dragoons, but which dragoons these were is not known.

Sir George Scovell had returned on the 17th of June from Quatre Bras to Brussels, but went back to the south on the 18th and reached Waterloo by daybreak. Here, Scovell found the road obstructed and reported this to Wellington. The duke sent him out to have the bagages etc. removed but Scovell failed. After that, Scovell was sent out again, but now with a squadron of dragoons. Cf. Scovell. In: NAK, nr. WO 37-12/84

Sir H.Smith (brigade major of Lambert's brigade) confirms Scovell's mission. In: *The autobiography etc.* p.268

E.Heeley, Sir G.Scovell's assistant, confirms Scovell arrived on the evening of the 17th of June, between 11 p.m. and midnight, in Brussels. In: NAM, nr.8409-98

Sir Augustus Frazer confirms the road was cleared from obstructions in his letter of the 18th of June 9.15 a.m. Frazer and lieutenant colonel Dickson had, through captain Price (extra aide de camp of Picton) requested to major general Barnes to have it cleared. Whether there is any relation between Barnes' action and Wellington's request is not clear, but that the same mission is meant becomes apparent from the role of the brigade of Lambert. In: Sabine, E. *Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer.* Brief XXII, p.545

^{62.} Sir H.Smith. In: *The autobiography etc.* p.268

^{63.} According to lieutenant Drewe (27th regiment) this was south of the village of Waterloo. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.417-419

^{64.} Lieutenant Drewe (27th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.417-419

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

According to major general Lambert the brigade received the order to move to the position of Mont Saint Jean by 10 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65

Lieutenant Browne (27th regiment), however, claims his regiment arrived at Mont Saint Jean by 8 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.175-180

For 11 a.m. also see: lieutenant Levinge (4th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.201-202

Sir H.Smith believes it was at 11 a.m. the he received orders to advance, but this was towards 10 a.m. In: *The autobiography etc.* p.268

Ensign Mudie (1st Royals) believes the brigade arrived around 9 a.m. Cf. Ensign C.Mudie (1st Royal Scots). In: *Operations of the 5th or Picton's division in the campaign of Waterloo.* In: USJ, II, 1841 p.175

Lieutenant Drewe is the only one who mentions the contra-march of the brigade, from and to the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean.

General Lambert and Sir H.Smith do not do so. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65 and in: The autobiography etc. p.268-270

⁶⁵. Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: VPH-LBA, nr.65

How the battalions stood is not known. Most historians place the brigade at 11.30 a.m. near Picton's division but this is incorrect.

⁶⁶. Captain Bull. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.46-49

He says it was 8.30 uur (in stead of 10 a.m.), but taking it from his further details he wrong in this hour.

Cf. captain Kühlmann. In: VPH-LBA, nr.62

⁶⁷. General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302

Three companies, led by major Krauchenberg, had been left as outposts near Peruwelz. Cf. Colonel Arentschildt in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: NHA, Hann.38D nr.200
Arentschildt mentions [Vieux] Condé, near Peruwelz.

⁶⁸. Report of colonel Arentschildt to the duke of Cambridge. In: NHA, Hann.38D, nr.200

Report of major Von Goeben. In: VPH-LBA, nr.60

General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302

Report 3rd regiment of hussars. In: VPH-LBA, nr.58

Major Von Schnehen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.59

Colonel Arentschildt stresses the fact that he did not have any formal orders where to place his regiment; accordingly, he assigned one himself, in rear of the infantry.

⁶⁹. Lieutenant O'Grady (7th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.73-75

Captain Verner (7th regiment of hussars). In: Reminiscences of William Verner p.44

Captain Robbins (7th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.127-130

Captain Daniel had gone straight to Waterloo on the 17th of June, where he got as it grew dark. At 10 p.m. he left from there for Brussels where he got by midnight. Here, he spent the night and went back to the army the next day. Yet, he spent most of the 18th of June in rear of it, and most of the time on the Brussels road – what he did there remains unclear. In: Journal of an officer etc. p.394, 420

⁷⁰. Captain Elliott (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.199-200

Elliott claims the farmer's wife was, with her poultry, on the attic of her farm the whole day.

⁷¹ In: Ross, H.D. - Memoir of field-marshal sir H.D.Ross p.60

⁷² Cusick, R.- Waterloo. The legacy of sir John Moore. The 1st / 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry at Waterloo. In: First Empire (2010), nr.116 p.29

Of the 52nd, it was between 4 and 5 a.m. that captain Driggle's company, plus two or three of the 95th were sent into Merbraine. In: Moorsom, W.S. – Historical record of the 52nd regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry) from the year 1755 to the year 1858 p.247

Tupper Carey, commissariat officer attached to the 2nd division, mentions the men falling in and the stand to arms taking place at 11 a.m. In: Reminiscences of a commissariat officer p.730

⁷³ Cf. sergeant Führung. In: Die Gefangennahme des Generals Cambronne. In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI nr.157

⁷⁴ Letter of Chassé to the prince of Orange, dated 4th of July 1815. In: Bas, F.de – L campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.354

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

Colonel Detmers. In: Bas, F.de la campagne de 1815 Vol.III p. 372-378

Craan, W.B. , Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc. Bruxelles, Harvaert en Pauwels, 1816

At 11.30 a.m., lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment) saw 2 or 3 Dutch / Belgian battalions on a height near Braine l'Alleud; these were the 17th battalion of national militia and /or the 35th battalion of chasseurs, the 2nd battalion of the line and the 4th battalion of national militia.

⁷⁵ 2nd lieutenant Roorda van Eysinga. In: Iets betreffende den slag van Waterloo. In: De recensent der recensenten (1831), nr.6 and 7

⁷⁶ Lieutenant colonel Van Delen. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8
Account of major Van Gorkum. In: Nagelaten papieren, private collection

⁷⁷ Major Evans. In: NLS, Adv.46.9.19

⁷⁸ Cf. Account Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Neither colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvel, nor colonel Van Saksen Weimar enter into the issue of command on the 18th of June.

After the fall of Picton, Kempt succeeded in command. He states that all units placed to the left of the Brussels road came under his command, but in this only explicitly mentions the 5th and 6th divisions. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.305-306

In his report dated 19th June to Wellington, Kempt states he took over the command of the 5th division and of those units which Picton had had under his command, but he doesn't specify which units these were. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.535-537

⁷⁹ Cf. Account Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Wellington uses the terms of left and right centre in this way in his report to lord Bathurst of the 19th of June. In: Bas, F. – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.474

⁸⁰ Lieutenant colonel Van Delen. In: Bas, F.de la campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.365
Major Van Gorkum. In: In: Nagelaten papieren, private collection
Report of the prince of Orange to Wellington, dated 22nd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.556

81. Account Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25
Letter of Chassé to the prince of Orange, dated 4th of July 1815. In: Bas, F.de – L campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.354
Major Van Gorkum In: NIMH nr.104/7 p.22

Sometimes, doubts are raised about the presence of Hill himself at Waterloo, but there is no doubt that he was there. Cf. Wellington's report to lord Bathurst, dated 19th of June 1815. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.474
Lord Hill himself in his letter to his sister, dated 24th of July 1815. In: Dalton, Ch. - The Waterloo roll call p.13
Cf. Sidney, E. The life of lord Hill p.305-306

For Mitchell's brigade, cf. the report of lieutenant general Clinton to Lord Hill, dated 19th of June. In: WSD Vol.X, p.545-546
Albemarle, G.Th. Fifty years of my life Vol.II p.25

⁸² Account Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

83. Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.451-454
Major Thornhill (adc Uxbridge). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.95-97
Lord Greenock (adc Uxbridge). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.429-430
Lieutenant colonel Hoynck van Papendrecht (chief of staff of the Netherlands division of cavalry Collaert). In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.424
Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of brigade of Ghigny). In: CBG, nr.95 and in: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263
Sir Hussey Vivian would have been told by colonel Delancey not to engage any action, until the Prussians would arrive. Cf. captain Ingilby (battery of Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.p.266-271

⁸⁴ Major Evans. In: NLS, Adv.46.9.19

⁸⁵ Cf. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.169-170
For the 12th regiment of light dragoons this is confirmed by its commander, lieutenant colonel F.Ponsonby. Cf his letter in the archive in former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

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

It was major Thornhill, aide de camp of lord Uxbridge, who had to pass along all cavalry brigades authorising their commanders to act discretionally under certain limitations, of which he considered it needless to mention in his account. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.95-97

86. For the description of the order of battle, numerous eye-witness accounts have been used. One of the main plans used is the one of captain Von Brandis (1835). In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI, nr.156 and 103E 4pg-10pg.

87. Captain Caddell (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.217-222

Major Calvert (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms..34.705.57 and 707 p.395-397

Lieutenant Belcher (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.53-54

Private Cruikshank (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138

Lieutenant Black (1st regiment). In: Letter to his father dated 10th July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS10488

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.105-109

Lieutenant Riach (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.107-110

According to Von Brandis the brigade was immediately in rear of the Ohain-road, having the 32nd and 28th in line next to each other, left and right and the 79th in column to the right rear of the 32nd regiment.

88. Lieutenant Lesley (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.159-161

According to 2nd lieutenant Koopman (battery Bijleveld) the battery stood about 60 metres to the left of the Brussels road. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

89. Lieutenant colonel Barnard (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265

Lieutenant Simmons in a letter dated 15th August 1855. In: NAM, nr.6804/2

Captain Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.224-225 and 34.708 p.60-61 And in: Rough sketches etc. p.384 Lieutenant Cox (1st battalion 95th regiment) mentions the presence of two companies in the sandpit. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.279-280

Lieutenant Kincaid even mentions three companies there. In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.330

⁹⁰ Lieutenant colonel Barnard (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265 Lieutenant Kincaid confirms it was a very imperfect one, showing merely a bush here and there. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30

91. The different eyewitness accounts are confusing.

Colonel Barnard puts two companies on the knoll in front of the Ohain-road and the reserve of the battalion in rear of the road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265

Captain Leach and major general Kempt place the reserve of the battalion on the knoll in rear of the sandpit. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 224-225 and 708 p.305-306

In another version colonel Leach places two companies (of which one was led by himself) and others (of which one led by captain Johnstone) on the knoll. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.60-61, 222-223

Lieutenant Gardiner confirms his presence on the same knoll. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.361-362

Lieutenant Kincaid situates the reserve of the battalion (three companies) in rear of the second hedge, which is the one of the Ohain-road, and not the one of the sandpit. The right of this reserve was resting on the Brussels road, with 1.80 – 2.70 metres of the bank of its steep bank. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30

The remaining troops (3 companies) were in the sandpit and on the knoll. In: Adventures in the Rifle brigade p.330

Lieutenant Cox says his company covered the guns of Roger's battery. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.262-263

According to lieutenant Simmons the battalion formed a column at 11 a.m., but he doesn't specify where. In his letter dated 15th August 1855. In: NAM, nr.6804/2

Caldwell and Cooper give the following positions: no.1 and 2 companies in the sandpit, no.5 company on the knoll in rear of this and the three remaining ones (8,9, and 10) plus the staff in rear of the road to Ohain. Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.45-46

Cf. Cope, W.H. – The history of the Rifle brigade p.201-202

92. In this skirmishing-line was at least a company of the 7th battalion of national militia, led by captain Van Bronkhorst. Cf.his letter dated 9th July 1815. In: Ons leger (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

93. Though colonel van Zuylen van Nijevelt gives a later hour (noon), the movement should be seen in the context of the inspection of Wellington and the resulting movements. Likewise, the division of Alten was also pulled from the southern declivity of the ridge to the northern, in rear of the Ohain-road, but a bit earlier in time.

It is colonel De Jong (8th battalion of national militia) who confirms he received the order to pull back at 9 a.m. Cf. Historisch verhaal. In: Militaire Spectator 1866.

Also lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion chasseurs) mentions a retreat in the morning. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

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

Report of general De Perponcher. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.282

Muilwijk, E. – The position of Bijlandt's brigade etc. p.30

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

Scheltens, Souvenirs d'un grognard belge p.200

General major Van Bijlandt himself speaks about a position of his artillery during the attack of the 1st French corps as being in front of his right wing and covered by a hedge. This hedge was the one of the Ohain-road, thus having the brigade in rear of this road. In his letter dated

31st May 1841. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Colonel De Jong (8th battalion of national militia). Cf. Historisch verhaal. In: Militaire Spectator 1866.

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch confirms for his battalion a position about 20 paces in rear of the road. Cf. letter dated 17th April 1836 to colonel Nepveu. In: NA, nr.2.13.13.09 nr.204 and In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265, 259

From the way captain Van Bronkhorst (7th battalion of national militia) describes the retreat of the light infantry of his battalion to the brigade it can be concluded that the battalion was at the Ohain-road. Cf. his letter 9th July 1815. In: Ons leger (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment) mentions the presence of Nassau troops to the left of his battalion (which stood in rear of the Ohain-road), but these were no doubt those of Van Bijlandt. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135

Lieutenant Pronk (8th battalion of national militia) speaks of a withdrawal to a position in rear of a small bank. Cf. his diary. In: The family-prospectus "Pronkstukken"

Captain Gore (aide de camp of major general Kempt) confirms the position of the brigade at the hedge. Cf. his plan and letter. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.707 p.426-431

Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment) indicates that forces of the army of the Netherlands were at the Ohain-road. In: Ross-Lewin, H. With the thirty second etc. p.270

Captain J.Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment), himself being in the sandpit, doesn't speak explicitly about Netherlands troops, but he does indicate that the first line was at the hedge of the Ohain-road. In: J. Rough sketches etc. p.384

In another account, however, Leach does place pickets of Netherlands troops to the left front of his own battalion. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.201-202 Cf. Swiney, G. Historical records of the 32nd Light infantry p.120

Other sources confirm the brigade of Van Bijlandt (the same as with the 1st / 95th battalion) as being in the first line (with those of Kempt of Pack as being in the second), without actually adding that this was right in rear of the Ohain-road, on the crest of the position. Cf.

Major general Kempt. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.305-306 and his report in: WSD, Vol.X p.536

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion / 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.330

Major Evans (brigade Ponsonby) confirms the brigade was located at 40 paces in front of the 5th division, which was at the crest of the height. Cf. his report to Sir G.Murray. In: NLS, Add.ms.46.9.19

In some cases, however, this can be understood as being either in rear or in front of the Ohain-road. Cf.

Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.335-338

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

Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: Letters and journals p.356, 358

Ensign Mudie (1st regiment). In: Operations of the 5th etc. p.177

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.245, 251-252

The retiring “Belgians” as referred to by private Cruikshank refers to this period of the day for the brigade of Van Bijlandt. Cruikshank took part in the skirmishing down the slope in front of the hedge into the valley, and which lasted for some time before the columns of the 1st corps were put in motion. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138

Three eye-witnesses suggest that the brigade actually was still in front of the Ohain-road at the time of the attack of the 1st French corps. Cf.

Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Lieutenant Black (1st regiment). In: NLS, nr.MS 10488

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce-Low, E. - With Napoleon at Waterloo etc. p.140-141

In several studies of the campaign, the brigade of Van Bijlandt is placed on the forward slope of the ridge of Mont Saint Jean at the time the attack of the 1st corps took place, but the overwhelming evidence makes clear that this claim is incorrect. As Adkin puts it, it “made no military sense whatsoever to leave Van Bijlandt’s men totally exposed on the forward slope; the only unit in the army to be so, and for no good reason.” In: The Waterloo companion p.406

⁹⁵ Cf. Description of the first main attack of the French.

96. In order to protect them from French fire, the men were lying down. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

⁹⁷ Account of colonel van Van Zuylen van Nijvel. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8

Lieutenant Scheltens. In: Souvenirs d'un grognard belge p.200

2nd lieutenant Koopman (battery Bijleveld). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

98. Lieutenant Scheltens (7th battalion of the line). In: Souvenirs d'un grognard belge p.200

Craan, in his plan has the same but his sources for this disposition remain unknown. In: Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc.

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion of chasseurs) incorrectly states that the 8th battalion of national militia stood to the left front of his own battalion. In: NA,nr.2.13.13.09 nr.204 and In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265, 259

99. Account of colonel van Van Zuylen van Nijvel. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8

According to captain Mollinger, of the battalion, states that the battalion only counted about 80 men and was from a military point of view almost of no value. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben

Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

However, colonel Westenberg, claims the battalion still counted a few hundred men and that it had a position in the second line, with British and Scottish units to the left and right of him. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

100. General major Van Bijlandt. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

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

2nd lieutenant Koopman (battery Bijleveld). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

Captain Clark Kennedy (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.10-12, 13-16

Captain Bijleveld in his diary. In: Hoek, W.van den & Hoek, J.W.van den Hoek - De geschiedenis van de rijdende artillerie p.101

Captain Bijleveld. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

Account of Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815. Vol. III p.332

Scheltens, Souvenirs d'un grognard belge p.200

According to 2nd lieutenant Koopman the three guns to the right were under his command, while the four on the left were led by 1st lieutenant Wasserot de Vincy. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

101. Captain Macdonald (1st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

Captain Campbell (42nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.451-454

Lieutenant Riach (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.107-110

Lieutenant Black (1st regiment). In: Letter to his father dated 10th July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS10488

102. Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Atlas

103. Report of major general Best. In: VPH-LBA, nr.24

Cf. General Hanoverian report. In: VPH-LBA, nr.22

104. Major general Best. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nrs.151-152 p.75-88 and in BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.278-283

Best's sketch in the Waterloo letters is rather misleading as it conflicts with the information he gives in his account. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.704 p.278-262

105. Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Atlas

106. Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Atlas

According to a private of the battalion Gifhorn, E.Ch.Schacht, the battalion was in square from 11 a.m. until about 2 p.m. In: Letter to his father, dated 25 August 1815. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, 299 AN 289

107. Major general Von Vincke. In: VPH-LBA, nr.26

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

Craan situates the brigade too far west. Cf. Craan, W.B. - Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc. Bruxelles, Harvaert en Pauwels, 1816

109. Report of Von Vincke. In: VPH-LBA, nr.26

Lieutenant colonel Von Strube. In: VPH-LBA, nr.44

Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.167-168

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

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: Diary of a cavalry officer p.299-300

110. Captain Barton (12th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.181-191

Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment light dragoons). In: Wood, S.C.I. (ed.) - Reminiscences under Wellington 1808-1815 p.174

111. Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Captain Barton (12th regiment light dragoons) gives a position on his plan too far west. Siborne also corrects him. Barton mentions the presence of Nassau troops in front of him, which pleads for a position more to the east. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Lieutenant colonel Ponsonby makes the same error, and also situates his regiment too far south. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.116-119

Surgeon Gordon Smith (12th light dragoons) puts his regiment on the brow of the ridge; between the 12th and 11th regiment there was a knoll; he confirms that in the immediate front there were some Belgian infantry. All medical personnel was sent to a farm to the rear; this may have been the farm of Ter la Haye. In: The English army in France etc. Vol.I p.129, 131-132

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

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

Captain Tomkinson. In: Diary of a cavalry officer p.300

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

Shakespear mentions the Nassau units in front of him, covering the road to Franchimont [sic].

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

He sketches a position on the right to a hedge, which was in right angle to the Ohain-road.

This matches the details as described in the history of the 18th regiment. The 18th regiment was to the left of the 10th regiment.

Cf. Malet, H.E. – Historical records of the eighteenth hussars p.42

Also see lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.82 and in his diary. In:

RAI, nr.MD 797

First, he mentions the presence of a Prussian post on a height to his left. This post could only have been in front of the Bois de Paris stond; in case Vivian would have been in rear of the Ohain-road then Ingilby would not have been able to describe his situation like that.

The Nassau units he writes about in front of him were those of Saksen Weimar, occupying the farms and the enclosures and hedges. Ingilby even witnesses the presence the three guns of Stevenart.

His view along the front was only possible from there, and not from one in rear of the Ohain-road.

The KGL units he mentions to his right were those of Von Vincke and Best.

Sir J.Vandeleur confirms that Vivian was to the left of his brigade. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.167-168

114. Captain Taylor. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

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

115. Cf. Malet, H.E. – Historical records of the eighteenth hussars p.42

Siborne incorrectly situates both brigades of Vivian and Vandeleur in rear of the Ohain-road, having their fronts to the south. In: History of the war etc. Atlas.

116. Report about the regiment. In: VPH-LBA, nr.55

117. Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). According to Ingilby it was colonel Delancey himself who gave these instructions to Sir H.Vivian. Cf. his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

118. Cf. Account of captain Bergmann. In: Domarus, M. Die Oranien-Nassauische Freiwillige Jägerkompagnie etc. In: Nasauische Heimatblätter, 1915 p. 19

Also see: Bernard van Saksen Weimar himself. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Also see: Starklof, R. Das Leben etc. p.197

119. Captain Wirths (2nd Nassau battalion). In: Aus der Schlacht bei Waterloo p.144

Bernard van Saksen Weimar himself. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, nr.265

Major general Von Kruse. In: VPH nr.73

Major Sattler (2nd regiment Nassau). In: VPH, nr.74

Major Sattler, captain Frensdorf and lieutenant Wittich. In: VPH nr.86

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt sums up the position of the brigade but here he mixes up the situation as it was right at the start of the battle and one some time later. For instance, he suggests as if the 3rd battalion Nassau was then already split up in a main body and detachments further in front.

In his mind, the 2nd battalion of Oranje-Nassau stood in square. In: Bas, F.de & TSerclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.334

The position of Saksen Weimar in general is confirmed by major general Best and Von Vincke. In: VPH, nrs.24 and 26

¹²⁰ Cf. Starklof, R. Das Leben etc. p.200

Cf. Diary of Van Saksen Weimar. In: HHA, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A,XXIV 30, p.194

121. Report of captain Rettberg. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.159-163

In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-231

Major general Best. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152.p.82-88

Major general Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.89-93

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

122. Captain Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.227-234 , p.240-241

Captain Maule (battery Rogers). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.120-122

Lieutenant Leslie (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.159-161

Second lieutenant Wilson (battery Rogers). In: BL, Add.ms.34704 p.44-47

Lieutenant Koopman (battery Bijleveld). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.262

Private Cruikshank (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138

Lieutenant Wilson (battery Rogers). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.44-47 He adds the battery was there from 11.30 a.m. onwards.

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

123. Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskilling Dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.151-154

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

Lord Edward Somerset, diary. In: NAM, nr.6807-344

Major Clarke (Scots Greys) in a letter to Sir J.Stewart, d.d. 11th July 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.76

The Royals would have been in two lines. Lieutenant Clifton (1st regiment of Royal Dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704. p.73-76

124. Major Radcliffe (1st regiment Royal Dragoons) in his sketch added to his letter to Sir H.Fane, dated 7th July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6310-36

125. Report major general Von Vincke. In: VPH-LBA, nr.26

Captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.66

Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123

Lieutenant colonel Von Strube. In: VPH-LBA, nr.44

126. Lieutenant Swabey confirms the presence of Nassau troops in front and to the right of them (in the farms and in Smohain). In his letter dated 24th of June 1815. In: Regimental Museum XV/ XIX The King's Royal Hussars

127. Captain Whinyates. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.251-254 and 34.707 p.187-188

128. Lieutenant Dansey. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.29-31

129. Lieutenant Wilson (battery Sinclair). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.281-282

^{130.} Cf. Mercer, C. Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.292

131. Craan, W.B. Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc. Bruxelles, Harvaert en Pauwels, 1816

^{132.} Lieutenant general Alten. In: VPH-LBA, nr.20

Alten's report to the duke of Wellington dated 19th June. In: WSD, Vol.X p.534-535

Captain Cleaves. In: VPH-LBA, nr.63

The Lüneburg journal. In: NHA Hann.48A I nr.368

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd regiment). In: Personal recollections p.23

Shaw Kennedy adds that – in fact – the squares were oblongs. Each battalion formed in oblong on the centre companies, and when the battalions were weak two were joined, the right hand battalion of the two forming left in front, and the left hand battalion right in front, each in column of companies; the fronts of the oblongs were formed by four companies; the rear faces of the oblongs were of the same strength, and the sides of one company each, which were formed by the outward wheel of subdivisions.

So, as a battalion formed an oblong upon the two centre companies, the formation was made in less than half the time in which it would form square on a flank company; and the same applied to the deployment.

The chequered line formed by the brigades of Von Ompteda and Kielmansegge was possible thanks to the fact that colonel Von Kruse gave one of his battalions so as to form a second line within the division. In: Notes on the battle of Waterloo p.100-102

^{133.} Baron Georg von Baring, born on 8th March 1773 and since 1786 in the Hanoverian army and then in the King's German Legion. He died 27th February 1848.

^{134.} Major Baring. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.41-47

Lieutenant Biedermann of the same battalion claims 3 companies were in the farm, the other 3 in the orchard. Cf. Biedermann, E. lieutenant - Von Malta bis Waterloo p.180 Biedermann himself was in the orchard.

Private Lindau has yet another version: in his mind there were 2 companies in the orchard. In: Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer etc. p.129

^{135.} Major Baring. In: VPH-LBA, nr.30

¹³⁶. Major Baring. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.41-47

Baring adds that the orchard needed an extra effort to occupy due to the lack of tools to cut the trees and hedges. In: VPH-LBA, nr.30

Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

Private Lindau, when describing the descent of the French from the walls into the courtyard later in the day uses the term “Gerüst” (scaffold). In: Lindau, F. Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer, p.136

¹³⁷. Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

Captain Duthilt (division Quiot) mentions barricades consisting of waggons, plows and trees. In: Les mémoires du capitaine Duthilt p.302

¹³⁸. Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL) In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

Lieutenant Von Brandis (2nd battalion light infantry KGL). In: Tecklenburg, Von – Waterloo p.3

Private Lindau (2nd battalion light infantry KGL). In: Lindau, F. Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer p.130
Cotton, E. Une voix de Waterloo p.37

Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment) denies the existence of loopholes in the farm. In: Ros-Lewin, H. With the thirty second etc. p.275

¹³⁹. It had been erected by members of the 1st battalion 95th regiment who were in and near the sandpit. Cf. Captain Kincaid. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30

Lieutenant Simmons, in a letter dated 15th August 1855. In: NAM, nr.6804/2

Simmons confirms the assistance of the Hanoverians

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.273-276

According to captain Kincaid one tree was left standing in rear of the sandpit. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.160-161

Private Lindau (2nd battalion light infantry KGL) claims he assisted in erecting the abatis with the aid of carts, ladders and even three French (spiked) guns ! In: Lindau, F. Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer p.130

¹⁴⁰. Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

Private Lindau. In: Lindau, F. Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer p.130 According to Lindau it was built from a cart, some ladders and some agricultural tools.

Cf. plans of Von Beamish and Von Schwertfeger.

According to lieutenant Cathcart the abatis had been opened some time before the battle and that its trees were lying alongside the road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.146-150

Captain Kincaid admits the abatis didn't mean much as some dragoons who had been on picket ran through it just before the battle started, while cuirassiers did so during the action. Cf. Adventures in the Rifle brigade p.332

BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.160-161

Lieutenant Von Brandis (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL) claims the road was indeed blocked with trees, but doesn't indicate the place where. In: Von Tecklenburg - Waterloo p.3

^{141.} Others believe it stood in line with the hedge which was immediately north of the sandpit. Cf.

Captain Ross (battery Ross. Sketch. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707255-259

Lieutenant colonel Barnard (95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265

Lieutenant colonel Dansey (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.25-28

Lieutenant Cathcart (aide de camp of Wellington). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.146-150

Lieutenant Kincaid (95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.332

Cf. Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.44

This is incorrect as during the battle the French would have fired from behind the abatis on the farm and from there this is highly improbable.

^{142.} Craan, W.B. Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc. Bruxelles, Harvaert en Pauwels, 1816

Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.37

Ensign Domdorf (8th battalion of the line). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.247

Shaw Kennedy switches the battalion with the 1st battalion of light infantry. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

^{143.} Craan, W.B. - Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc. Bruxelles, Harvaert en Pauwels, 1816

Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.37

Shaw Kennedy, J. – Notes on the battle of Waterloo plan p.99

^{144.} Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen. In: VPH-LBA, nr.37

The detachment of ensign Wheatley had spent the night in the Bois de Soignes; by 5 a.m. it joined the battalion. The remainder of the grenadier-company did not participate in the battle. In: Hibbert, Chr. (ed.) - The Wheatley diary p.62

^{145.} Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen doesn't mention the battalion at all. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.59-62

^{146.} Shaw Kennedy, J. Notes on the battle of Waterloo p.99 plan
Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

^{147.} Major general Alten. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.150 p.1-10

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

Lieutenant colonel Von Müller. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.37-40

Captain Von Scriba. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.21-29

Scriba, C.von Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.89

Plan captain J.Shaw Kennedy. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

Erroneously, Von Brandis places both battalions to the right of the track which leads towards Merbraine.

^{148.} Lieutenant colonel Müller. In: VPH-LBA, nr.40

Both Shaw Kennedy and Schwertfeger depict the battalions switched in their plan.

But in a letter Sir J.Shaw Kennedy mentions it as Müller does. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

^{149.} Cf.General Hanoverian report. In: VPH-LBA, nr.19

^{150.} Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

General Hanoverian report. In: VPH-LBA, nr.19

Lieutenant general Alten. In: VPH-LBA, nr.20

Anonymous. Die Königlich Deutsche Legion und das Hannoversche Corps bei Waterloo p.20
Cotton mentions the presence of 100 men of the battalion of Lüneburg only. In: Une voix de Waterloo p.32-33

^{151.} Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705.705 p.88-94

Lieutenant colonel Elphinstone (33th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.278-281

^{152.} Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

Plan Shaw Kennedy.

^{153.} Sir J.Shaw Kennedy. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

Major Dawson Kelly (73rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.112-115

^{154.} Captain Garland (73rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.1-2

Sir James Shaw Kennedy. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

^{155.} Lieutenant colonel Elphinstone (33rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.278-281

Captain Knight in a letter to lieutenant colonel Elphinstone (both 33rd regiment), dated 16th November [?] 1834. In: BL, Mss.Eur. F.89.42

Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.253-255

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd regiment) claims there was a distance of 80 to 150 paces between the units of the 73rd / 30th and the 33rd / 69th . He also adds that the 30th / 73rd were in front of the Ohain-road.

Another source gives a distance of 70 metres between the first line (73rd / 30th regiment) and the second (33rd / 69th). In: History of the 30th regiment p.326

^{156.} Plans Schwertfeger and Shaw Kennedy. Also in: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

Soon after daybreak, captain Cotter of the 69th was ordered to leave with his company for Waterloo and guard Wellington's headquarters. Cotter complied with this order, but soon after he had done so he got new instructions to return to the battlefield to join his regiment, as Wellington had left the inn of Bodenghien. Cotter did so about the time the battle started. Cf. Captain Cotter. In: W.F.Butler. A narrative etc. p.82

^{157.} Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94
Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: his letter from Paris dated 7th July 1815.
He adds that one light company of the 30th regiment and one of the 73rd regiment protected the guns of Lloyd and Cleeves. In his diary. In: History of the 30th regiment p.339
Also see: Morris, sergeant (2nd battalion 73rd regiment of foot) Recollections p.76

^{158.} Lord Saltoun. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 131-134
Ensign Batty (1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.227-234
Captain Powell (1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.181-187
Chambers, B. - The men of the 1st Foot Guards p.22

Ensign Swinburne (3rd battalion 1st Foot Guards. BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.346-347) mentions a position in a column of "grand divisions" and ensign Tighe (1st Foot Guards, BL, Add.ms. 34.705 p.83-86) refers to squares (from 11 a.m. onwards). Erroneously, he depicts these squares too far south of the Ohain-road.de Ohainweg.
Also captain Powell (1st Foot Guards) mentions an advance in squares. In: BL, Add.ms.705 p.181-187
The history of the 30th regiment places the 3rd battalion 1st Foot Guards in front of the Ohain-road. (p.326)

^{159.} Cotton, E.- Une voix de Waterloo p.35
An anonymous officer of the 3rd Foot Guards. Cf. his letter dated 20th June 1815. In: Leeds Mercury dated 5th August 1815.
Captain Mercer (2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment Foot Guards) places his battalion north of the Ohain-road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.203-206

^{160.} Major general Lord Edward Somerset in his diary. In: NAM, nr.6807/344
Cf. his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: Bodleian Library nr.MS Eng.hist.d. ff.49-60
Cf. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140
Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.244-247
Wheatley, J. (5th battalion of the line KGL). He mentions the presence of the Horse Guards in rear of his battalion. In: The Wheatley diary; a journal and sketchbook kept during the Peninsular war and the Waterloo campaign p.64
Private Nicholson (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.3-4
Surgeon J.H.James (1st Life Guards). In: Vansittart, J. (ed) Surgeon J.H.James p.32

¹⁶¹. Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.5-6
Private Nicholson (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.3-4
Sergeant Page (King's Dragoon Guards) Cf. his letter to his wife dated 4th of July 1815. In: 1st
The Queen's Dragoon Guards Heritage Trust

¹⁶² The King's Dragoon Guards took up a position in a column of squadrons at 11 a.m. Cf.
Diary of captain Naylor. In: Regimental Museum 1st Queen's Dragoon Guards

¹⁶³. In the sketch, joined to his letter to Sir H.Fane, dated 7th July 1815, major Radcliffe (1st
regiment Royal Dragoons, brigade Ponsonby) depicts the brigade rather sketchy and with the
1st Dragoon Guards on the left and next to it the Life Guards; the Royal Horse Guards are not
being mentioned at all. In: NAM, 6310-36

¹⁶⁴. Diary 1st regiment of Nassau. In: VPH-LBA, nr.71
Major general Von Kruse. In: VPH-LBA, nr.73
Lieutenant colonel Müller (Bremen battalion). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.37-40
Plan Sir J.Shaw Kennedy. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.21
Cf. Kloetzer, W. Ein unbekannter waterloo-Brief heinrich von Gagerns. In: Nassauische
heimatblaetter. 1956 Heft.1 p.22
According to captain Weiz, the 1st battalion had a position in divisional column, the right
wing in front (two companies formed a division). Cf. Account of captain F.Weiz. In: Unzer,
A. Darstellung etc. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter, 1915 p.4

¹⁶⁵. Major Von Goeben. In: VPH-LBA, nr.60

¹⁶⁶. Captain Seeger (2nd regiment light dragoons). In: NHA, Hann.Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.17-
22
Captain Verner (7th regiment hussars, brigade of Grant). In: Reminiscenses p.43
Colonel Friedrichs (2nd regiment of light dragoons). In: VPH-LBA, nrs.52 and 53

¹⁶⁷. Cf. Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Vol.I p.351

¹⁶⁸. Major general Von Dörnberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.27

¹⁶⁹. Journal 2nd regiment of light dragoons. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.232 p.76 and 84
Colonel Friedrichs. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.30-33
Major Seeger. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.17-22

¹⁷⁰. Major general Von Dörnberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.27
Colonel Friedrichs. In: VPH-LBA, nr.52

Lieutenant Banner. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.5

Lieutenant colonel Grove (23rd regiment of light dragoons) mentions a formation in closed column, whereby the men were dismounted initially. Cf. his journal. In: NAM, 1978-05-74-2

^{171.} Captain Seeger (2nd regiment of light dragoons). In: VPH-LBA, nr.53

^{172.} On the other hand, colonel Arentschildt himself indicates that he didn't know where this regiment was on the morning of the 18th of June. Cf. his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: NHA, Hann.38D, nr.200 Von Arentschildt himself spent most of the day with the 3rd regiment of hussars.

^{173.} Siborne, W. History of the war in France etc. Vol.I p.351

Verner, captain (7th regiment of hussars). In: Reminiscences p.44

According to others the brigade stood between Merbraine and the Nivelles-road. Cf.

Major Turner (13th regiment of light dragoons) in a letter dated – In: NAM, nr.7509-62

^{174.} Major general Von Dörnberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.27

Captain Verner (7th regiment hussars) adds that his regiment, just before it came into action, was in half squadrons on quarter distance. In: Reminiscences p.44

^{175.} Lieutenant Lane (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.95-98

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

Captain Wodehouse (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.319-323

Captain J.Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars) indicates in his diary that his regiment went from a western position for a position in rear of Gomont at 4 a.m. In doing so, it left three platoons further to its right. In: Wylly, H.C. The military memoirs of etc. p.70

^{176.} Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 67-70

Captain Wodehouse. In plan. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.319-323

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

Cotton, E. une voix de waterloo p.35

^{177.} Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.67-70

Captain Ross (51st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.147-149

Lieutenant Lane (15th regiment of hussars) puts the picket at the Nivelles-road as well, but nearer to the main position. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.95-98

Captain Wodehouse doesn't depict the picket at all in his plan. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.319-323

^{178.} According to lieutenant Wm.Turner the regiment left its bivouac at 4 a.m. Cf. his letter dated 3rd July 1815 to a man called Busby. In: NAM, nr.7509-62 And in: Barrett, C.R.B. History of the XIII Hussars p.277

¹⁷⁹. Lieutenant Doherty (13th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.229-230
Lieutenant Wm. Turner in his letter dated 3rd of July 1815 to Busby. In: NAM, nr.7509-62
and in: Barrett, C.R.B. History of the XIII Hussars p.277

¹⁸⁰. Lieutenant Doherty (13rd 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 p.67-70

¹⁸¹. Major Kraijenhoff (4th regiment of light dragoons, brigade De Ghigny). In: Rijksmuseum,
nr.NM 10255b
Major Radcliffe (1st Regiment Royal Dragoons, brigade Ponsonby) places some Belgic
cavalry near his brigade in his sketch. Cf.letter to Sir H.Fane, dated 7th July 1815. In: NAM,
nr.6310-36

¹⁸². Major Hoyneck van Papendrecht. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.424
Major general De Ghigny. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.416
Major general Trip. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.408
Major Kraijenhoff (4th regiment of light dragoons).In: Rijksmuseum, nr.NM 10255b
Although Hoyneck van Papendrecht situates the brigade of heavy cavalry to the left of the road
leading to Nivelles, the brigade major, 1st lieutenant Morbotter, clearly states it was to the
right of it. Cf. his account in the archive of van Löben Sels, nr.II.5.3
Private Wouter Schalkwijk (1st regiment of carabinieri) mentions his position in the third or
fourth line. Cf.Bosscha in his report about the prince of Orange getting wounded. In: KHA,
files prince Willem van Oranje, series A40 XIII nr.35
Lieutenant Warin gives for his platoon a position on the [Nivelles]-road, in his undated letter.
In: Family-archive Van Ortt,74 inv.vr.157 in the Rijksarchief van de Provincie Utrecht.
Major Kraijenhoff (4th regiment of light dragoons, brigade De Ghigny) mentions the
formation of columns. In: Rijksmuseum, nr.NM 10255b
According to squadron sergeant-major Fundter, De Ghigny mounted his brigade at 8 a.m.,
formed it in a closed column, having the hussars in front and led it towards the front. In:
Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4^e
regiment lichte dragonders p.16
Sergeant Storm de Grave (8th regiment of hussars) states his regiment counted two squadrons
that day. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263
In reading the above mentioned reports it becomes clear that the brigades took the positions
which are usually depicted in the order of battle, after the battle had started.
Craan in his plan depicts the regiments as:
Brigade Ghigny: 4th regiment of light dragoons in front and the 8th regiment of hussars in the
rear.
Brigade Van Merlen: 5th regiment of light dragoons in front and the 6th regiment of hussars in
the rear.
Brigade Trip: 1st regiment of carabinieri in front and the 2nd and 3rd regiment in the rear.

^{183.} Report of general major Trip, dated 16th July 1823. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.408

Report of general major Trip, dated 25th October 1815. In: Aerts, W. Le colonel J.B.Debruyne etc. In: Carnet de la Fourragère, 3^e série, p.57

^{184.} Major general Trip. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.402, 408-410

The brigade major of the brigade, 1st lieutenant Morbotter. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263

Captain Elton (1st Dragoon Guards, brigade Somerset) in his letter dated 15th July 1815 to lieutenant general Fane. In: NAM, nr.6310-36

He tells that Belgian cavalry took up the former position of his regiment, as it had been drawn away because of French gunfire. He claims it was then 10 a.m., but it was after 11.30 a.m

¹⁸⁵ Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4^e regiment lichte dragoniers p.14-15

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

^{186.} Major general De Ghigny. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.416

Major Kraijenhoff (4th regiment of light dragoons). He mentions a position between the farm of Mont Saint Jean and the Ohain-road, from where his regiment crossed the Brussels road some time later. Cf. his account in the Rijksmuseum, nr.NM 10255b

^{187.} Major Webber Smith. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.330-331

Captain Walcott (battery Webber Smith). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.184-185

^{188.} Major Webber Smith. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.330-331

Captain Walcott (battery Webber Smith). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.184-185

Lieutenant Sandilands (battery Ramsay). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.42-43

According to Mercer it was this battery which also spent the night in the orchard of the farm of Mont Saint Jean. In: Mercer, C. Journal of the Waterloo campaign Vol.I, p.292

^{189.} Major Webber Smith. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.330-331

Captain Walcott (battery Webber Smith). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.184-185

The fact that the battery fired on the Nivelles-road is confirmed by Sir A.Frazer. In: Sabine, E. The letters of colonel Sir A.Frazer Letter.XXV, p.557

^{190.} Report captain Petter. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.427

^{191.} Cf.Mercer, C. Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.292

^{192.} Captain Von Kühlmann. In: VPH-LBA, nr.62

Lieutenant colonel Adye. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.7-10
Captain Sandham. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.273-276
Captain Rudyard (Lloyd's battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.167-170
Lieutenant Wells (Lloyd's battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.259-261
Lieutenant general Hartmann. In: VPH-LBA, nr.29

^{193.} Captain Von Kühlmann. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.134-137

^{194.} Plan of Sir J.Shaw Kennedy. In: Notes etc. p.99
General Hanoverian report.In: VPH-LBA, nr.19

^{195.} Captain Rudyard (battery Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.167-170
The history of the 30th regiment puts it, erroneously, to the left of the regiment. Cf. The history of the 30th regiment p.327
On the 16th of June two guns had lost their horses, but they had got new ones the next day. Cf.Sir Augustus Frazer. In: Sabine, E. Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer. Letter XXI, p.541 and letter XXII p.545
Just before the battle started, the battery stood a bit more to the east, near the Brussels road, on the place where Ross came later on.
It was Sir Augustus Frazer (commander of the Royal Horse Artillery) who, coming from the left wing, saw that the battery had a wrong position. As he didn't want to weaken the division of Alten he got the battery of Ross here.
Erroneously, Lloyd's battery had sent two of its ammunition-waggons to the rear. It borrowed one from captain Sandham's battery and an officer was sent out to collect them.
Cf. Sir Augustus Frazer. In: Sabine, E. Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer. Letter XXV, p.554-555

^{196.} Report captain Cleeves. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.139-146
Sergeant Morris (2nd battalion 73rd regiment of foot). Recollections p.76
Plan of Sir J.Shaw Kennedy. In: Notes etc. p.99
Lieutenant Wells (battery Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms. 34.706 p.259-261

^{197.} Captain Mercer. Journal of Waterloo campaign Vol.I p.291-292
And in: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.347-354

^{198.} Captain Ross. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.201-204 and 708 p.318
Captain Parker (battery Ross). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705.88
Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment) confirms the presence of the two guns on the Brussels road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.9 and in: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade etc. p.330
Sir W.Gomm (chief of staff of the division of Picton) mentions the presence of two guns on the knoll in rear of the sandpit; the ones meant were those of Ross, however. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.200-206, 440-442

Private gunner Edwards confirms that the guns of the battery stood to the left and right of the road. In: Laws, M.E.S. (ed.) – A Waterloo letter. In [?] – Vol.LXXXI nr.4 p.305-307

^{199.} It corresponds to the situation of Lambert's brigade. Cf. Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: VPH-LBA, nr.65

^{200.} The artillery may have been marching in bit in rear of the infantry.Cf. VPH-LBA, nrs.64 and 65

^{201.} Captain Braun. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.149-151
Captain d'Huvelé. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.152-155
Plan Von Brandis.

^{202.} Private Wheeler (51st regiment). In a letter dated 23th June 1815. In: NAM, 6806-42

^{203.} Captain Ross (51st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 198-200 and 34.706 p.147-149

^{204.} Lieutenant Holmes (23rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.209-212

^{205.} Captain Ross (51st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.198-200
Lieutenant colonel Rice (51st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.11-14
Lieutenant Mainwaring (51st regiment).In: Four years of a soldier's life. In: United Service Magazine, 1844 III p.409
Captain Wodehouse (15th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.319-323 plan nr.2

^{206.} Captain Ross (51st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.147-149

^{207.} Captain Ross (51st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.147-149
In this position neither friend, nor foe could be seen; it waited here for further orders. Cf. Earl of Albemarle. In: Albemarle, G.Th. Fifty years of my life Vol.2 p.24

^{208.} VPH-LBA, nrs.31, 32 and 34

Brigade major Hunter-Blair. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.354-357
Captain Purgole (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.11-13
Lieutenant Kuckuck (3rd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.35-38
Lieutenant Heise (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.255-258
Major Meijer (4th battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704. p.270-273

^{209.} General report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156 p.27-49
The journal of the 1st battalion of the line KGL. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.236 p.27-28
Lieutenant Heise (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.255-258
Major Von Rettberg (1st battalion of the line KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.49-50

Lieutenant Von Müller (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.51-53

Journal of the 3rd battalion of the line KGL. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.816 p.22-25

Journal of the 4th battalion of the line KGL. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.236 p.118-119

Lieutenant Hamilton in a letter dated 21st July 1815. In: NAM, nr. 7905-5

Captain Heise (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704.76

Lieutenant Kuckuck (3rd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705.12

Dehnel, H. Rückblicke etc. p.247 Dehnel was a lieutenant in the Schützen-company of the 3rd battalion.

^{210.} Plan captain Heise (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.255-258

For the fact that the four companies operated as a separate battalion, cf. lieutenant Kuckuck (3rd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.35-38

Dehnel, H. Rückblicke etc. p.247

Dehnel was a lieutenant in the Schützen-company of the 3rd battalion.

^{211.} Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.406-413

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

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

According to Gawler it was noon.

According to Caldwell and Cooper it was 10 a.m. Cf. Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.62

^{212.} Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.404-413

Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97 and 34.705 p.369-382

^{213.} Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-7 and 34.705 p.369-382

Cusick, R. - Waterloo, the legacy of Sir John Moore. In: The Waterloo Journal Vol.20 nr.1 p.4

According to Leeke there were only companies of the 52nd and the 95th regiment.

According to lieutenant Hart of company nr.1, this company formed a picket, but Hart doesn't precise where. It kept there for about five hours, but returned to the regiment the moment the French were about to attack. Cf.his letter dated 20th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.8111-84

²¹⁴ Cf. Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.62

^{215.} Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97 and 34.705 p.369-382

^{216.} Lieutenant colonel Reynell (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.234-239

^{217.} General Hanoverian report. In: VPH-LBA, nr.19

218. Captain Eeles (3rd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82
Lieutenant colonel Reynell (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.234-239 He places the 71st regiment in two columns, next to each other, immediately to the east of the small wood here.
219. Major Von Dreves. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.21-28
Captain Scheuch (battalion Bremervörde). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.65-68
Von Brandis, erroneously, situates the brigade north of this track. Cf. his plan.
220. General report. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156 p.27-49
Major Dreves (battalion York). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.70-72
Captain Scheuch (battalion Bremervörde). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.65-68
Lieutenant colonel Von Strube (battalion Hameln). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.104-105
Major Hammerstein (battalion Salzgitter). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI. nr.151 p.60-64
Colonel Hew Halkett. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.53-56
Captain Von Dreves (battalion Osnabrück). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.70-72
Captain Von Sichart (1st regiment light dragoons). In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI.nr.156 p.51-52
Journal of the 1st regiment of light dragoons. In: NHA, Hann.38D.nr.232 p.76 and 84
Von Brandis places the battalions in a different sequence: Quackenbrück, Osnabrück, Salzgitter and Bremervörde.
- 221 Report captain Von Sympher. In: NHA, Hann.41.D.XXI, nr.151 p.132-133 Sympher is not clear about its exact position in respect of the infantry.
222. Lieutenant Sharpin (battery Bolton). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.15-19
Sergeant Mackay. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.124-125
Lieutenant J.Hamilton (2nd battalion of KGL infantry) claims artillery was sent to the front around 10 a.m., but whether it was Bolton's battery is not clear. In a letter dated 21st June 1815. In: NAM, nr.7905-5
223. VPH-LBA, nr.67
224. Craan, W.B. , Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo dit de la Belle Alliance etc. Bruxelles, Harvaert en Pauwels, 1816
225. Colville in a letter to his brother, dated 19th June 1815. In: Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
Cf. Prince Frederik in a letter dated 21st June to his father. In: KHA, A37.VI nr.4
226. Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Letter of Colville to his brother 19 June 1815
Erroneously, the count of St.Aldegonde mentions three brigades in stead of two. Cf.his journal. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7

227. Journal of the count of St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7
 Dagboek der operatiën en bewegingen etc.p.13
 General Colville says he met prince Frederik at 11 a.m. Cf. a letter to his brother dated 19th June 1815. In: Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
228. Journal of the count of St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7
 General Colville in a letter to his brother, dated 19th June 1815. In: Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
 Lieutenant colonel Brunton, deputy assistant QMG (60th regiment), speaks about a position at Lembeck. Cf.his account. In: NAM, nr.6807-461
 There are no authentic data about the formation of the troops, though F.de bas gives them the following positions in columns of bataillons: Johnstone in two lines, in the first the 59th regiment of the left and the 35th regiment to the right, in second line the 91st to the left and the 54th regiment to the right. The brigade of Lyon was to the right of the one of Johnstone,in two lines. Cf. Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Plan
229. Account of lieutenant colonel Brunton, In: NAM, nr.6804-461
230. Colville to his brother, letter dated 19th June 1815. In: Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
 Woodford was an assistant QMG and as such attached to the 4th division.
 Dalton claims that Woodford was sent by Colville on the evening of the 17th of June to enquire whether he had to join the main army at Mont Saint Jean. Woodford would have reached the battlefield a few hours before the battle had started and it was Wellington who kept him there. In: The Waterloo call, p.35
 Also see: Crosthwaite, J.F. - Brief memoir of major general Sir J.Woodford p.23-24
 From Colvilles letter, however, it becomes clear that Woodford was sent out on the 18th of June.
231. Journal of the count of St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7
232. Cf. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde In: NA, 2.13.14 nr.6 item nr.44
233. Report of major Von den Bussche (regiment Bremen and Verden hussars). In: VPH, nr.61
234. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7 item nr.44
235. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7 item nr.44

²³⁶. Cf. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7 item nr.44

Another source mentions half a squadron as being in support at Vogebergh. In: Dagboek der operatiën etc. p.12

²³⁷. Cf. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7 item ns. 42 and 44

Report of Von Estorff himself. In: VPH, nr.81

He mentions the observation of the roads from Enghien, Braine le Comte and the presence of a post at Braine le Chateau. He also sent a detachment to Nivelles (Haut-Itre) with the instruction to advance as far as possible and to find out whether Nivelles was occupied by the French.

It was E.A.von Laffert, a member of the regiment of the Prince Regent's hussars who led the outposts of the regiment and who on the 18th of June was sent towards Nivelles with a detachment to find out whether this town was occupied by the French. Before reaching Nivelles, Von Laffert had met Dutch troops which were engaged with French troops. These may have been patrols of Piré, scouting as far as towards Braine le Chateau.

At Nivelles, Von Laffert found a small detachment or a patrol of French cuirassiers which he drove away. Von Laffert then later returned to his regiment. Cf. Memoiren eines von Estoffschen Husaren p.35-41

²³⁸. The units were:

Brigade Johnstone: 2396

Brigade Lyon: 3049

Battery Brome: 363

Brigade d'Hauw (excluding the 14th battalion of national Militia): 2683

Brigade d'Eerens: 3168

Brigade Anthing: 3499

Battery Riesz: 230

Train: 110

Battery Wijnands: 225

Train: 110

Park 1st division: 122

Brigade of Von Estorff (excluding the Cumberland hussars):1185

The battery of Unett (6th division) was at Brussels. The 18th of June it was on its way from Brussels to Mont Saint Jean, when it was seriously delayed by the road which was completely blocked with carts etc. Cf.Lieutenant colonel May. In: BL. Add.ms.34.704 p.100-101 and in his letter to captain Whinyates, dated 5th April 1816. In: RAI, nr.MD 1438

Most historians also give an approximate strength of 17.000 men.

²³⁹ Cf. Dagboek der operatiën en bewegingen etc. p.13

²⁴⁰. Cf. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7 item nr.43

²⁴¹. Journal of the count of St.Aldegonde.In: NA, nr. nr.2.13.14.02 nr.6
Dagboek der operatiën en bewegingen etc. p.13
<http://www.nieuwsblad.be/Article/Detail.aspx?articleID=gi7bsq5o>