

The first French attack.

Shortly after 2 p.m. the French started their advance.¹ They did so from the area north of Frasnes, east of the Brussels-road and west of the Chapelle de Frasnes.

Bachelu's division approached Piraumont, the Etang Materne and the low ground west of this small lake in closed *colonnes par battalion*, covered by skirmishers. Foy supported this advance in a similar formation with his brigade of Jamin to the left of Bachelu's division and to the immediate right of the Brussels-road. The interval between Bachelu and Gauthier was also covered by swarms of skirmishers.

Gauthier's brigade followed further to the rear, but at the time of the attack it hadn't yet completely finished its formation; its most rearward regiment waited for the division of Jérôme to arrive. To his right, Bachelu was covered by Piré's cavalry. The French artillery had its positions on the heights of Le Balcan.²

Lefebvre Desnouettes' horsemen stood in columns to the left of the Brussels-road immediately to the north of Frasnes.³ Ney would have had his headquarters on the heights of the inn of Le Balcan.⁴ At this moment, Ney's force counted about 11000 men (of which 1612 cavalry) and 22 guns.⁵



Le Balcan

While the attack was covered by artillery-fire, Bachelu's skirmishers and Piré's horsemen gradually drove the 1st, 2nd and 6th companies of the 27th battalion of chasseurs back towards the centre of the allied position. In the confrontation, the mutual skirmishers were in very close contact in the high corn.⁶ In the process, lieutenant colonel Grunebosch, the commander of the 27th battalion of chasseurs, advanced with his 4th and 5th companies from their position immediately south of the stream of the Etang Materne in order to receive their comrades. While doing so, they extended as skirmishers.⁷ In this confrontation captain Heekeren van Waliën got

wounded.⁸ Eventually, Bachelu's division had covered the 1400 metres from its position near Le Balcan to the height in front of the low ground east of Gémioncourt not without difficulty due to the state of the terrain and the heat. Yet, it didn't take long before the French took Piraumont.⁹

Meanwhile, in the centre, Jamin's skirmishers had forced the battery of horse artillery led by captain Bijleveld to pull back, and - with it - the 3rd company of the 27th battalion of chasseurs. While doing so, they may have taken up a position near Gémioncourt. It was here that the three companies of the 27th battalion of chasseurs which had fallen back for Bachelu's and Piré's units made an attempt to link up to the 3rd company.¹⁰

The moment Jamin approached on and along the Brussels road, by 2 p.m., colonel Westenberg, commander of the 5th battalion of national militia was ordered to bring his battalion forward from its position near Quatre Bras. Apparently, he was ordered to advance as far as the first line, as he led his men over the Brussels road in column and in a quick pace. While advancing they suffered from the French artillery fire, which caused some alarm (lieutenant Klein got wounded) but colonel Westenberg restored order by shouting out "Leve de koning !" – which was taken over by the men - and the moment the battalion reached Gémioncourt (which was on its left) it deployed: two companies were sent to cover the farm on its front, while three companies led by captain Mollinger were deployed in front on and near the road; one company was extended in front as skirmishers.^{11 - 12}

As they had advanced, Jamin's units kept up a strong skirmishing fire on the Netherlands troops. As a result, the 5th battalion of national militia made a retrograde movement (after taking back its skirmishers) as its three companies to the front suffered heavy losses by French fire as the men didn't keep up their distances (one of these losses was captain Mollinger). Eventually, the battalion formed a column *en masse* on the Brussels road slightly north of the farm.¹³

On the far right of the French frontline, it had soon become clear that due to the broken ground, Piré could be of better use elsewhere. Therefore, he was pulled to support Jamin in his actions against the allied centre.¹⁴

As colonel Westenberg witnessed this threat, he ordered his militia to form front on all sides and in this way he succeeded in repelling the French horsemen four times.¹⁵

Initially, the foot battery led by captain Stevenart had six of its guns to the right rear of Bijleveld, west of the Brussels road. The moment the French advanced to his left he started his fire, but not long after he was ordered by the prince of Orange (through one of his British aides), to pull back and take up a new position further to his right rear, near the Bois de Bossu. Accordingly, Stevenart pulled his six guns towards the edge of the wood to his rear. While doing so, however, his right section (led by lieutenant Van de Wall) got further to his right, probably due to the nature of the ground and in this way got temporarily separated from the other four guns. While Van der Wall moved back through the wood itself, Stevenart took up a second position on the edge of the wood, when he was killed by a grenade. As if this was not enough, a limber of one of the guns was damaged and the crew was forced to leave the gun behind. After that, the battery got to the rear as far as Quatre Bras, where both groups joined, now forming a total of five guns, led by lieutenant Van der Wall.¹⁶ The retreat of the guns was covered all the way to Quatre Bras by four companies of the 3rd battalion Nassau; two others (the 9th and the 10th) were left behind in front of the south-east edge of the Bois de Bossu.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the three guns led by 2nd lieutenant Koopman continued their fire on the French.¹⁸

Another battalion which had come reinforcing the centre was the 7th battalion of the line. It had approached the wood coming from the Namur-road in column, turn to the right, switch into a line, cross the wood and to emerge on the other side in skirmishing order and from there to move up along the edge of the wood. The result was that by 3 p.m. colonel Vandensande extended his battalion to the right of the 5th battalion of national militia.¹⁹

This battalion, after repelling the French cavalry, was led forward by the prince of Orange towards a column of Jamin's brigade which advanced to cover the retreat of Piré. By doing so it got into a position near Gémioncourt, where it deployed into line; at the same time, the 1st, 2nd and 6th companies of the 27th battalion of chasseurs did the same. This battalion had been ordered by the prince of Orange north of Gémioncourt to recollect; the result was that at least the 1st, the 2nd and the 6th company advanced again just south of the stream of Gémioncourt to support the 5th battalion of national militia to its left; the 4th and 5th companies of the 27th battalion of chasseurs were further to the rear, north of the stream. To the right of the 5th battalion of national militia was the 7th battalion of the line. All battalions threw out skirmishers.²⁰ The 7th battalion of the line was by now also reinforced in its turn by two companies of the 8th battalion of national militia (the 5th and the 6th) which emerged from the Bois de Bossu to its right (see below).²¹

However, the new front-line formed by the Netherlands battalions did not last long as their brave attempt was finished by the light cavalry of Piré. They charged the companies of the 27th battalion of chasseurs near Gémioncourt and scattered them; in this action captain Eichholtz, captain De Nave, 2nd lieutenant Hylckema and lieutenant colonel Grunebosch himself were wounded. Many prisoners were also taken, amongst them were the lieutenant Hylckema and captain De Nave. The command of the battalion devolved upon captain De Crassier.²²

Covered by Van Merlen's cavalry (see below), the remains of the battalion got away further to the rear, in rear of Quatre Bras or the Bois de Bossu (except for the 3rd company, which kept its position near the 5th battalion of national militia, see below).²³

The 7th battalion of the line suffered in some degree as well of the French cavalry, but was able to fall back into the Bois de Bossu.²⁴ The 8th battalion of national militia was too far west for Piré to reach; this battalion eventually also retired into the wood as the French were here by now reinforced by the division of Jérôme Bonaparte (see below).²⁵

Though its 5th company suffered from the French cavalry (lieutenant Boltjens was killed) as well, the 5th battalion of national militia was initially able to pull back to the Brussels-road where it formed column and marched further to the rear as well.²⁶ By now, however, the battalion had lost all its company commanders. As a result, while retreating, the battalion lost its order and this was exploited by the French cavalry. By now, Piré had advanced further north of Gémioncourt, where it came in sight of Quatre Bras. Here, they scattered the militia battalion and its remains were collected north of Quatre Bras.²⁷ Near it was the 3rd company of the 27th battalion of chasseurs which shared in the retreat.²⁸

The situation in front of Quatre Bras was now in a complete uproar and it was in this situation that the prince of Orange barely escaped being taken prisoner; one aide de camp of the prince, count Van Limburg Stirum, was forced to dismount due to the fatigue of his horse and it was then that he got sabred by French cavalry. He became a prisoner, but not for long: some time later he was somehow rescued by some Netherlands hussars (see below) and carried off the field.²⁹ At the same time, the staff of the artillery of the 2nd Netherlands division was with the prince and they also had a narrow escape.³⁰

Amidst all this misfortune, help was at hand though. By now - it was towards 3 p.m. - Wellington returned from Bussy to Quatre Bras.³¹ Here, he saw his 5th British division approaching over the Brussels road - in fact, Picton halted the front of his division a few hundred metres north of Quatre Bras.³² It was here that stragglers caught up, artillery was drawn up and that Picton prepared his units to intervene in the action.³³

Wellington met Picton (³⁴) and ordered him to deploy his division along the Namur-road, between Quatre Bras and Piraumont.³⁵ The division broke up to the left north of Quatre Bras and from this intermediate position north of the Namur-road it advanced in open columns of

companies to this road where it took up its position under the immediate direction of Sir Thomas Picton and Sir James Kempt.³⁶ By then it was between about 3.15 and about 3.45 p.m.³⁷ In approaching Quatre Bras, the 28th regiment was kept on the Brussels-road as it was meant to advance over this road; it did so, led by lieutenant colonel Gomm aiming to occupy the farm of Gémioncourt. However, it became clear that this farm had already been taken by the French and as a result, Gomm faced about and led his men over the road to their position in the line of the division.³⁸

At the time the 5th British division was deploying, the French artillery was already pounding its battalions.³⁹ Therefore, as soon as the units had reached their positions, the men were instructed to lie down.⁴⁰ All battalions initially came in position on the Namur-road itself – of which the banks on either side were considerably elevated - with their light troops in front of it.⁴¹ These were the 42nd, 44th, 1st, 28th, 32nd and 79th regiment. The 92nd was on the road in front of the farm of Quatre Bras, having its rear leaning on the building itself and its gardens and having its right on the crossroads. In this position the 92nd was on the extreme right of the division.⁴² The 79th regiment was on the left flank, north of the Etang Materne.⁴³

To the right of the 79th was the 32nd.⁴⁴ The 28th and the 1st regiment followed.⁴⁵ Next to the 1st regiment was the 44th and to its right was the 42nd.⁴⁶ To its right was the 92nd regiment.

The 1st battalion of the 95th regiment halted near the crossroads of Quatre Bras for a moment, as initially it was meant to advance over the Brussels road to occupy the farm of Gémioncourt, but soon after it was assigned another task. Sir Barnard, commander of the 1st / 95th, galloped forward to Wellington's staff, followed by lieutenant Kincaid; he was in readiness to convey any orders to the battalion. The moment they approached the group, Lord Fitzroy Somerset separated himself from the duke of Wellington and ordered Barnard to take Piraumont and, if this would prove to be impossible, to occupy the Bois de Censes and to keep open the communication with the Prussian army.⁴⁷

The battalion moved there and by the time sir Barnard was approaching the area in front of Piraumont he found out that it was already turned into a stronghold by the French.⁴⁸ Accordingly, Sir Barnard occupied the Bois de Censes and secured the Namur-road by sending out skirmishers. Barnard did so by occupying the southern edge of the Bois de Censes with the reserve companies of captains Glasse (no.9) and Lee (no.8), from there they could give a sharp fire on the French, who were on the other side of the Namur-road.

Meanwhile, the Namur-road was secured by skirmishers of captain Johnston's company (no.5) so that captain Chawner's company (no.1) and no.2 company, led by lieutenant Fitzmaurice⁽⁴⁹⁾, were able to occupy the houses of Sart-à-Mavelines which were immediately north of the Namur-road. At the same time, company no.10 (led by 1st lieutenant Layton for captain Beckwith) lined an embankment and ditch, but exactly where is not known.⁵⁰

After their brigades had taken up position, major generals Pack and Kempt ordered their battalions commanders to send out their light companies in extended order as skirmishers; to those of the 79th regiment, the 8th company and the marksmen were added.⁵¹

The front between the Etang Materne and Quatre Bras was formed thus: 95th -79th -32nd -28th -1st -44th -42nd -92nd. To the immediate left of Quatre Bras and in rear of the Brunswickers (see below) came the battalions of the brigade of major general Best (four battalions, about 2500 men). There the troops were drawn up in line, having the battalions of Lüneburg, Verden, Osterode and Münden from the right to the left. The last two battalions stood in a field which was in a slight angle to the Namur road and which was lined with a high hedge which afforded it some cover against French gunfire, but which made their view and mobility very restricted.⁵² Of the artillery of the division of Picton, the battery of captain Rogers (six guns) was to the left of the 79th regiment, on the road.⁵³

The other battery of Picton's division, Braun's, wasn't present.⁵⁴ Picton had the battery of Von

Rettberg (six guns) attached to his division, though it formerly belonged to the 4th division (Colville). It had marched in the rear of the column and took up a position to the left of the farm of Quatre Bras, close in rear of the Namur-road. ⁵⁵ Wellington himself was, with his staff, close to the 92nd regiment. ⁵⁶

By the time the British units of the 5th division took up their positions or were moving there, around 3.30 p.m., Van Merlen's brigade also arrived at Quatre Bras, ⁵⁷ The brigade was accompanied by a section of two guns of half the horse artillery battery Gey, led by 2nd lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras. Captain Gey himself was present as well. ⁵⁸

The total number of Anglo-Netherlands-German troops present (excluding the losses) now amounted to about 22.300 men (19.340 men infantry, 2000 men cavalry, 950 men artillery plus 30 guns).

The 6th regiment of hussars (640 men) took up a position in line east of the Brussels road and south of the Namur one. ⁵⁹ The 5th regiment of light dragoons may have been in rear of the hussars. ⁶⁰ The two guns of horse artillery probably were not far off in front of Quatre Bras, not far left from the Brussels road. ⁶¹ As the men had been marching for a long time and through the heat, Van Merlen had them take a rest and feed their horses from their nose-bags. ⁶² They hadn't finished doing so when colonel Boreel saw the units of Picton move up. He then ordered his men to mount and move *pelotons à gauche, tête de colonne demi à droite*, in order to take up a position in rear of this infantry. ⁶³

Yet, right at that moment the order to charge was issued by the prince of Orange. The reason to do was the fact that the Netherlands infantry was retiring for Piré's light cavalry which in this way was menacing the crossroads of Quatre Bras. At the same time, Picton could use some air to develop his division.

While at least a part of the regiment of hussars had changed position to its right [⁶⁴], the left hand platoons wheeled out to form line and advanced. Despite the fact that the regiment hadn't completed its formation (line), Boreel launched the charge with a broken front *en fourageur*, a very dangerous formation. ⁶⁵ Despite the enthusiasm of the men, the charge was doomed to fail. While advancing, it seems as if the men tried to reform per squadron, which caused disorder in the most rearward subdivisions. ⁶⁶

Stevenart's battery (now consisting of five guns) followed the Netherlands cavalry further in its rear. Initially lieutenant Ruysch van Coevorden, its new commander, led his guns to a position to the left of the Brussels road and at about 200 to 300 metres in front of the farm of Quatre Bras, when he got the order to move further south, in order to be covered to his left by the Netherlands hussars and to have a better view over a height further to his right. Here, the guns suffered from French artillery fire until the French cavalry charged Van Merlen (see below). ⁶⁷

It was north of Gémioncourt that the hussars met the lancers and chasseurs à cheval of Piré, in which division the 6th regiment of chasseurs à cheval were in front. ⁶⁸ The charge gave the chance for most part of the 27th battalion of chasseurs, which was encircled by the French, to get away to the rear (see above). But other than that, the charge of the hussars failed completely afterwards; they lost 5 officers (⁶⁹) and 44 men (of which 13 killed and 31 wounded). ⁷⁰

The French cavalry pursued the hussars towards Quatre Bras and both got on Stevenart's battery which had just got forward again: as both forces had still been mingled, it didn't have the chance to fire and its crew was sabred down and overrun by the French. ⁷¹

1st lieutenant Ruysch van Coevorden, 2nd lieutenant Van de Wall and 2nd lieutenant Van Galen got seriously injured. Van der Wall also got prisoner for a few moments. Major Von Opstall, commander of the artillery of the 2nd Netherlands division, got wounded too and his command fell to captain Bijleveld. ⁷² For some time, the complete battery (five guns) was in French hands; however they didn't drag the guns to the rear as they lacked the means to do so; nor were they spiked. ⁷³

The French cavalry, while pursuing the Netherlands hussars, now approached the 92nd regiment of Picton's division which was in line to the immediate left of Quatre Bras. Due to its formation it waited on Wellington's orders until the very last moment to fire in order to have the most effect as apparently the battalion lacked the time to form a square. The volley hit the French hard, but also the hussars suffered some casualties. All in all, the result was that Piré faced about in some disorder and took up its former position again further south.⁷⁴

Shortly after, the other regiment of Van Merlen's brigade, the 5th regiment of light dragoons, was ordered to charge. Part of the regiment – in the open fields - would have played a role in rescuing some retreating infantry, while the main part of the regiment – nearer to the main road - would have charged the French several times. These actions had some kind of success, but eventually the light dragoons were not able to keep up their formation and were forced to fall back as well.⁷⁵

As a result, they were driven back by Piré's men. These, in their turn, were driven back in the same way by the fire of the 92nd regiment.⁷⁶ It was during this action that the light dragoons and the French chasseurs à cheval were probably so close upon each other, and this in combination with the fact that their uniforms resembled the French, that the men of the 92nd thought they were French too and that they fired at them as well.⁷⁷ By now, it was about 4 p.m. It was probably in this period of the action that Wellington barely escaped being prisoner himself, but thanks to his favourite charger called Copenhagen (which he rode both at Quatre Bras and Waterloo) he managed to escape by leaping a bank and ditch.⁷⁸ In this connection he would not have leaped over the bayonets, as is often being asserted, but he would have cried out "Make way men, make way!" and a passage was opened.⁷⁹

After that, both the hussars and the light dragoons took up a position in rear of the farm of Quatre Bras, from where they didn't move again.⁸⁰ Some of the hussars even rushed back as far as Waterloo.⁸¹

In the midst of the confusion the battery of Bijleveld somehow got back further to Quatre Bras relatively unscathed: it probably accompanied the infantry of the 5th battalion of national militia for a while, but lost one howitzer (of lieutenant Dibbetz) on the way, somewhere between Gémioncourt and Quatre Bras as its caisson exploded (thereby hurting Dibbetz). When it got to the crossroads, it took up a position further north and didn't see any further action that day.⁸²

The section under 2nd lieutenant Koopman, which had by now taken up a position a bit more to the front (as Picton had developed) about 250 metres east of the Brussels road, initially fired some canister with his two right guns (which he had moved slightly to the rear) on the French cavalry which pursued Van Merlen, but then went back to the rear of the Namur-road, where Koopman didn't find a proper position. While Koopman had done so, other units in front had gone back too. He then led his guns towards Quatre Bras, where he met major De la Sarraz who ordered Koopman to place his guns opposite the Bois de Bossu, between the Namur- and the Brussels road, facing west, towards Nivelles.⁸³

After the French had taken Gémioncourt and advanced from there, Gey's artillery had gone to the rear towards Quatre Bras, but after the retreat of Van Merlen, it was overrun and scattered by the French cavalry as well. Not long after the French had gone, however, most of the section was collected and led to the other (west) side of the Brussels road, a few hundred paces in front of Quatre Bras. Here it kept a position until in the evening, but apparently not seeing much action, when it was moved back north of Quatre Bras.⁸⁴

Retberg's guns, in rear of the Namur-road and to the immediate left of Quatre Bras (like Koopman) fired on the right flank of the French cavalry which pursued Van Merlen.⁸⁵

As the French cavalry of Piré had pulled back and had collected under a strong French infantry fire, a party of the section captain Gey's horse battery was sent forward to collect the guns of

Stevenart. The reason was that major De la Sarraz had ordered captain Osten to instruct Gey to do so. Gey collected some volunteers of his section; some hussars and Scottish soldiers joined in as well. They succeeded in retrieving two 6-pounders; two other guns of the foot-battery were still in French hands (one which had been left behind near the Bois de Bossu, and the other one in front of Quatre Bras), but were found back later; also the howitzer of Bijleveld's horse battery returned in Netherlands hands.⁸⁶

Not far from Picton's division and Best's brigade, some Brunswick units had followed over the Brussels road. They were six battalions (about 4000 men) and five squadrons (about 900 horsemen). As with Picton's units, most of them filed out to the left near La Baraque so as to approach the Namur-road from the north (and not from the north-west).⁸⁷ They reached their positions near Quatre Bras somewhere towards 4 p.m.⁸⁸ Initially, the major part of the Brunswickers was assigned a position in line in rear of Picton's division, near Quatre Bras.⁸⁹ The 2nd battalion of light infantry was given the task to support the 1st battalion of the 95th regiment to the left; it marched there over the Namur-road.⁹⁰ Two companies of carabineers of the Advance-guard battalion were sent to the Bois de Bossu.⁹¹ Additionally, a few platoons of hussars were sent in reconnaissance to the west of the wood.⁹²

The moment Van Merlen's men returned from their charge, the Brunswickers, in rear of Picton, formed squares; their hussars were about to charge the pursuing French cavalry, but before the hussars could take action, the French horsemen went about for the fire of the 92nd.⁹³ By then it was running towards 4.15 p.m.

As Gauthier's brigade had halted just beyond Gémioncourt and had taken up positions there, Piré's outbreak towards the crossroads had merely been an isolated one.

Ney's offensive at this stage was clearly aimed against the allied centre and left wing, and not against its right wing. Initially, this wing was composed of the Nassau Voluntary Jäger company, the 1st and 3rd battalion Nassau, as well as the 1st battalion Orange-Nassau, plus the two 6-pounder guns led by lieutenant Winssinger.

Yet, as the battle started, De Perponcher and the prince of Orange felt the necessity to reinforce it with the 8th battalion of national militia. It advanced from its positions near Quatre Bras to the right wing around the time the French advance started, by 2 p.m.

Having received his orders through major Van Amerongen, colonel De Jongh placed his 8th battalion *en bataille* in a hollow road, some distance in front of the south side of the Bois de Bossu, to the left of the 1st battalion of Orange-Nassau and just south of the part of the wood which protrudes to the east.⁹⁴

This resulted in a frontline between this battalion and the farm of Grand Pierrepont of subsequently the 8th battalion of national militia, the 1st battalion Orange Nassau and the 3rd and 1st Nassau battalions. The Nassau Voluntary Jäger Company were in the outer perimeter of the wood behind them, while the guns of lieutenant Winssinger were near the 1st battalion Nassau.

To the far left, lancers would have made a few dashes towards the 1st Nassau battalion but they were repelled by the musketry fire of its companies led by the captains Wernecke and Fritler.⁹⁵

Yet, it were three guns of French artillery firing from the heights of Balcan which caused the strongest havoc amongst the battalions. As a result, the battalion Orange-Nassau retired in some confusion to the edge of the wood, thereby carrying along the right hand company of the 8th battalion of national militia. Colonel De Jongh and captain Sijbers of the battalion soon led it back to its former position, but soon after De Jongh was also ordered to lead his men back to the edge of the Bois de Bossu in his rear. He did so, but here the battalion suffered from the French artillery fire and therefore De Jongh moved it a little forward in the open.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, skirmishers, backed up by supports, of Jamin's brigade approached the unoccupied

part of the wood which protrudes to the east and were able to penetrate into it. Threatened upon his left flank, Saxen Weimar immediately took action and pushed the French out with the aid of the 5th and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of national militia and the 1st battalion of Orange-Nassau.⁹⁷

Right after, colonel De Jongh was ordered by the prince (through major count Van Limburg Stirum) to detach the two companies involved into the fields here so as to link up with the 7th battalion of the line (see above). At the same time Van Limburg Stirum asked De Jongh to occupy the wood with his remaining four companies. Due to a lack of experience of his men in skirmishing in a wood, De Jongh told him he would rather charge the three guns in his front. Van Limburg Stirum left to discuss his request, but soon after Lord Somerset (aide of the prince of Orange) returned with the order to traverse the point of the wood and to attack French units in the fields east of it. While leaving behind his two companies, De Jongh now pulled his men through the point of the wood and was able to drive the French away, but after these had received reinforcements, De Jongh was obliged to fall back, while in action. As his men, while entering the wood, were in a slight confusion the French followed in their wake. De Jongh was able to lead his men back north, to the Nivelles road near Quatre Bras. By then it was about 4 p.m.⁹⁸

It did not take long though before Saxen Weimar's right flank would be under attack as well.

By 3 p.m. the first units of Jérôme Bonaparte's division, probably those of Soye, reached the battlefield over the Brussels road.⁹⁹ Ney wheeled them into the fields to the left of this road and from there he slowly moved them through the high corn towards the farm of Grand Pierrepont and its surroundings.

Having learned about the French bold advance along the Brussels road upon the allied centre, Saxen Weimar now felt threatened upon both his flanks, while he was still pounded in front by French artillery and skirmishers. On top of that, as his ammunition was running low, he sent out major Ampt, (who had been detached by the prince of Orange to his staff) to the prince for orders.¹⁰⁰ It may have been around the same time that prince Jérôme himself got slightly wounded around the Bois de Bossu.¹⁰¹

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1. Constant Rebecque. In his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25 It was around that time that he returned from Nivelles to Quatre Bras.

The prince of Orange. In his letter dated 17th June 1815. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.432

Captain Von Gagern. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Cadet sergeant Welter (27th battalion of chasseurs). In: Letter dated 1st July written at Péronne. In: family archive Volkorsz

Reille in his report dated 17th of June 1815. In: SHD. C15 nr.22

Edouard de Colbert, commander of the lancers of the guard. Cf. his letter dated 15th May 1829. In: AN, AF 137 / Fonds Ney f.21

Colonel Trefcon. In: Carnets de campagne p.181

Colonel Heymès believes it was before 2 p.m. In: Relation etc. In: Documents inédits p.8

Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia) claims it was between 1 and 2 p.m. In: Knoop, W. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.144

According to major Sattler (2nd regiment of Nassau troops) the first actions started towards 1 p.m. Cf. His report. In: HHA, Abt.202, Inv.nr.1015 p.337

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch believes it was 2.30 p.m. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

De Mauduit believes that at 2 p.m. the skirmishing started. In: Les derniers jours Vol.I p.144

² Report of Reille, 17th of June. In: SHD. C15 nr.22

Account of Reille. In: Documents inédits etc.p.58

Bachelu in his letter to the duc d'Elchingen, dated 12th February 1829. In: Papers E.Stoffel. In: private collection.

Foy. In: Girod de l'Ain. Vie militaire etc. p.271

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

Chef de batallion Puvis of the 93rd regiment of the line (Gauthier's brigade) confirms his regiment left the Brussels road to the right the moment the enemy's artillery started to fire and that the regiment later deployed. In: Souvenirs p.115-116

Both Reille and Foy denote in their accounts the 1st brigade as the attacking force, which traditionally refers to the brigade of Gauthier, composed of the 92nd and 93rd regiments of the line. Yet, as they speak of both the 4th regiment of light infantry and the 100th regiment of the line being involved in the actions around Gémioncourt, they actually refer to the brigade of Jamin (the 2nd traditionally).

To complicate matters even further, the official tables dated 1st of June state that the 4th and 92nd formed the 1st brigade led by Gauthier, while the 93rd and 100th formed the 2nd, led by Jamin. Apparently, the division was reorganised before the campaign. In: SHD, nr.C15.35

According the lieutenant Backer Seest (not present in the battle) French artillery was posted on the height which extends from the inn of Le Balcan towards Lairalle. Here, he may have founded his claim upon a local tradition. In: Ophelderingen van het terrein etc., dated 24th December 1815. In: NA, nr.2.13.13.09 nr.185

3. Edouard de Colbert, commander of the lancers of the guard. Cf. his letter dated 15th May 1829. In: AN, AF 137 / Fonds Ney f.21

Reille. In: Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits etc. p.58

⁴ According to Scheltema, Ney had his headquarters at a farm called Revelaer, but whether this is the same as the inn is uncertain. In: De laatste veldtocht etc. p.98

⁵ In this figure, the divisions of Lefebvre Desnouettes, Kellerman, Girard and Jérôme Bonaparte have not been included, while those of Bachelu, Foy and Piré, as well as the losses of the division Bachelu on the 15th of June (about 150) have been.

There is no certainty about the presence of the reserve-artillery of the corps (8 guns); this battery is not included.

⁶ Cadet-sergeant Welter (27th battalion of chasseurs). In his letter dated 1st July 1815. In: family archive Volkersz

⁷ Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

⁸ Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

⁹ Colonel Trefcon - Carnet de campagne p.181-182

Reille. In Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits etc. p.59

¹⁰ Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.312

¹¹ 1st lieutenant Barre (5th battalion of national militia). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Captain Mollinger (5th battalion of national militia). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia). In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145

Lieutenant colonel Westenberg in a letter to J.Scheltema, dated 7th February 1816. In: UB Amsterdam, nr.Ay112

Captain Mollinger states the battalion advanced *after* the arrival of the British, but this is incorrect.

¹² In some cases it is shown as if the 5th battalion of national militia retook the farm of Gémioncourt, but in fact this farm had never been really occupied right from the beginning, nor has there been a real fight for the farm with the French at this stage of the battle. Cf. Aerts, W. Etudes etc. p.435

F.de Bas asserts four companies of Westenberg's battalion were placed east of the farm, along the stream, but as the French cavalry charged the 27th battalion of chasseurs, these companies fell back into the farm. As the French infantry then threatened to turn it, Westenberg would have gone back, a short time later to retake the farm as Van Merlen arrived. In: La campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.497-499

Muilwijk claims the 6th company of the 27th battalion of chasseurs *might have* occupied the farm for a short while, before its orchard was taken by the French. In: Quatre Bras. Perponcher's gamble p.76-77

¹³ Captain Van Toll. In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145
1st lieutenant Barre. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265
Captain Mollinger (5th battalion of national militia). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

¹⁴ Colonel Trefcon. - Carnets de campagne p.181
Report of Reille to Ney, dated 17th June 1815. In: SHD. C15 nr.22

¹⁵ Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia). In: Knoop, W.J.-Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145
Houssaye erroneously claims the battalion had been driven to the west of the Brussels road by Jamin and that it was charged there by Piré. In: 1815.Waterloo p.199-200

16. Major Von Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262
Lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262
The passage through the Bois de Bossu was hard due to the presence of fallen trees over the roads in the wood. Cf. Lieutenant Van der Wall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

¹⁷ Captain Frensdorf (commander of the 3rd battalion Nassau). Cf. his account dated 10th of August 1815. In private collection.

¹⁸ 2nd lieutenant Koopman. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

¹⁹ 1st lieutenant Scheltens. In: Souvenirs etc. p.198
He adds that the 12th platoon formed a reserve while marching up to its position.
Although the report is rather confusing now and then, colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt reports that it took up a position in column in the plain out of the wood. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.310

²⁰ Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia). In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145
Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Some sources claim the prince of Orange led the 5th battalion of national militia several times, but this is not corroborated by accounts of members of the battalion itself. Cf. Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.316
Report of De Perponcher. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.282
Cf. Van Löben Sels, E. - Bijdragen etc. Vol.IV p.523
Van Löben Sels admits he hasn't been able to draw strong conclusion on the exact share here of the 5th battalion of national militia.

It has also been claimed that the prince led the 5th battalion of national militia forward against artillery, while using his hat as a signal. Cf. Count Van Limburg Stirum. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

There is a mentioning of this use, but not in relation to this particular battalion. Cf. Colonel

Van Zuylen van Nijeveld. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

It is Lord FitzRoy Somerset who praises the prince in these words: “The prince of Orange exerted himself greatly. He was at one time surrounded by the enemy but was rescued by the gallantry of the Belgians. It was on this occasion he took off the insignia of his order and threw it among the men saying “You have deserved it”. They fastened it to their colours and with one voice cried “Long live our prince” and swore to defend it till death.” In: NAM, nr.6507-1

If this rather heroic event has taken place, it might be that this occurred in the stage of the action described here.

²¹ Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia). He states both his battalion plus the 7th battalion of the line were in a two-deep line. In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145

Captain Mollinger. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Colonel De Jongh. In: Nagelaten papieren etc. 1866

²² Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

He got sabre-cuts on his head and arm and was escorted back to Brussels that day and the day after by sergeant Welter. Welter himself had a slight wound on his neck. Cf. Cadet-sergeant Welter (27th battalion of chasseurs). In his letter dated 1st July 1815. In: family archive Volkersz

Cf. his letter dated 20th June 1815 to the commissary-general at the war department. In: NA, 2.13.01 inv.166

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijeveld mentions lancers of the guard (plus the 6th regiment of chasseurs à cheval), but means the lancers of Piré. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.316

Lieutenant Van Hylckema to W.Eekhoff, dated 8th July 1865. In: Provincial Library of Friesland, Leeuwarden. Correspondence of W.Eekhoff, no.1229 and 1229a

Hylckema states he got back when the French cavalry was pushed back by the British.

The fact that captain De Crassier succeeded Grunebosch is confirmed by De Crassier himself. Cf. his letter dated 4th July 1815 to the commissary-general of the war-department. In: NA, nr.2.13.01 inv.177

²³ Major general Van Bylandt. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Captain De Crassier. He explicitly states the major part of the battalion was taken prisoner but that it was rescued by “een onzer regimenten” and here he must refer to the cavalry. After that the men were collected. Cf. his letter dated 4th July 1815 to the commissary-general. In: NA, nr.2.13.01 inv.177

At least some went back into the Bois de Bossu. Cf. Cadet-sergeant Welter (27th battalion of chasseurs). In his letter dated 1st July 1815. In: family archive Volkersz

²⁴ 1st lieutenant Scheltens. In: Souvenirs etc. p.198

Scheltens is very incomplete as he only mentions the arrival of his battalion, plus its situation immediately after taking up its position to the east of the Bois de Bossu. Here, he mentions the charge of cuirassiers, but obviously means the cavalry of Piré.

Houssaye incorrectly uses his mentioning this type of cavalry literally and places the battalion

around 8 p.m.north-west of Gémioncourt ! In: 1815.Waterloo p.218

²⁵ Colonel De Jongh. In: Nagelaten papieren etc. 1866
De Jongh got wounded by a howitzer grenade.

²⁶ Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia). In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145

Being on the Brussels road immediately north of Quatre Bras (before turning left to the Namur-road), lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment) saw a Netherlands battalion move slowly to the north in front of the French who were about 750 metres away. This battalion may very well have been the 5th battalion of national militia. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

²⁷ Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Major general van Bylandt. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Captain Mollinger (5th battalion of national militia). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Captain Van Toll (5th battalion of national militia). In: Knoop, W.J. - Quatre Bras en Waterloo p.145

1st lieutenant Barre (5th battalion of national militia). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Lieutenant Henckens (6th regiment chasseurs à cheval). In: Mémoires etc. p.225

Houssaye erroneously believes the battalion was run over by the French cavalry when these came back from their charge. In: 1815.Waterloo p.201

In his turn, Dellevoet erroneously links the charge of Piré upon Van Merlen's brigade and the resulting French advance to the fate of the 5th battalion of national militia as being overwhelmed by the French (and Netherlands) horsemen, but Piré carried out two separate actions. In: The Dutch-Belgian cavalry etc. p.111

²⁸ Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

29. Account of Van Limburg Stirum. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265

Van Limburg Stirum had two sabre-cuts on his head and one on his left hand. Cf. his file. In: Kanselarij der Nederlandse Orden, the Hague.

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

Van Limburg Stirum believes it was about 2.30 p.m. but it was much later.

The fact that Van Limburg Stirum tells that Netherlands hussars brought him back indicates that the group was threatened by the French cavalry *before* Boreel charged.

Muilwijk situates the capture of Van Limburg Stirum *after* the charge of the hussars. In: Quatre Bras. Perponcher's gamble p.114

Henckens believes van Limburg Stirum escaped from being a prisoner of war. Cf. Mémoires p.226-227

The fact that Van Limburg Stirum was wounded is confirmed by Constant Rebecque in his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

³⁰ Captain Osten. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

31. Wellington had left Brye around 2 p.m. and it took him almost one hour to reach the crossroads.

In one version, Fitzroy Somerset claims the Duke reached Quatre Bras "very shortly before it was engaged with the enemy", but here he overlooks the share of the 2nd Netherlands division in the first part of the fighting. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.484-485

In another account he mentions 2.30 p.m. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

Müffling confirms it was 3 p.m. In: Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.9

Wellington himself says it was between 2 and 3 p.m. In: his letter to W.Croker, dated 28th January 1845. In: The Croker Papers, Vol.III 1885 (2nd edition) p.175

32. Captain Crowe (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.320-321

Sergeant Costello (1st / 95th regiment). In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.284

A private of the 42nd regiment. In a letter to his father dated 24th June 1815. In: Caledonian Mercury, 3rd July 1815

33. The stragglers of the 1st battalion of the 95th regiment had already joined their battalion at Genappe. Cf. 1st lieutenant J.Pensman Gairdner in his diary. In: NAM, nr.6902-5

34. During the campaign, Picton wore a blue frock-coat. Its collar was covered by a large silk scarf. Further, he wore dark trousers, boots and a round hat. Sometimes it is asserted that he was obliged to wear all this as his luggage wouldn't have arrived, but this is not the reason: he simply preferred to be dressed like this. Cf. Gronow, R.H.- The reminiscences and recollections of captain Gronow p.65

35. Picton was escorted by the "honorary" aide de camp, lieutenant Gronow.

Cf. Gronow, R.H. , The reminiscences and recollections of captain Gronow p.65

36. Captain Campbell. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.451-454

He is not sure whether the houses on his left were the hamlet of La Baraque.

Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment) In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment).In: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.145

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment) In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.314 and 34.703 p.1-2

Sergeant Anton (42nd regiment) In: Fitchett, W.H. Wellington's men p.290-291

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

Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

Lieutenant Malcolm (42nd regiment). In: BWRA, nr.220

³⁷ 3.30 p.m. is given by:

Lieutenant colonel W.M.Gomm in his diary. In: Letters and journals etc. p.353

Some believe it was 2 p.m. Cf.

Lieutenant colonel Calvert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.169-170

Captain J.Leach (1st / 95th).In: Rough sketches etc. p.374

Ensign Mudie (1st battalion). In: Operations of the 5th or etc. In: USJ,1841 II p.174

Captain Ross-Lewin. In: With the thirty second p.254

An anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment, in: United Service Journal II 1841 p.172

Private D.Vallence (79th regiment). In: The Waterloo Journal Vol.21, nr.2 p.15
 Other eye-witnesses believe it was somewhere between 2 and 3 p.m. Cf.
 Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247
 Wellington himself claims it was at 2.30 p.m. In his report dated 19th June 1815. In: Dispatches etc. Vol.XII p.479
 Yet again, others believe it was 3 p.m. Cf.
 Lieutenant Heise (battery Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376 and 34.705 p.190-191
 Lieutenant McKenzie (42nd regiment). In: BWRA, nr.414
 Constant Rebecque. In his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25
 Captain Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. Account dated 22nd March 1841. In: NA , nr.2.21.180 and In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.265
 Lieutenant colonel MacDonald (1st Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6
 Lieutenant Mackenzie (42nd regiment). In his memoirs. In: NAM, nr.7904/15
 Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.225
 Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4
 Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256

38. Lieutenant colonel W.M.Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.200-206 and 34.706 p.179-184
 And in: Letters and journals etc. p.353

³⁹ Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment). In: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.145
 Lieutenant Winchester(92nd regiment) . In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

40. Sergeant Anton (42nd regiment). In: Retrospect of a military life p.191
 1st lieutenant J.Pensman Gairdner (95th regiment). In his diary. In: NAM, nr.6902-5
 Lieutenant Winchester(92nd regiment) . In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

41. Sir W.Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.144-145 and 34.706 p.179-184
 Captain Macdonald. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.707 p.3-6
 General Von Müffling. In: The memoirs of baron Von Müffling etc. p.237
 Sergeant Dewar (79th regiment). In a letter to his brother written on the 5th August 1815. In: NWMS, M1960.2
 Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2
 The light company of the 79th – in front- was reinforced with the marksmen of the 79th.
 Almost as soon as it had arrived, the 32nd sent out detachments of sections to reinforce the light company in front, which was led by captain Crowe. Cf. Captain Crowe. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.320-321

42. Sergeant Robertson. In: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.143
 Lieutenant Winchester. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.248-249 and 34.706 p.242-247
 Winchester states his battalion was the last one to take up its position. He also adds there were no units in rear of his battalion. In: BL,Add.ms.34.707 p.7-10
 Sir W.Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.200-206
 Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment).In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256
 Lieutenant Hope. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.225

43. Lieutenant Forbes. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.314 and 34.703 p.1-2
Macveigh, J. - The historical records of the 79th Highlanders p.37

44. Major Calvert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.256-258

45. Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment). In: Ross-Lewin, H. - With the thirty second etc. p.258
The sequence is taken from Kempt's brigade. In Pack's brigade the sequence was changed for some reason; apparently, the 92nd and the 1st may have been switched.

46. Sergeant McEween. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 455-456
Captain Campbell (42nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.706 p.451-454
His account again makes clear the brigade was in a different formation.

⁴⁷ Sir W.Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184, 200-206
Lieutenant Kincaid. In: Adventures etc. p.315
Lieutenant Fitzmaurice (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: The Times, 31st December 1862
Caldwell, G & R.Cooper - Rifle green etc. p.35
For more details on the communication between Wellington and Blücher during the afternoon of the 16th of June, see the separate note.

⁴⁸ Lieutenant Kincaid claims Piraumont was only then taken by the French in force; however, it had already been occupied by the French between 2 and 3 p.m., before the battalion even got on the field. Cf. Kincaid, lieutenant - Adventures etc. p.315
Caldwell and Cooper also claim that, by the time the battalion approached the Bois de Censes, the French were rushing forward to try to take this wood. In: Rifle Green at Waterloo p.37

⁴⁹ Cf. Caldwell & Cooper - Rifle Green at Waterloo p.35
Fitzmaurice would lead, in absence of captain Leach. Yet, in the presence of an account of Leach, so where this statement comes from is not clear. Cf. Leach, captain - Rough sketches etc.

⁵⁰ Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, p.316
Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.200-206 and 34.706 p.179-184
Captain J.Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Rough sketches etc. p.375
Private E.Costello (company nr.2). In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.285
Lieutenant G.Simmons (1st battalion, 95th regiment) mentions a detachment of four companies which was used to drive away the French from fields, hedges and ditches, but he doesn't specify which companies. In: A British rifle man etc. p.363
Cf.Caldwell & Cooper - Rifle green at Waterloo p.37
Some mention the name of the hamlet of Thyle, of which the most western houses were occupied by the companies nrs.1 and 2. However, these were the most southern ones of Sart-à-Mavelines, as Thyle is more to the east and too remote from the field of action. Cf. Caldwell & Cooper - Rifle Green at Waterloo p.37

51. Major Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.314
Captain Crowe (32nd regiment). Crowe led the one of the 32nd. Cf. captain Crowe. In: BL,

Add.ms.34.706 p.320-321

Captain Burney (44th regiment) adds that the light company of his battalion suffered losses in the process and was therefore called in by colonel Hamerton. In: Carter, Th. – Historical record of the 44th p.99

52. Major general Best. In: VPH-LBA, nrs.7 and 8

Lieutenant Von Berckefeldt (Münden battalion). In: Geschichte des königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Bataillons p.217

Ensign Oppermann (battalion Münden). In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.203

Sir W.Gomm. He erroneously mentions Von Vincke, but means Best. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.144-145

Note in: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.33

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

54. The state of the losses of this battery, dated 21st of June, doesn't mention any on the 16th as well. In: NHA, Hann.38D, nr.200

Captain Rogers believes a KGL battery was in the field, but he doesn't mention the name; this was the one of Von Rettberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.240-241

On the other hand, Sir J.May believes Braun's battery was present at Quatre Bras. Cf. his letter to captain Whinyates dated 5th April 1816. In: RAI, nr.MD 1438

55. Cf. Captain Von Rettberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-234 and 34.706 p.377-379 (plan)

Lieutenant Heise. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

Captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.16

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

56. Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

He says the Duke was to the immediate left of the battalion.

Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment) says he was in the middle of the rear of the regiment. In: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.146

Private Kay (92nd regiment) indicates the duke's position to the rear of his battalion. Cf. his plan, in: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.216-223

57. The prince of Orange states it was 4 p.m. In his letter dated 17th June 1815. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol. III p.432

For the presence of British unit: brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars) Cf. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Cf. captain Royen (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Gomm confirms the presence of Belgian cavalry in front of the 5th division. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184

Adjutant subaltern officer Van Doren of the 5th regiment of light dragoons confirms that Picton was still manoeuvring when Van Merlen started his action. In: Strategisch verhaal etc. p.48

Lieutenant colonel De Mercx claims it was 3 p.m. and at the same time wants to give the

impression that Picton arrived much later, which it didn't. Cf. his letter dated 17th January 1855 to Renard. In: Marchot, R. Notice biographique etc. p.76

58. 2nd lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Report of colonel Hoyneck van Papendrecht. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.423
The other section of the half-battery, two guns led by lieutenant Reijntjes, had been detached.
Cf. 2nd lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

59. 1st lieutenant Deebet (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Captain Royen (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263
Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment) confirms the Netherlands cavalry came from the right in the field in front of the 92nd. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256

⁶⁰ Lieutenant colonel De Mercx himself doesn't tell us anything about his position.
Dellevoet places the light dragoons in rear of the hussars. In: The Dutch-Belgian cavalry etc. p.106

⁶¹ Lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Anonymous member of the section Gey. In: Bredasche Courant. 5th July 1840
Dellevoet places the guns to the right of the road, basing himself on the account of lieutenant Van der Wall's account (Stevenarts battery), but this one is not that specific that one could draw such a conclusion. In: Dellevoet, A. The Dutch Belgian cavalry etc. p.107

⁶² . Brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Erroneously, captain A.G.van Bronkhorst (7th battalion of national militia) claims there was about one hour between the arrival and the charge of Van Merlens brigade. In his letter dated 9th July 1815. In: Ons leger (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

⁶³ 1st lieutenant Deebet (6th regiment hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Lieutenant Van Wassenaar. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

⁶⁴ While 1st lieutenant Deebet gives the impression that the regiment was moving to its new position and just in front of the crossroads when the order to charge came, captain Royen (6th regiment of hussars) states the regiment had already taken up its new position in rear of the farm of Quatre Bras, when the order to charge came and resumed its former position in line in front of the Namur road. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

⁶⁵ Cf. account of brevet major Van Balveren and 1st lieutenant Deebet, both of the 6th hussars. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Anonymous member of the section Gey. In: Bredasche Courant. 5th July 1840

Dellevoet describes the charge as "made in a very open line formation, more or less en

echelon.” In: The Dutch-Belgian cavalry etc.p.109

66. Aerts, W. - Etudes etc. p.436

⁶⁷ Cf. Lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

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

Major Van Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

68 . Lieutenant Henckens (6th regiment of chasseurs à cheval). In: Mémoires etc. p.225

Brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Captain Royen (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Van Balveren mentions the presence of red lancers of the guard, but these were those of Piré. Cf. account of Van Balveren. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Rens gives a complete erroneous description of the charge of the hussars: as if they charged at the extreme left flank of Picton’s division, right along the Etang materne, against Piré. In: Huzaren van Boreel p.85

69. Lieutenant Wolff was mortally wounded, while major Jacobi and the lieutenants Zwanebeek, Pauw, Rendorp and Van Utenhoven got wounded. Cf. Aerts, W. - Etudes p.436

⁷⁰ Brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars). In: In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Lieutenant colonel De Mercx informs us of the failure of the hussars, but at the same time states as if the hussars were charged by two regiments of French cavalry, and not the other way around. Cf. his letter dated 17th January 1855 to Renard. In: Marchot, R. - Notice biographique etc. p.76

Jan Norden, brigadier of the 6th regiment of hussars, remembers that the regiment had a body of French lancers to its right and chasseurs à cheval to its left. By moving its front to the right, the left wing of the regiment charged the lancers. A strong action ensued, after which both regiments were collected again. In: Het leven en de lotgevallen etc. p.391.

Norden’s account in general is not very reliable.

71. Cf. Lieutenant Van der Wall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Major Van Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

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

According to colonel Osten (adjutant of Von Gunkel) the battery had followed the cavalry but didn’t have the time to form; as the guns had ridden too close, they didn’t have the chance to turn and then rode into each other, after which they were charged by the French. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

⁷² Major Van Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

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

73. Lieutenant Henckens (6th regiment of chasseurs à cheval). In: Mémoires etc. p.228
Von Müffling - Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.12

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt claims the French took with them two 6-pounders and one howitzer. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.320

⁷⁴ Brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

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

Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256

Kerr Ross clearly makes a distinction between two separate cavalry charges, both coming from his immediate right. He calls the French horsemen cuirassiers, but clearly Van Merlen's charge is meant, as he mentions "a corps of Belgian (mixed with some Brunswick cavalry if I don't [?] much forget)". Kerr Ross here recognizes that "some of the allied cavalry did fall at the time we gave the volley to the cuirassiers." This would have meant that also the hussars would have suffered from friendly fire.

Major general Best claims there were two squadrons of French cavalry (chasseurs). In: VPH-LBA, nr.8

Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment) doesn't mention Van Merlen at all, but at the same time also mentions two separate charges of Piré towards the 92nd regiment, which – in the timeframe - without a doubt were the ones which were related to the ones of Van Merlen. In: BL, Add.ms.706 p.242-247

Some 30 chasseurs à cheval fled back to their line in rear of the battalions Osterode and Münden to the far left of the allied position. Cf. lieutenant Von Berckefeldt (Münden battalion). In: Geschichte des königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Bataillons p.218

Sir Wm.Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184

Anonymous member of the section Gey. In: Bredasche Courant. 5th July 1840

⁷⁵ Doren, J.B.J. van. Strategisch verhaal etc. p.48-50

Van Doren was adjutant subaltern in the 5th regiment of light dragoons. He claims the hussars were committed first as two French battalions of infantry were approaching the centre. As has been shown, this is probably not correct.

Van Doren points out to the fact that some French horsemen invited the light dragoons to desert, having been former comrades.

The fact that the charge of the hussars had a follow up by the 5th regiment of light dragoons is confirmed by captain Royen of the hussars. However, he doesn't enter into any detail about this charge. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart) claims the charge of the hussars and light dragoons proved successful. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

De Mercx suggests as if Picton and the Brunswickers arrived after the charge and that after their arrival, the field was secured and that this was the reason for his regiment to fall back. De Mercx himself got wounded during the action and was succeeded by count De Looz-Corswarem. Colonel De Mercx. In his letter dated 17th January 1855 to Renard. In: Marchot, R. - Notice biographique etc. p.76

A flank charge of another squadron of the 5th regiment of light dragoons would have saved the

first squadron from the French; during this action several light dragoons fell in French hands, and who were relieved in their turn by their comrades. Cf. Registers of captains De Lenne, Mertens and O'Sullivan. In: Kanselarij der Nederlandse Orden, The Hague
One of them was count De Looz, who was rescued from the French chasseurs à cheval by a dragoon called Rassonet. Cf. the register of this dragoon.

A phased involvement of the regiment is confirmed by lieutenant Renesse. As the action of the first squadron proved to be insufficient against the French cavalry, his company (part of the squadron led by major De Looz Corswarem) was ordered to charge; initially it was successful against the chasseurs à cheval, but as soon as they were charged in their rear by others units from Piré, they were obliged fell back. Cf. his letter dated 10th July 1815. In: Dellevoet, A. – The Dutch-Belgian cavalry at Waterloo p.108, 114-115

Rens most erroneously claims that the dragoons charged west of the Brussels road and as far as a point between Gémioncourt and Grand Pierrepont, that they kept up the fight with the French chasseurs à cheval for about 15 minutes until the dragoons fell back for the advancing horsemen of Guiton ! In: Rens, A. - Huzaren van Boreel p.88-89

Siborne gives a complete incorrect picture of the charges of Van Merlen as well: he clearly discerns two charges, the first against Piré [possibly around 3.30 p.m.] and the second [towards 5 p.m.] against cuirassiers. In: History of the war etc. Vol.I p.105, 130

⁷⁶ Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256
Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

⁷⁷ Doren, J.B.J. van - Strategisch verhaal etc. p.49-50
Lieutenant Kerr Ross briefly mentions the risk of hitting the own cavalry during their first retreat, but he doesn't refer to this fire in the second (the one of the light dragoons) at all. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256
Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

78. Lord Fitzroy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507-1
Wellington rode Copenhagen the whole campaign. The horse was bought in 1813 from general major Sir Charles Stuart. It was born in 1808 and was known as a stayer. It was a grandson of the famous Eclipse and had been a racehorse too before it came to the Duke. Its name had been derived from the deeds of his dam, Lady Catherine, on which general Grosvenor had ridden during the siege of Copenhagen. Copenhagen died on the 12th of February 1836 at Stratfield Saye.
Copenhagen was cinnamon-colored with a touch of Arabic. Cf. Lithograph of Engelmann (from Adam) and the Navy and army illustrated VIII,132 August 1899 p.497
Cf. Aerts, W. - Notice sur la tenue porté à Waterloo etc. p.8 In: LMB

⁷⁹ Sir G.Scovell. In: Copy of memorandum etc. In: PRO, nr.WO37/12/84

⁸⁰ Brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263
1st lieutenant Deebetz (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263

Captain Royen (6th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.263
Lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras (battery Gey). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Colonel De Mercx in his letter dated 17th January 1855 to Renard. In: Marchot, R. Notice biographique etc. p.76

⁸¹ Cf. Letter of baron Van der Capellen to king Willem, dated midnight 16th of June. In: NA, 2.05.01, nr.771

Lord Fitzroy Somerset claims that “many of the Belgic cavalry went to Brussels and spread the alarm”, but there is no further proof for that. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

⁸² Major van Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Lieutenant Van der Wall (battery Stevenart). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Captain Bijleveld himself erroneously claims he had a position in the first line all day. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

⁸³ Koopman adds that he had nothing to do there, until he saw Brunswick artillery approaching from Genappe (by 7 p.m.); then he joined them and went back to Quatre Bras, where he met captain Bijleveld who asked him to join him again. 2nd lieutenant Koopman. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

84. Lieutenant Van Wassenaar In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Van Wassenaar’s account is somewhat confusing, but this is the most probable chain of events. Van Wassenaar also indicates that since their charge, both regiments of Van Merlen’s brigade got separated from the guns for the remainder of the day.

There is another, very confusing, account of an apparent (anonymous) member of the section who claims the section, though partly charged at, was able to hold its position under the French cavalry. He also believes the guns were in action until in the evening. In: Bredasche Courant. 5th July 1840

Van Löben Sels also faced problems locating Gey, and he believes the guns were first to the left, but to the right of the Brussels road during the charge of Van Merlen, and later to its left again until in the evening. In Bijdragen etc. Vol.IV p.525,531

There is further proof that Gey’s guns had been charged, but not taken. Cf. list of artillery-officers who distinguished themselves in the campaign as drawn up by major De la Sarraz on the 27th of June 1815. In: KHA nr.A37 VII b9

⁸⁵ Report of captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.16
Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4

86. Lieutenant Henckens. In: Mémoires etc. p.228

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

Lieutenant Van Wassenaar van St.Pancras (battery Gey). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

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

Von Müffling. In: Geschichte des Feldzugs etc. p.12

A record about captain Gey mentions the participation of 2nd lieutenant Clement, sergeant

Wanders of the train and some gunners of the first company of horse artillery. In: Kanselarij der Nederlandse Orden, The Hague.

Other documents relating to captain Gey also mention the participation of some hussars and some Scottish soldiers. In: NA, nr.2.21.071

The fact that two 6-pounders and a howitzer had been retaken is confirmed by both the same sources.

2nd lieutenant Koopman claims the gun of Bijleveld was returned by Gey by 6 p.m. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

Dellevoet is incorrect in his claim that the recovered guns came from Gey's unit of horse artillery. In: The Dutch-Belgian cavalry etc.p.113

When it comes down to captured guns, it is Reille who claims the 72nd regiment (brigade Campy, division Bachelu, so further to the right) took a gun and a howitzer, but this fact is not being corroborated by any of the allied artillery units. Cf. his official report dated 17th June 1815. In: SHD, nr.C15.22

It is confirmed, however, for one gun by Ney in his report of the evening of the 16th of June to Soult. In: SHD, C15 nr.5

What gun this might have been remains unclear.

⁸⁷ Corporal Külbel of the Leib-battalion.. In: Die letzte Augenblicke etc. p.4 + plan

88. Von Wachholtz believes it was about 3 p.m. In: Geschichte des Herzoglichen etc. p.24
Cf. Colonel Von Herzberg (of the general staff of the Brunswick corps). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

According to corporal Külbel of the Leib-battalion, his unit was at 3.30 p.m. about half an hour away from Quatre Bras. In: Die letzte Augenblicke etc. p.4

Best states two of his battalions were engaged by 4 p.m. In his letter dated 25th of July to his niece Charlotte. Sold at Bonhams at 1st of April 2015, lot nr.101 Cf. <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/22277/lot/101/>

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

Wachholtz, F.von - Geschichte des herzoglich etc. p.25 / plan

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) mentions the initial presence of some Brunswick cavalry to his rear. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.225

Also see: captain Von Rettberg (Rettberg's battery). In: VPH-LBA, nr.16 and 34.706 p.377-379 (plan)

90. Von Wachholtz - Geschichte des Herzoglich etc. p.25 / plan

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

1st lieutenant Kühler (Leib-battalion). Cf. his report dated 20th December 1827. In: NSA, VI Hs.18 nr.7.2

Lieutenant Simmons (1st / 95th regiment) In: NAM, 6804-2

Lieutenant Pensman Gairdner (1st / 95th regiment). In: NAM, nr.6902-5

Lieutenant Kincaid. In: Adventures etc. p.316-317 He mentions the presence of a battalion of foreign light infantry, but also adds that they were very inexperienced and hardly recognised friend from foe and that they fired upon the British skirmishers.

91. Von Wachholtz in: Geschichte des Herzoglich etc. p.25 / plan
Colonel Von Herzberg (of the general staff of the Brunswick corps).In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

1st lieutenant Kühler (Leib-battalion). Cf. his report dated 20th December 1827. In: NSA, VI Hs.18 nr.7.2

92. Von Wachholtz. In: Geschichte des herzoglich etc. p.25

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

1st lieutenant Kühler (Leib-battalion). Cf. his report dated 20th December 1827. In: NSA, VI Hs.18 nr.7.2

⁹³ Wachholtz, F.von - Geschichte des herzoglich etc. p.26

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

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

Ensign Cappel (Leib battalion) not only refers to the Belgian dragoons fleeing but also mentions his battalion's fire upon the French. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk – Original in: NSA, nr.276 N15

According to ensign Lindwurm (2nd Brunswick line battalion), after his battalion had hardly deployed, a regiment of French cavalry advanced upon it. The battalion formed square, but the cavalry turned away and did not charge. Cf. his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, nr.249 AN 190

Ensign Oppermann (battalion Münden) claims the Brunswick squares actually successfully fired on the French cavalry. In letter dated 23rd June 1815 to his parents. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.23

Major general Best claims the Brunswick infantry fell back on his brigade to recover. In: VPH-LBA, nr.8

⁹⁴ Colonel De Jongh. In: Nagelaten papieren etc. 1866

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijeveldt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.312

Lieutenant Pronk (8th battalion of national militia). Cf. his diary. In: The family-prospectus "Pronkstukken"

⁹⁵ The identity of these lancers remains obscure.

Although van Zuylen van Nijeveldt speaks of lancers of the imperial guard here, later he counts them acting in combination with the 6th regiment chasseurs à cheval (in an action against the 27th battalion of chasseurs) which formed part of Piré's division, so he also might mix them up with lancers of this division instead.

Major Van Opstall also mentions lancers of the guard having acted against Winssinger, but here he used the word "would" which denotes he was unsure about their identity.

Above all, Colbert himself doesn't mention any action of his men that day. He merely states his corps was kept in reserve.

Cf. Major Von Opstall. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 inv.nr.262

In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.312, 318

Edouard de Colbert, commander of the lancers of the guard. Cf. his letter dated 15th May 1829. In: AN, AP 137 / Fonds Ney f.21

⁹⁶ Colonel De Jongh. In: Nagelaten papieren etc. 1866

⁹⁷ Cf. colonel Van Saxen Weimar.

In: his letter dated 19th June. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III.p.564

In: Diary. In: THW. Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv. A.XXIV 30 p.193

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

In this action, while cutting away some branches, Van Saxen Weimar wounded himself very slightly by cutting in his right thigh.

Captain Büsgen (1st battalion Nassau) claims the counterattack failed. In: HSD, Abt.1049, nr.1

⁹⁸ Colonel De Jongh. In: Nagelaten papieren etc. 1866

Lieutenant Pronk (8th battalion of national militia. In: The family-prospectus "Pronkstukken" He speaks of Brunswickers entering the wood, as his unit left it and this corresponds to the members of the advance guard battalion of this corps occupying the northern half of the wood.

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijevelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III. p.314

99. Reille. In : Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits etc. p.59

¹⁰⁰ Cf. colonel Van Saxen Weimar.

In: his letter dated 19th June. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III.p.564

In: Diary. In: THW. Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv. A.XXIV 30 p.193

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

¹⁰¹ He was struck on the left hip by a musket ball, but the ball first hit the massive gold scabbard of his sword and did not penetrate. Cf. Captain Bourdon de Vatry (his aide de camp). In: Brett James, A. - The hundred days p.64

Ney in his report to Soult, dated 16th of June 1815. In: SHD, C15. Nr.5

Martinet, A. - Jérôme Napoleon, roi de Westphalie p.273