

It was probably around 5.30 p.m. that Ney received Soult's order of 3.15 p.m. Its messenger, as well as colonel Delcambre who arrived almost simultaneously, informed him about the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps to the battlefield of Ligny. <sup>1</sup>

Prompted by this situation and the certain degree of success in his centre, Ney ordered Foy to exploit it. Very shortly after two battalion columns of his infantry advanced. The first did so over the Brussels road as far as La Bergerie and its immediate surroundings, the second slightly further to the left, towards the Bois de Bosu. Here, skirmishers of the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of light infantry were supported, upon the request of general Guilleminot, by a company of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> léger led by chef de bataillon Jolyet, which had been in the Bois de Bossu since 4 p.m. <sup>2</sup>

The Duke of Wellington himself and major general Barnes, both near the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment, saw what happened and decided to counteract. After the retreat of the major part of the Brunswickers, the centre was now void of Anglo-Netherlands-German units and the enemy threat was imminent. Ordered by Wellington, Barnes now launched the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment forward with the order " 92<sup>nd</sup> , follow me ! " <sup>3</sup>

Led by Barnes and colonel Cameron the Highlanders leapt from their position on the road. The grenadier- and the first company were led forward over the Brussels road by colonel Cameron and general Barnes, while the rest of the battalion advanced by an oblique movement to their right upon the enclosures. The French, having entrenched themselves in the house and behind the hedges and ditches around it received them with a strong musketry fire, but the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment pushed through and succeeded in driving the French off. <sup>4</sup>

Just before, however, colonel Cameron was mortally wounded as he was hit in the groin by a musket shot from the upper storey of the house. As a result, Cameron lost control over his horse, which now faced about and galloped back over the road towards Quatre Bras, where his groom was standing with Cameron's reserve horse. Here it suddenly halted and threw off its rider, who was pitched on his head on the road. Cameron was then carried to the rear by private Ewen Macmillan and a piper, from where he was transported to Waterloo, where he died later that night. <sup>5</sup>

The 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment halted to fire, but major Mitchell, who succeeded colonel Cameron, (<sup>6</sup>) decided to continue the attack. The 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment had succeeded in driving away the French skirmishers and advance guard: the main body of the French was in the rear and showed no disposition to retire – in fact it now started a heavy musketry fire on the Highlanders.

In order to extricate itself from this fire, the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment took the adjoining garden of the house by penetrating it through its centre and by the sides at the same time. As the men still were under French musketry fire, the battalion formed a line west of the garden and in this way tried to drive back the French. They were able to do this with the bayonet, right through the open field without any support whatsoever and under a heavy fire of musketry. The French apparently were retreating in a south-west direction, towards the Bois de Bossu, as the 92<sup>nd</sup> started pursuing them, while skirting it for a considerable distance until it a point at the edge of the wood, at about 800 metres from Quatre Bras. <sup>7</sup>

It was here that the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment came under a strong French artillery fire. Additionally, some cavalry was near, ready to charge wherever it could. This made the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment retire into the edge of the wood, where some time after the Foot Guards and Brunswickers came up from their

rear. <sup>8</sup> An attempt to take the French guns failed. <sup>9</sup> After the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment had left its position near the crossroads, its position was filled up by the Lüneburg battalion of the brigade of major general Best. <sup>10</sup>

As the French didn't really press home in numbers within the Bois de Bossu beyond the low ground of the stream of Gémioncourt there, the occasional skirmishing went on there for some time. Yet, between 5 and 5.30 p.m., as the French infantry attacked the allied centre, colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt received the order to force Jérôme Bonaparte's units back which slowly advanced in and along the eastern perimeter of the wood. Accordingly, he moved up three companies of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of Nassau as skirmishers to drive them away, supported in their left rear by the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of Orange Nassau. At the same time, the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia was summoned to come up to come from the other side of the Bois de Bossu to assist in the open as well.

The Nassau skirmishers were able to clear the wood from the French and in doing so emerged at its eastern edge, where they saw the 92<sup>nd</sup> regiment moving along the wood. For some time, the three companies established themselves in the edge of the wood, near the 92<sup>nd</sup>, until they were called back some time later to the battalion near Quatre Bras. The 1<sup>st</sup> battalion Orange Nassau and the militia had seen virtually no action except some skirmishing with the enemy in the open and were then pulled back to Quatre Bras. <sup>11</sup> So far, the situation within the northern half of the Bois de Bossu was kept stationary by skirmishers of the French on the one side and the Netherlanders and the Brunswickers on the other.

From about 5 p.m. on, no more coherent French actions were carried out on Picton's front. As Bachelu's division had been badly mauled during its first (and only) attack on the British position, the units of this division were merely operating as skirmishers. <sup>12</sup> Among them, Piré was hovering around looking for opportunities to charge British units whenever they felt the chance to do so. Their presence was annoying to the British though, as was the continuous fire from the enemy skirmishers and light infantry.

Lieutenant Forbes remarks in this connection: " In short, every regiment, from the sudden and peculiar nature of the attack seemed to act independently for its own immediate defence, a measure rendered still more necessary by the enemy's superiority in cavalry, and the regiments being now posted, not at prescribed intervals of alignment, but conformably to the exigency of the moment, by which each of them was exposed to be separately assailed." <sup>13</sup>

In this situation, depending on the presence of French infantry or cavalry, the battalions switched now and then from line to square or column or the other way around, until the action ended later that evening. <sup>14</sup>

It was not long after the charge of a part of Piré's division on the 42<sup>nd</sup> / 44<sup>th</sup> regiment that these battalions had fallen back for about 50-60 paces each under cover of two companies of skirmishers. <sup>15</sup>

Confronted with the strong French skirmishing fire, the 42<sup>nd</sup> / 44<sup>th</sup> regiment had their skirmishers out to answer it. However, they suffered severe casualties and ran out of ammunition within a very short period of time. Those of the 44<sup>th</sup> regiment, led by lieutenant Riddock, were called back to the battalion but before they reached it, French horsemen cut them

off. Riddock, however, was able to form a four-deep line with his men and succeeded in reaching the south-side of the square of the 44th with a bayonet-charge. At the same time, however, the square was faced with French horsemen and therefore wasn't able to take Riddock's men in. For as long as it was needed, Riddock had them lie down in the field in immediate vicinity of the square.<sup>16</sup>

Sir Thomas Picton's horse was hit somewhere during these actions and fell; as Picton himself had got under it, he was pulled out by his aide de camp, captain Ch.Gore. Gore was about to give him his own horse when a cannon short struck between them and the horse broke away. It may have been by this shot that Picton was hit as well. From then on, Picton would have hidden the wound the days after. Picton and Gore were saved as they got under the protection of a square.<sup>17</sup>

At some point of time Piré was threatening the 42<sup>nd</sup> and the 44<sup>th</sup> regiment again, and now Sir Thomas Picton united the 1<sup>st</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> regiment (each in a column at quarter distance) into one column and led them, accompanied by Sir James Kempt with a cheer towards the French. Having approached the 42<sup>nd</sup> and the 44<sup>th</sup>, Picton halted the column to the left of them in a position with very high corn and formed square. Here the square was assailed by Piré, but the French couldn't impress it. In this situation, the 28<sup>th</sup> was inspired by Picton, shouting: "28<sup>th</sup>, remember Egypt!" The result was that the square gave an effective volley which repulsed the French cavalry.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, the 32<sup>nd</sup> regiment took up a position to the left rear of the 1<sup>st</sup> / 28<sup>th</sup>, probably in front of the Namur-road. It did so in square, due to the threat of the French cavalry. It wasn't charged, however.<sup>19</sup>

Both this battalion, as well as the 79<sup>th</sup> and Roger's battery, were not actually charged by Piré, who was operating more towards the centre of line, against the squares of the 1<sup>st</sup> / 28<sup>th</sup> and the 42<sup>nd</sup> / 44<sup>th</sup>.<sup>20</sup> It was before the cuirassiers charged that Piré's division was taken back in rear of the infantry which was in the centre of the front-line; as the cuirassiers charged some time later, Piré followed further to the rear as a support but this was very successful as the ranks of the cavalry had been thinned considerably.<sup>21</sup>

The arrival of Alten's division.

Alten's division, except for Ompteda's brigade, had left Nivelles around 3 p.m. and this makes a time of arrival at Quatre Bras towards 6 p.m. the most probable.<sup>22</sup>

Colin Halkett's brigade was the leading the column of the division; the one of count Kielmansegge was in the rear. The moment the division approached Quatre Bras the brigades, at least the one of Kielmansegge, deployed from column into lines on both sides of the road with skirmishers on their right to secure the road. Shortly after, however, they reformed into column again.<sup>23</sup>

Then the column proceeded over the Namur-road up to the crossroads, where Colin Halkett's brought its left shoulder forward and advanced to the right of the Brussels road.<sup>24</sup> Kielmansegge's brigade continued further over the Namur road under French gun-fire and eventually took up a position on the road itself, after wheeling right near the 95th regiment opposite Piraumont, which was in French hands. There the men lay down.<sup>25</sup>

Shortly after his arrival, major general Colin Halkett met Sir Thomas Picton. Colin Halkett

writes about this moment: “My order was to move through the wood [the Bois de Bossu] and if possible to fall upon the left of the French army, and further to act as I thought most advantageous.

In proceeding with the view to follow the directions I received, an aide de camp of general Pack came up to me, stating that Pack’s brigade had expended nearly the whole of their ammunition, and that if I did not support him he would be obliged almost immediately to abandon his post he held, which was of great advantage to our position.”<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, his brigade was advancing in column, with the 69<sup>th</sup> in front.<sup>27</sup> It was this regiment which he now directed to “proceed and form under cover of the farmyard Pack occupied [la Bergerie] and to communicate with the general [Pack] and act according to his orders.”<sup>28</sup>

This meant that the 69<sup>th</sup> took up a position in the low ground not far from La Bergerie, to the east of the Brussels-road.<sup>29</sup> The field here was still covered with high corn.<sup>30</sup> In this position it was not far off from the 42<sup>nd</sup> / 44<sup>th</sup> regiment, which units were a bit further to the east, at the same line in the low ground.

In the meantime the other units of the brigade filed out to the right in the fields west of the Brussels road, from left to right the 30<sup>th</sup>, the 73<sup>rd</sup> and the 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment.<sup>31</sup>

After that, the battalions advanced in a line of open columns of companies on a quarter distance (<sup>32</sup>), on deployment-distance so as to deploy into line when necessary and covered by the flank-battalion of the 30th regiment, led by lieutenant colonel Vigoureux) [<sup>33</sup>], through the very high corn.<sup>34</sup>

At least the moment the cuirassiers charged (see below), the battalions were in two lines and may have been in a chequered line, with the 30th and the 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment in front (the 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment to the right and the 30<sup>th</sup> regiment to the left, near the Brussels road), and the 69<sup>th</sup> regiment and the 73<sup>rd</sup> regiment in the second line.<sup>35</sup>

As the battalions advanced, the Brunswickers were more to the right in front, along the Bois de Bossu. Sir Colin Halkett immediately communicated with the officer commanding them and then brought them up under cover in a ditch which ran nearly parallel to the line of the enemy.<sup>36</sup>

The battalion involved was at least probably the Leib-battalion, which had been here just prior to the arrival of Alten’s division. It may have been around the same time that another Brunswick battalion, the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the line, advanced from its position near Quatre Bras to the same position as the Advance-guard-battalion was, but further details about the circumstances of this support are missing.<sup>37</sup> Also some Brunswick cavalry may still have been present here.<sup>38</sup> The Brunswickers held a position very near the edge of the Bois de Bossu, right in front of the 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment.<sup>39</sup>

Colin Halkett decided to leave his brigade in a position between the Brunswickers on his right-front and Pack’s units on his left until further communication could be made with headquarters. This line was about 500 metres south of Quatre Bras, thereby having the 69<sup>th</sup> regiment to the left of the Brussels road and the other battalions between this road and the Bois de Bossu.<sup>40</sup>

It was in this connection that an aide de camp reached Colin Halkett enquiring why he had his brigade not advance any further, but as he had explained his situation he got permission to act as he thought most advantageous. In this, Picton’s initial order to cross the Bois de Bossu was canceled.<sup>41</sup>

Alten's brigade was accompanied by its two foot-batteries, those of Lloyd en Cleeves. Two guns of Lloyd's battery advanced with the 69<sup>th</sup>, while the remaining four guns advanced further to the rear and still in front of Quatre Bras. Right as the 69<sup>th</sup> had taken up position to the left of the Brussels road, the section, led by captain Rudyard, was ordered to join these four guns as the battery was meant to advance over the Brussels road to support the Brunswickers who were still near the Bois de Bossu further in front. It was shortly after these two guns headed back for their comrades (who was approaching Quatre Bras at that time), that the 69<sup>th</sup> regiment was charged by the cuirassiers. <sup>42</sup>

By order of colonel Wood, Cleeves' battery initially came in reserve to the left rear of Quatre Bras in a field broken up by thick hedges, where it lost some men and horses. About half an hour later, however, it was also drawn to the front south of the Namur-road and east of the Brussels-road, thereby taking up a position to the right of captain Von Rettberg's guns. During this march it had some trouble entering the road; at the same time it lost several men from the strong French fire. From here, part of Cleeves's guns were able to give a strong enfilading-fire over the Brussels road. <sup>43</sup>

Shortly after their arrival, the members of the Lüneburg battalion of Kielmansegge, led by lieutenant colonel Von Klencke, crossed the Namur-road and attacked the French troops in and around Piraumont. This attack was that powerful that the French evacuated their positions; they were just about able to bring back a battery which they had placed here. Soon after, the Grubenhagen battalion reinforced the Lüneburgers, while the remaining battalions kept their positions on the Namur-road (lying down). <sup>44</sup> The Riflemen, at least a part of them, advanced further to the left, skirting along the northern tip of the Bois Delhütte where they chased away the French, but as they drew too close to the French position and suffered casualties, they held back. <sup>45</sup>

As the battalions of Lüneburg and Grubenhagen moved on beyond Piraumont, a strong swarm of French skirmishers approached from the French centre. As these men were heading for the Namur-road and were harming the Bremen battalion and Roger's battery by their fire from up to a distance of 60 paces, two companies of Hanoverian Jäger were sent out from this road to drive them back. Very soon after they were supported by the 1st and 8th division of the Bremen battalion, led by ensigns Brüel and Meyer, and they all drove back the French over a large distance thereby killing a high number of them. <sup>46</sup>

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1. Normally, it would have taken a messenger about 1.5 hours, but in respect of the delay in connection to the wheeling of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps by d'Erlon as a result of the order and the time of departure (towards 3.45 p.m.), 5.45 p.m. is probably the most realistic.

Heymès confirms – though a different hour - that Delcambre arrived shortly after the imperial messenger. In: Relation etc. In: Documents inédits p.9

In learning the news about the turn of the 1st corps two anecdotes have ever since emerged: Baron Petiet, member of the staff of Soult, cites colonel Laurent as that Ney would have said: "L'empereur est sur sa chaise, il ne peut voir ce qui se passe ici, les anglais sont devant moi et je vais les battre." In: Souvenirs militaires p.198

The other anecdote is that he would have said: "Voyez-vous ces boulets ? Je voudrais qu'ils m'entrassent tous dans le ventre". Cf. Fleury de Chaboulon, M. - Mémoires pour servir etc. Vol.II p.115

<sup>2</sup> Chef de bataillon Jolyet (1st regiment of light infantry) In: Souvenirs et correspondance p.76

3. Lieutenant Hope (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.336-337

And in: Letters from Portugal etc. p.229

Some historians claim that the charge took place right after the retreat of the cuirassiers, but it didn't.

Cf. Lieutenant Winchester (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 242-249

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

Sergeant Robertson (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment) on the one hand states the French infantry approached immediately after the incident with the Brunswick hussars, but on the other hand states the 92nd advanced when the brigade of C.Halkett arrived. In: The journal etc. p.148

Cf. Siborne, W. - History of the war in France etc. Vol.I p.148-149

<sup>4</sup> There might be a connection here to what adjudant Romand (100<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line) describes. After having covered some artillery for some time *l'arme au bras*, he advanced with a group of 15 men *au pas de charge* and had an exchange of musketry fire with the enemy for about 20 minutes, until a Scottish battalions – coming from a hedge - drove them back. In the incident, Romand got wounded and was led back to the rear. In: Mémoires de ma vie militaire p.71-72

<sup>5</sup> Clerk, A. - Memoir of colonel John Cameron p.79-80

Gardyne, C.G. - The life of a regiment etc. p.431

According to Clerk, Cameron was buried on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June near the road to Ghent. He was re-interred in April 1816 in his homeland. In: Memoir of colonel John Cameron p.80

6. Shortly after, Mitchell also got wounded; the command then devolved upon major McDonald. Cf. Lieutenant Winchester (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

According to another source, McDonald was not present at Quatre Bras; when Mitchell got

wounded, the command would have gone to captain Holmes. Cf. Dalton, Ch. The Waterloo roll call p.194

Yet, there is a short report of major McDonald written on the evening of the 16th of June and which reads: “... *the 92nd repulsed repeated attacks of cavalry, and by a rapid movement charged a column of the enemy and drove them to the extremity of the wood on our right.*” In: Gardyne, C.G. - The life of a regiment etc. p.434

<sup>7</sup> Witnessing the British success against the other column, the one French battalion column which had advanced in the open field towards the wood, most probably came to a halt.

8. Lieutenant J.Hope (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.18-21 and in : Letters from Portugal etc. p.229-232

Sergeant Robertson (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.148

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

Plan of private Kay (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL.Add.ms.34.706 p.216-223

Kay asserts the battalion was relieved by the Brunswickers but it was earlier.

Lieutenant Winchester (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.706 p.242-247 and 34.707 p.7-10

Winchester says the cavalry were lancers amongst others.

Cf. Gardyne, C.G. - The life of a regiment etc. p.431-434

9. Sergeant Robertson. In: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.148-149

<sup>10</sup> Reports of the major general Best. In: VPH, nrs.7 and 8

<sup>11</sup> Sergeant Döring (1st battalion Orange-Nassau). In: Heimatblätter etc. 1988 nr. 11

Captain Wirths (2nd battalion of Nassau). In: Nassovia, 1905 p.143-144

Herinneringen uit mijn tienjarige militaire loopbaan. S.A. (7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia). 1835

Account of fusilier Rentenaar (7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia). In: Private collection.

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.320

<sup>12</sup> Reille. In: Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits p.59 and in his report dated 17<sup>th</sup> June. In: SHD, nr.C15/22

13. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Captain Macdonald (1<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

Captain Ross-Lewin (32<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: With the 32nd etc. p.257-258

Sergeant Mc.Eween (42<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.455-456

Lieutenant Forbes (79<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

According to some, the French infantry attacked in columns several times, covered by light troops. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184  
Major Calvert (32<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.256-258  
Private Vallance (79<sup>th</sup> regiment). He asserts the 79<sup>th</sup> charged the French infantry up to the double hedge three times. In: The Waterloo Journal, Vol.21 nr.2 p.15

Lieutenant Kincaid (1<sup>st</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> regiment) says the division charged and routed the French infantry twice. In: Adventures etc. p.318-319

15. Lieutenant Riddock (44<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297  
Lieutenant Malcom (42<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BWRA, nr.220  
Riddock claims the whole brigade fell back, but there are no such indications for the other battalions.

16. Lieutenant Riddock (44<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

<sup>17</sup> Account captain Ch.Gore. In: Collection S.Schalk, USA. As he mentions the action as a general one, the battalions of the 5<sup>th</sup> division in squares and (after the incident) the advance of the 28<sup>th</sup> regiment, it was in the phase of the battle that Picton was wounded.

Captain Price, Picton's extra aide camp, maintains Picton had two or three ribs broken, some serious contusions and internal wounds, probably caused by grapeshot. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.515-516

Others claim he suffered from a wound caused by roundshot and which was formed by a huge bladder, which was filled with coagulated blood on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, the day he was killed. Cf. Siborne, W. - History of the war etc. Vol.I p.14

Picton would have mentioned his wound only to an assistant or surgeon, with the strict instruction not to tell anybody about it. Cf. H.B. Robinson. In: BL, Add.ms.705 p.383-385

Curling, H. Recollections of the mess table (1855) Cited in a letter of 1971. In: Archive of the Royal Medical Corps. Wellcome Institute. File nr.922

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

Private J.Black (1<sup>st</sup> regiment). Letter to his father dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS10488

The square was four files deep. Cf. Ensign Mudie (1<sup>st</sup> Royal Scots).In: Diary of ensign C.Mudie, 3<sup>rd</sup> Bn.The Royal Scots. Describing the battle of Waterloo and occupation of Paris, 1815. In: The Thistle. April, July and October 1931 p.184

Captain Caddell (32<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.282-283

Major Llewellyn (28<sup>th</sup> regiment) In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.264-265

According to Gomm, a wing of the Royals joined the 28<sup>th</sup> to drive off the French cavalry. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184

Gomm, W.M. Letters and journals p.355

By mentioning Egypt, Picton referred to the battle of Ramanieh (21<sup>st</sup> March 1801), in which the 28<sup>th</sup> regiment successfully resisted all charges of the cavalry of general Roize. Cf. Houssaye, H. - 1815. Waterloo p.203

Houssaye links this incident of the 28<sup>th</sup> regiment with Piré having pursued the British infantry after their charge on Bachelu's division, but this is not right as this pursuit didn't take place. In: 1815. Waterloo p.203

<sup>19</sup> Captain Ross-Lewin (32<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: With the thirty second etc. p.258  
He claims the battalion was on the Namur-road.

<sup>20</sup> For the 32<sup>nd</sup> regiment see:

Captain Ross-Lewin. In: With the 32nd etc. p.258-260

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

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

For the Royals see:

Ensign Mudie (1<sup>st</sup> regiment) In: 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

Captain Macdonald. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

Lieutenant Forbes (79<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

For the 28<sup>th</sup> see:

Major Llewellyn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.264-265

Lieutenant Forbes (79<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

For the 79<sup>th</sup> regiment, lieutenant Forbes explicitly states the battalion did form square now and then but wasn't charged by cavalry. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

Cf. Jameson, R. - Historical record of the seventy-ninth regiment etc. p.52

Sergeant Dewar (79<sup>th</sup> regiment) does the same and explains the situation by the marshy and boggy state of the field where the 79<sup>th</sup> stood. Cf. his letter to his brother dated 5<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: NWMS, M1960.2

Private Vallance, however, does mention charges. In: The Waterloo Journal, Vol.21 nr.2 p.15

For the action of Roger's battery, cf. captain Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.240-241

<sup>21</sup> Lieutenant Henckens (6<sup>th</sup> regiment chasseurs à cheval). In: Mémoires p.229

Oré, D.C. - 1<sup>e</sup> régiment de chasseurs p.222

Kellermann states that, on his return, Piré left from the position where he had stood himself some time before. Cf. Kellermann. In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHD, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

22. Cf. Gomm, W.M. - Letters and journals etc. p.354

Also in: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184 and 34.706 p.200-206

Scriba, C.von - Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.82

Times according to several eye-witnesses and historians vary between 3 and 8 p.m.

Sergeant Morris (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment) believes it was 3 p.m. In: Recollections etc. p.67  
Between 3 and 4 p.m: major Pratt (30<sup>th</sup> regiment), In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94  
5 p.m. is given by:  
Captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH, nr.12  
Lieutenant Kincaid (1<sup>st</sup> /95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: Adventures etc.  
Captain Barlow (69<sup>th</sup> regiment). In his letter to his mother dated 7<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6507-1  
5.30 p.m. is given by:  
Ensign W.Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax  
Lieutenant Hope (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment) mentions 5 p.m. on the one hand and 6 p.m. on the other. Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.,18-21 and in: Letters from Portugal etc. p.228  
Captain Cleaves mentions between 2 and 3 p.m. In: VPH, nr.15

23. Bericht über etc. In: VPH, nr.6  
Captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH, nr.12  
Cf. Scriba, C.von - Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.82

The sequence of battalions would have been: nr.1 Bremen, nr.2 Verden, nr.3 Yorck, nr.4 Feldjäger, nr.5 Grubenhagen and nr.6 Lüneburg. This would have meant that the deployment from right to left would have been in this way. Cf. Hüsemann, B. – Geschichte des Königlich-Hannoverschen etc. p.72

<sup>24</sup> Colin Halkett himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279  
Ensign Macready of the 30<sup>th</sup> regiment arrived at Quatre Bras with his light company slightly later as the remainder of his battalion, as his company had been in picket and forgotten. Initially, he headed for a Nassau unit north of the Bois de Bossu; shortly after, however, Sir G.Berkeley gave indications for the company where to join the battalion on the other side of the wood. The company did so by moving round the north part of the wood. Cf. E.Macready In: United Service Magazine, 1845 I p.389  
And in his diary. In: History of the 30<sup>th</sup> regiment p.321-322

25. Notizen etc. In: VPH, nr.4  
General Hanoverian report. In: VPH, nr.6  
Alten in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: The battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny and Quatre Bras etc. Vol.I p.192  
There is no indication that the brigade was in rear of Picton's units.  
The fact that the brigade split off from the one of C.Halkett is confirmed by major general Colin Halkett himself and ensign Thain of the 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279 Cf. Ensign W.Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.  
Gomm mentions Best's brigade behind the left of the division, but here he means Kielmansegge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.144-145

<sup>26</sup> Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

<sup>27</sup> Captain Rudyard (Lloyd's battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478

<sup>28</sup> Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

29. Butler, W.F. - A narrative of the historical etc. p.79

History of the 30<sup>th</sup> regiment p.314

Captain Barlow (69<sup>th</sup> regiment). In a letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

30. Captain Barlow in the same letter. He mentions a height varying between 1.50 to 1.80 metre.

<sup>31</sup> Ensign Macready (30<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.708 p.227-229

He mixes up the 30<sup>th</sup> and the 69<sup>th</sup> regiment.

32. Lieutenant Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.509-512

Ensign W.Thain (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. History of the 30<sup>th</sup> regiment p.314

34. Lieutenant Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.509-512 and in his recollections. In: Personal recollections p.5

Sergeant Morris (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In: Recollections etc. p.68

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Aerts, W. - Etudes etc. plan p.458

The problem is that each eye-witness gives no real details about the positions of his battalion in relation to other battalions.

Lieutenant Lloyd (73<sup>rd</sup> regiment) confirms the 73<sup>rd</sup> was in line with the 69<sup>th</sup>, and near the wood, but gives no further details. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.172-174

Also see: Ensign Macready (30<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.227-229

<sup>36</sup> Colin Halkett infers it was colonel Von Olfermann himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

<sup>37</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the line shows up here later in the fighting. Cf. Colonel Von Olfermann in his report dated 16<sup>th</sup> of June. In: VPH, nr.9

British eyewitnesses are not always completely clear about the strength of the Brunswickers present here.

<sup>38</sup> Lieutenant Hope Pattison mentions their presence, without specifying their identity. In:

Personal recollections etc. p.5

<sup>39</sup> Sir C.Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment). In: Personal recollections p.5

<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant Macready (30<sup>th</sup> regiment) says his battalion was on a knoll about 500-600 yards from Quatre Bras and to the left, which corresponds this situation. Cf. Ensign Macready (30<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.227-229

41. Major general Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

<sup>42</sup> Captain Rudyard (Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478

Lieutenant Wells (Loyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.259-261

Captain Von Rettberg describes a situation in which around 6 p.m. a captain of Lloyd's battery with a howitzer tried to link up with his (to his right), which he granted; the remaining guns of the battery would have been lost. The section may have tried to link up with Von Rettberg very briefly the moment the 69<sup>th</sup> had crossed the Brussels road, but then soon headed back for the other four guns which were then still moving on the Namur road, west of Quatre Bras. Cf. Von Rettberg. In: VPH, nr.16

43. Captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH, nr.16 and 34.706 p.377-379 (plan)

Captain Rudyard (Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478

Gunner Jahns of Cleeves' battery. Jahns claims the battery already fired from its first position towards French cavalry; in the march to the battery's second position, right after leaving the crossroads of Quatre Bras, he was wounded in the arm by French gunfire.

After having received first aid in a farm closeby, he was led to Genappe the next day, from where he made it to Brussels. From there he got further through Louvain, Tirlemont, St.Trond and Tongeren to Maastricht. In: Usinger, R. - Soldaten-Briefe aus dem Feldzuge des Jahres 1815. p.225-230

Notizen etc. In: VPH, nr.4

Lieutenant Heise (Von Rettberg's battery). In: BL, Add.ms.706 p.375-376

Captain Cleeves. In: VPH, nr.15

He gives a more precise position between the squares of the 68<sup>th</sup> regiment [sic] and the battalion of Lüneburg. Yet, the 68<sup>th</sup> was not at Quatre Bras and the position of the other battalion is not exactly known.

<sup>44</sup> Notizen etc. In: VPH, nr.4

Bericht über etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

Lüneburg journal. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NHA, Hann.48A I, nr.368

Report of Alten to the duke of Cambridge. In: The battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny and Quatre Bras etc. Vol.I p.192

Major Müller (Bremen battalion). In: VPH, nr.11

Captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH, nr.12  
Hülsemann, B. – Geschichte des Königlich-Hannoverschen Vierten Infanterie-Regiment p.72

<sup>45</sup> The wood as such is not mentioned in the few accounts available, but from the circumstances it cannot be another one as this one.

Cf. Lieutenant Simmons (1<sup>st</sup> / 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). Account from 1855. In: NAM, nr.6804/2

Lieutenant Pensman Gardner (1<sup>st</sup> /95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: NAM, nr.6902-5 He claims the Riflemen tried to take the wood three times.

Private Edward Costello. In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.286

He mentions the presence of a number of Belgians, but these men may have been Hanoverians. By the time his company moved out from the wood, Costello was wounded.

Bericht über etc. In: VPH, nr.6

<sup>46</sup> Report major Müller (Bremen battalion). In: VPH, nr.11

Report captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH, nr.12

Cf. Scriba, C.von Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.82-83

Reille. In his report dated 17<sup>th</sup> of June. In: SHD, nr.C15/22

Colonel Trefcon. In: Carnet etc. p.184

Lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. - Und alles wegen Napoleon p.205

Cf. Anonymous. Die Königlich Deutsche Legion und das Hannoversche Corps bei Waterloo p.12

Two more general Hanoverian reports state there was only one company involved. In: VPH, nrs.4 and 6

According to major Müller, the Jäger were initially driven back themselves, before being supported by the men of the Bremen battalion.