

Bourgeois' brigade.

As the brigade of Quiot of the 1st division attacked the farm of La Haye Sainte, the one of Bourgeois (28th and 105th regiments of the line) approached the centre of Wellington's line in a massive column, covered by skirmishers. Though the start of the advance of Bourgeois had been swift, it soon slowed down because of the boggy ground, the according fatigue of the men and the noise of the guns which prevented the men from hearing orders being given. By the time it came under direct artillery fire, some confusion had entered the ranks.

But that was not all: as the column was supposed to keep to its left so as to penetrate Wellington's centre right at the crossing of the Brussels high-road and the Ohain-road, it found the area not only occupied by British riflemen but also very much broken up by the sandpit and the banks of the roads. ¹ All in all, it caused the column to wheel to its right, right along the sand-pit and its northern hedge, away from its original target. ²



The area opposite the farm of La Haye Sainte (to the right), the line of advance of Bourgeois' brigade.

As the British riflemen had delivered their fire, they fell back upon their reserve which was posted in rear of the sand-pit. It was a close call as now the French skirmishers immediately occupied the sand-pit and other Frenchmen were turning the sand-pit on its right. ³ As the French pressed on, the riflemen, as well as the other skirmishers of Kempt's brigade, now retreated upon their units at the Ohain-road. ⁴

As the Riflemen fell back they covered a front of three companies (with the skirmishers having doubled in rear of reserve in front of the 32nd), thereby partly masking about one third of the front of the 32nd regiment.⁵

Despite the fire of the battery Rogers, the French column continued its course towards the crest of the ridge.⁶ Meanwhile, in order to meet the attack, general Picton had deployed his division in line.⁷ By now, Bourgeois' column approached the point where the 28th and 79th regiment touched.⁸

It was now at a distance of about 35 metres from the Ohain-road that the French column started a deployment to its right.⁹ At that moment the brigade of Kempt approached the Ohain-road and took up a position in rear of it.¹⁰ The skirmishers of Kempt's brigade, as well as the crew of Rogers' battery, were received by its battalions as well.¹¹

The 1st battalion of the 95th regiment was closely pressed and fell back towards its reserves along the Ohain-road, covering a front of three companies (with the skirmishers having doubled in rear of reserve in front of the 32nd), thereby partly masking about one third of the front of the 32nd regiment.¹² After that, they fell back through the intervals of the 32nd.¹³

At the moment Picton called Sir Horace Seymour to rally the light troops as they were driven in, he was struck in the left temple by a musket-ball and died instantly.¹⁴ The spot where he fell obviously was in the immediate vicinity of Kempt's brigade.¹⁵

Picton's fall would have been first noticed by Sir Horace Seymour, aide de camp of lord Uxbridge. He called in the help of the captain Tyler, aide de camp of Picton. Picton was removed from his horse which was skittish and restless. Major general Kempt, having been informed of Picton's death, now took over the command of the 5th division, while colonel Belson, commander of the 28th regiment, took over the command of Kempt's brigade.¹⁶ Picton's body was dragged off the field by captain Tyler and two grenadiers of the 32nd regiment.¹⁷

As the French were busy deploying, Kempt had his brigade deliver of steady volley upon the mass of French infantry.¹⁸ Using the moment, Kempt now moved his brigade (except for the 95th) over the road; in this action, the brigade briefly lost some of its order while at the same time the French gave an incomplete fire of which the 79th regiment suffered some losses.¹⁹ Having passed the hedge, Kempt launched his three battalions in a bayonet attack upon the French column.²⁰

It was in this advance of the 32nd regiment, immediately after passing the Ohain-road, that the ensign carrying the regimental colour was severely wounded. While the French column started to retreat, a French mounted officer had his horse shot under him. As the bearer of the colour, lieutenant Belcher, was slightly in front of the battalion, the officer had extricated himself and suddenly fronted him and seized the staff, but was instantly killed by the covering colour-sergeant, named Switzer, and a private named Lacy.²¹

After the fire and charge of Kempt's battalions, Bourgeois' column was unable to complete its deployment and got into large irregular bodies.²² At the same time cuirassiers - closely followed by Life Guards as coming from their left - mingled with the French infantry (see below). In this situation, Kempt's charge proved enough to drive the French as a confused mass back into the low ground in front of the ridge.²³

It was just at the moment that Kempt advanced and drove Bourgeois' column back that the

majority of the 1st battalion light infantry KGL joined it in its pursuit.

After their success against the allied units in front of the Ohain-road, the cuirassiers of Dubois ascended the slope of the ridge. It was just before their confrontation with the Household brigade that the four companies of the battalion received the permission to move out in single file to their left from the hollow road so as assist in the pursuit of Bourgeois' column.

They could do so as the cuirassiers here were delayed in their advance by the presence of the hollow road and, in turn, the 2nd Life Guards by their delay in forming the left wing of the brigade.

In front of the four companies moved the one led by captain Von Gilsa and this one wheeled to a position to the immediate left of the Brussels road, while the other (the 3rd) was led by lieutenant Albert to its right on this road itself. As the left company had to cope with the knoll and the subsequent sandpit it faced some delay in relation to the advance of Kempt. Eventually, at least both front companies moved side by side over and along the road, firing off as fast as they could reload on the retreating French infantry. During the process, the 3rd company passed the two abandoned guns of Ross' battery on the *chaussée*.

As they advanced, both the French cuirassiers and the British dragoons emerged from both the hollow road and the *chaussée*. As they approached, the Hanoverians made way and were gradually pulled back out of the pursuit in order not to extend too far out from the main line. As the grand French attack ran to an end, all companies were now taken back to their former position in the hollow road, north of the farm of La Haye Sainte. ²⁴

The charge of the Household Brigade.

As the 1st French corps was advancing – it was running towards 2 p.m. - the Household brigade advanced over some distance towards the front in order to avoid the French gunfire. ²⁵

It was about 10 minutes later that lord Uxbridge returned from a visit to the extreme right wing of the position to its centre, as he saw the 1st corps and the cuirassiers approaching. For him, it was the signal to launch the British heavy cavalry into a swift counter-action.

He rode to lord Edward Somerset and ordered him to prepare to form his brigade in line; accordingly he did the same towards sir William Ponsonby. After that, Uxbridge returned to the Household brigade to put them into motion. ²⁶

Meanwhile, Somerset deployed two lines by wheeling "by threes" to the right and left, the 2nd regiment of Life Guards on the left, while extending its flank against the Brussels road, the King's Dragoons Guards in the centre and the 1st regiment of Life Guards on the right in the first line; the Royal Horse Guards (Blues) were in second line behind the King's Dragoons Guards. ²⁷

This was at about 250 metres in rear of the Ohain-road. ²⁸

The moment lord Uxbridge put the brigade in motion the first line did not form a proper line as there was no time to form one. The result was that while the 2nd Life Guards, or – better - its left hand squadron only, was still forming line, the other part of the brigade advanced and hit the cuirassiers first. ²⁹ Lord Uxbridge himself led the charge while riding in front of the left flank of the brigade. ³⁰ Lord Somerset rode with the centre squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards. ³¹

As the British dragoons swept along the squares they momentarily lost some of their formation,

but after that they immediately checked to steady the line and charged.³²

After their confrontation with the squares of Kielmansegge and the 5th battalion of the line KGL, the cuirassiers were still on the crest of the ridge. Their right flank – after its success against the 8th battalion of the line KGL - bumped onto the hollow road thereby slowing down their speed. This road was too wide to leap and the banks too deep to be easily passed. Yet, a small part of the cavalry was able to cross it.³³

Thus, the confrontation between both bodies of heavy cavalry took place on the crest of the ridge, just north of the Ohain-road and in front of the squares of the brigades of Kielmansegge and Von Ompteda.³⁴ In this part of the action, the King's Dragoon Guards and the 1st regiment of Life Guards took part.³⁵ A *mêlée* ensued, after which the French cavalry was forced to yield. While numerous cuirassiers were driven down the ridge and were able to get away, others were cornered in the area between the hollow road and the garden of La Haye Sainte.³⁶

In this situation, in which the cuirassiers were unable to push through their charge and ran a risk of being shattered, but while still having their right flank relatively open because of the absence of the opponents line to its left, they turned about and attempted to go back through the hollow road to the east, towards the Brussels road. However, as the immediate vicinity of the sunken road here was filled with carts, waggons and wounded horses of Ross' battery, a confusion of horsemen was the inevitable result.³⁷

In this way, cuirassiers were able to get away further to their right, in front of Kempt's brigade, but it was there that also the 2nd regiment of Life Guards and the left and the two centre squadrons of the King's Dragoons Guards emerged. These two squadrons, after crossing the Ohain-road, had wheeled to their left, towards the sandpit in which terrain their speed was inevitably slackened.³⁸ Another, small, part of the British dragoons also emerged from the hollow road as the cuirassiers did, after having pursued them there.³⁹

Meanwhile, the 2nd Life Guards – having its right shoulder thrown forward - had approached the crossroads, descended into it, crossed the *chaussée* and climbed its banks on the other side in the immediate vicinity of the sandpit, to end up in front of the British riflemen. In this way, they met the French cavalry immediately east of the farm of La Haye Sainte, and not on the ridge as their fellow regiments had done.⁴⁰ The cuirassiers, scattered, were now obliged to fight in small groups or individually.⁴¹

While some of them rushed into the sandpit, many others tried to get back to the French lines over the *chaussée* but here the high banks, as well as the two guns of Ross' troop and the *abatis* on the road further down near near La Haye Sainte could only add up to the confusion. The result was that the retreat of the French horsemen was slowed down and many of them were cut down by the dragoons of the 2nd regiment of Life Guards and the left and two centre squadrons of the King's Dragoon Guards.⁴² At the same time, members of the 2nd regiment Life Guards also suffered from the rear of men of Bourgeois' column which had been passed over by both the cuirassiers and the British dragoons and who, after pretending being dead or wounded, now stood up fired at them.⁴³ It was here on the Brussels-road that both guns of Ross' troop were disabled, probably by the French horsemen.⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵

In their retreat, they also scattered and carried along the 55th regiment of the line (brigade Quiot) which until then had been east of the farm of La Haye Sainte and which had thus witnessed the defeat of the other half of their division.⁴⁶

Donzelot's and Marcognet's division.

Though the French attack was to take place with the divisions *en echelon* left in front, it was the column of Bourgeois which was obstructed in its advance by its confrontation with the forces in and around the sand-pit and by the sandpit itself, that it was forced to move further to its right.

As a result of this situation, the other columns of Donzelot and Marcognet had got slightly in advance of Bourgeois and were now heading for the brigade of Van Bijlandt.⁴⁷ In this advance the column of Donzelot approached virtually straight for the 7th battalion of the line, while the one of Marcognet went almost straight ahead for the 92nd regiment and thereby along the extreme left flank of the 8th battalion of national militia.

As has been described before, the brigade of Van Bijlandt stood in line along the Ohain and had its skirmishers out in front, on the slope of the ridge. After having had a fire-fight with their French counterparts, Van Bijlandt's skirmishers fell back upon their reserves at the Ohain-road.

⁴⁸ Now, the brigade – posted in a line of two files deep – unleashed an ill-maintained and weak fire at close range upon both columns.⁴⁹ This fire, however, didn't make the French halt. As a matter of fact, the majority of Van Bijlandt's units fell back.

Initially, Donzelot pushed back the battalion which was in its immediate front, the 7th battalion of the line. Despite the exertions of its officers, it fell back, but yet in relative good order and at least part of it shortly afterwards followed the British cavalry (see below). The 27th battalion of chasseurs also fell back for the French infantry, but also here parts were rejoined the advance, after the cavalry had cleared the situation. Both militia battalions which stood further to the left most probably gave their fire upon the flanks of the columns of Donzelot and Marcognet, but their appearance triggered both battalions to fall back in a more or less confused way through and along the British units in the second line.⁵⁰

The retreat of Van Bijlandt allowed the front files of the column of Donzelot to cross the Ohain-road.⁵¹ Except for probably some minor parts of the 7th battalion of the line and perhaps the 27th battalion of chasseurs, no more infantry was there to check their advance. Very shortly afterwards after the first French files had got through the hedges and over the road, Ponsonby's cavalry intervened.⁵²

Still further to the right, and somewhat *en echelon* to the division of Donzelot, the column of the division of Marcognet now approached Pack's brigade.⁵³ In fact, it did so by closely passing to the extreme right wing of Von Rettberg's battery; in this way it headed for the 92nd regiment in particular.⁵⁴

The battalions of Pack's brigade (still in columns at quarter distance) were lying down in rear of the Ohain-road, until the moment they were ordered to advance up to this road to receive the French.⁵⁵ As the Scotsmen reached this point, the French were about to do the same and at the same time they had ordered arms and were in the act of shouldering them, when the 92nd, by now deployed in line, delivered a volley into the French column. It did so at very close range (less than 20 metres).⁵⁶ It caused a hesitation in the French ranks which was very shortly afterwards cut short by the intervention of the Union brigade.⁵⁷

It may have been skirmishers of the column of Marcognet which at the same time had approached the battalions of Best's brigade but this commander had directed his own

skirmishers, supported by a small part of the Osterode battalion, against them in order to drive them back. Covering Von Rettberg's battery, also Von Vincke's skirmishers were engaged. It was in this stage of the action that both brigades were still in one large massive square, formed by all battalions placed in columns in a row.⁵⁸



The area where Marcognet's and Durutte's units advanced; the allied ridge is on the left.

The charge of the Union brigade.

During the preceding bombardment, coming from the grand French battery, Ponsonby's brigade started to lose horsemen. As a result, Ponsonby had his aide de camp, major Evans, ordered the regiments to change position and therefore they were assigned new positions in the low ground (but as close to the ridge as possible) some distance further left and to the front. As a result, the brigade advanced slowly towards the ridge by wheeling to the left, and taking ground to the right by the flank march of threes. Here, the brigade initially came in line but soon after wheeled half squadrons to the right so that it came in columns of squadrons at half distance, about 35 to 40 metres in rear of the infantry of Kempt and Pack, which stood in its turn about 50 metres in rear of the Ohain-road.⁵⁹

The brigade stood in this position for about 10 minutes when lord Uxbridge came from the other side of the Brussels road in great haste. He ordered Ponsonby to deploy the regiments of

his brigade into line and to charge with the Royals and the Inniskillings in the first and the Scots Greys in the second line against the strong French columns of infantry right away.⁶⁰

In order to see for himself and to assess the right moment for the charge, Sir William Ponsonby, escorted by his staff, now rode forward to the top of the ridge.⁶¹

Meanwhile, the regiments were ordered to advance slightly further in the low ground behind the ridge, but out of sight from the enemy, and halted there in column for about 5 minutes until they were deployed into line.⁶²

The moment he deemed the time had come as the French had got near enough, sir William Ponsonby met with a trifling interference as he lost his cloak on the crest of the ridge the moment his horse jumped from fear for a cannonball and he had to dismount to get it back. It was just then that he instructed Evans to make the signal for the charge.

Accordingly, he waved his hat as the signal for the charge. It was then that the commander of the brigade in its immediate front, colonel Muter (he was in position in front of the centre squadron of the Inniskillings), put the 900 horsemen in motion.⁶³⁻⁶⁴

In the advance from the low ground, the Scots Greys had got a bit further to the left rear of the Inniskillings, but in the advance to the charge the Greys now got next to the Inniskillings, so that all regiments charged in one line.⁶⁵

Within the Inniskillings, however, the left squadron was a little to the rear of the other two, while in the Scots Greys the squadron on the right was slightly forward to the other two.⁶⁶

It were the three squadrons of the Royals (the right squadron led by major Dorville), the centre squadron (led by captain Kennedy Clark) and the left squadron (led by captain Radclyffe) [⁶⁷], with the centre squadron (led by captain Browne) and the right squadron (led by captain Madox) of the Inniskillings which advanced towards the column of Donzelot. In doing so, some parts passed the brigade of Van Bijlandt, of which parts passed along the flanks of the cavalry.⁶⁸ At the same time, others passed through the intervals of the 28th regiment of Kempt's brigade, as it stood in open columns of companies left in front.

It meant that the French column had been able to advance almost unhindered. Its vanguard had passed the Ohain-road for about 5 to 10 metres, until it was suddenly confronted with the British heavy cavalry which now appeared upon the crest of the ridge. There was no attempt to deploy.⁶⁹

Right at that moment, the left flank of the column also received musketry-fire which was given off by the left part of the 28th regiment which regiment stood posted in open column of companies, left in front, for the purpose of letting through the cavalry.⁷⁰

While the right squadron of the Royals charged the column on its left flank, it was the centre squadron which fell upon the same flank, as well as upon the front of the column. The left squadron also charged the front of the column, just as the right squadron of the Inniskillings did. The centre squadron of the Inniskillings threw itself upon the right flank of Donzelot's division.⁷¹

It was probably in this situation that the right squadron of the Royals rode through the ranks of the left flank of the 28th regiment (Kempt).⁷²

Despite the panic which now started to spread in the column, it was able to give a volley of musketry fire from its front ranks at a distance of about 45 metres, just before the British cavalry was able to reach it, and which brought down several horsemen⁷³ However, there was no time

for any deployment or formation of squares.⁷⁴

In the first confrontation with the cavalry, the front ranks endeavoured to regain the opposite side of the hedges, but the cavalry was upon them before this could be effected. At the same time, those on the flanks began to turn their backs inwards as well. Due to the congregation, the column now turned into a dense mass of which most members were unable to use their weapons. Meanwhile, its rear ranks also had started to stream back to the rear.

The British dragoons mercilessly sabred down the French infantry and by doing so they managed to penetrate into the column which moved back and to its right, towards the one of Marcognet. As the dragoons penetrated into the mass of soldiers, their speed quickly slackened. At the same time, by the continuous pressure upon the flanks of the column, a major part of it, primarily in the front of the column, now got separated from the rest. In this situation, the column was pressed down the declivity into the low ground.⁷⁵

It was about 5 to 6 minutes after the charge had started that captain Kennedy Clark, commander of the centre squadron of the Royals, at about 30 metres to his left front, got sight of the eagle and colour of the 105th regiment of infantry of the line and took it. This regiment belonged to the brigade of Bourgeois of which the column was moving back after the defeat by Kempt's brigade in the same direction as Donzelot did, to its right rear.

In the way the brigades of British heavy cavalry rushed forward, the French brigade of Bourgeois came under attack of parts of both of its brigades. From their left the men of Bourgeois' brigade were walked over by the left flank of the Household brigade, as well as the cuirassiers, while it was further to the right that the brigade was faced with dragoons of Ponsonby's brigade.⁷⁶ Additionally, it was up to a certain point pursued by Kempt's infantry. Due to a lack of time and the confusion, Bourgeois was not able to form squares and the result was that also this column was mauled extra by the British heavy cavalry.⁷⁷

The column of Marcognet's division was charged by all squadrons of the Scots Greys and the left squadron (led by lieutenant colonel Miller) of the Inniskillings.⁷⁸ As the charge took place, the dragoons passed through the intervals and along the flanks of the battalions of Pack's brigade as they opened up in open column, right in front. While some members of the brigade maintained their position and some fell back through the ranks of the dragoons, others of the 92nd regiment joined in the charge by following the horsemen, while shouting "Scotland for ever!"⁷⁹

As the dragoons crossed the Ohain-road, they momentarily lost some of their formation [⁸⁰] while at the same time the front ranks of Marcognet unleashed a partial volley from which they suffered quite some losses.⁸¹ Yet, by the sudden appearance of the cavalry, the column got into confusion and was inclined to turn and this gave the dragoons the chance to turn and penetrate it by cutting their way into it. Some of the French soldiers attempted to resist the cavalry by lifting their bayonets above their heads, while others threw down their arms.⁸² By this time, the Scots Greys no longer formed lines, but operated at random in small groups.⁸³ It was in the midst of this turmoil that sergeant Ewart succeeded in capturing the eagle and colour of the 45th regiment of the line.⁸⁴

The division of Durutte.

Meanwhile, the main column of the division of Durutte, in a remote echelon to the one of Marcognet, was heading for the frontline of Best's brigade, until Marcognet's column was charged by the British heavy cavalry. This shock made the column hesitate initially, but Durutte would also have attempted to come to its assistance by accelerating his pace.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, further to Durutte's right, captain Von Rettberg, commander of the 3rd company of the 3rd battalion 2nd regiment Nassau, was driven back to the farm of Papelette from the enclosures in front of it by Durutte's flanking French column and its skirmishers.

Just before, Von Rettberg had entrenched the farm as time and circumstances had permitted him to do.

Von Rettberg now received the 10th, 11th and 12th company plus the flankers company of the 2nd battalion Nassau as a reinforcement. All of these units were put under his command and with those he now drove the French back from the farm and its neighbouring enclosures to a hedge on his side of the low ground beyond. Here, the advance of the Nassau soldiers stranded upon strong French gunfire which came from a position at about 350 metres distance (at the extremity of the intermediate ridge).⁸⁶

To their left, the flanker-company of the 2nd Nassau battalion was supported at this stage by the 8th company, led by captain Wirths. As his company advanced and gave off its fire, the French skirmishers fell back to their left rear, pursued by the Nassau flankers. In the low ground they now wheeled to their right and took up a position along a hollow road, opposite the French position.⁸⁷

The continuation of the charge of the British heavy cavalry.

Ponsonby's brigade.

It has been referred to before: in the wake of the charge of the Union brigade, several allied infantry units rushed forward in smaller or larger groups.

Some of them were from Van Bijlandt's brigade, such as from the 7th battalion of the line and the 8th battalion of national militia. In all, it were about 400 men which were available to advance, while the remainder of the brigade had fallen back and had to be assembled further to the rear. It was during the advance in rear of the cavalry that the pursuing parts of the brigade were able to get hold of two French battalion *fanions*.⁸⁸

Also parts of the 92nd regiment advanced in rear of the British dragoons and beyond the remains of the column of Marcognet. As they had passed them, several French wounded rose and fired in their rear. At the same time they saw the column of Durutte to their left and then halted to return to their original position.⁸⁹

There was even a party of the 2nd light battalion of KGL light infantry which sallied out in pursuit from the main gate of the farm of La Haye Sainte as the French streamed back along it towards their position.⁹⁰ In the pursuit, the 28th regiment split up per sections of small divisions in a left and right wing. This was caused by the fact that the troops on the left wing of this

regiment were drawn to the left due to the direction of the French retreat.⁹¹ Those to the right kept a course which was more or less straight ahead.⁹²

This wing, after having proceeded a little way, perceived through the smoke a body of men of which they initially thought to be Belgian and which caused it to make a momentary check, but it appeared these were fleeing French.⁹³

Shortly after, however, Kempt had his brigade halt, reform and go back to its original position north of the Ohain-road. This it did, except for the left wing of the 28th regiment (see above).⁹⁴

This advance of infantry gave the allied army – both infantry and dragoons - the chance to round up some 1900 prisoners, now taken from what had been impressive columns just before.⁹⁵

Meanwhile, the majority of Ponsonby's brigade, out of control by its success, now advanced beyond what had been the columns of the divisions of Donzelot and Marcognet. In this situation, the majority of the Scots Greys met further to their left the one main column of Durutte. It was at some 200 to 250 metres south of the Ohain-road that this column was able to give off some musketry fire of its front ranks which brought down a high number of dragoons.

⁹⁶ As a result, the dragoons did not press home their charge, but continued in their ardour their rush forward further south, leaving the column yet in an unstable and isolated state.

At the same time, another - much smaller - part of Ponsonby's dragoons wheeled to their right and climbed the ridge which was located between those of Mont Saint Jean and La Belle Alliance. The reason for doing so was the presence of enemy guns here.⁹⁷

As d'Erlons's columns, pursued by the British cavalry, streamed back, the advance of Lobau, Milhaud and Lefebvre Desnouettes had come to a halt on and immediately in rear of the intermediate ridge. Whether they were still advancing just then, or had already halted in a waiting position is unclear, but now Lobau's regiments formed regimental squares on a wide front of about 700 metres.⁹⁸

The situation was that also the three 12-pounder reserve-batteries (24 guns) had followed the infantry towards this height without specific orders. General De Salle, commander of the grand battery, though surprised, now sent his aide-de-camp to his other 6-pounder guns to order them to link up with his reserves as he did not want the interval between the 12-pounders and the 6-pounders become too large.

However, the moment he did so, the French infantry came back, with Ponsonby's dragoons at their heels. De Salle had just the time to order a change of front, thereby moving the right wing to the rear, using the left guns as a pivot. He only managed to do this with the 12-pounder reserve-battery of his own corps, led by the chef de batallion Saint-Michel. He led this battery to the rear, near where the Brussels road cuts deep through the field, but here it fell prey to disorder as well and went to the rear.⁹⁹ The other two batteries (those of the 2nd and the 6th corps) were run over by the dragoons: they sabred the crews, the horses and traces and harnesses were cut. Yet, due to a lack of nails the dragoons were unable to spike the 16 guns.¹⁰⁰

These guns formed part of a combined force of the 6th corps and the cuirassiers of Milhaud which was now posted upon the intermediate ridge between both main army's positions. It is unclear whether there has been an actual confrontation with the cuirassiers, but at least it was the brigade of Vial (6th and 9th regiment of cuirassiers) which advanced to make an impression upon the British cavalrymen acting upon their own right flank, certainly after they had

undergone some fire of the nearest squares of Lobau. In the act, the 16 guns which still stood on the right wing of the intermediate ridge were retaken.¹⁰¹⁻¹⁰²

Being scattered after their encounter with the column of Durutte, the British dragoons saw a body of French lancers approaching diagonally in their left rear.¹⁰³ Initially, they advanced in an open column in good order, but soon after they dispersed in small groups.¹⁰⁴ It was the 3rd regiment of lancers of the brigade of Jacquinet.

The Scots Greys caught the main blow of the French lancers and were badly mauled, even though the lancers primarily focused upon the dismounted and wounded dragoons.¹⁰⁵ Many dragoons received ten to twelve lance wounds.¹⁰⁶ Others who suffered from their horses being blown now lost speed and were overtaken, while others who made their way out around the lancers were also caught in the act and killed or wounded. One of those killed was sir William Ponsonby, the commander of the Union Brigade.¹⁰⁷ Lieutenant colonel Muter, commander of the Inniskillings Dragoons, succeeded him. In his turn, Muter was succeeded by lieutenant colonel Miller. Later – around 6 p.m.- as Muter got wounded, lieutenant colonel Clifton (commander of the Royals) took over his command. With this, major Dorville became commander of the Royals.¹⁰⁸

Colonel Hamilton, commander of the Scots Greys, was missing.¹⁰⁹ Major Clarke took over his command and as he fell wounded later, captain Cheney succeeded him in his command.¹¹⁰

Scattered in small groups of 20 to 30 men, the remnants of the Scots Greys headed back for the main position where they had come from, followed by the French.¹¹¹ Though no longer acting in closed formation, but in small groups, the lancers also successfully charged the Inniskillings.

¹¹² The Royals, in their turn, were carried away towards the western part of the intermediate ridge where they were halted by the musketry fire of units of the corps of Lobau. This fire, as well as exhaustion, caused the remnants of the brigade to retire.¹¹³ Despite the fact that they were not charged by French cavalry, the Royals suffered a lot and got scattered.¹¹⁴ Further to their right, also the King's Dragoon Guards and the 2nd Life Guards also got in touch with French lancers (see below).

Somerset's brigade.

Shortly after the *mêlée*, as the dragoons gained ground and as a large part of the French cuirassiers quickly fell back along the west side of the farm of La Haye Sainte, both the right squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards and the 1st regiment of Life Guards – both supported by the Blues – were tempted into pursuit.¹¹⁵

Soon after Somerset's men here had charged down the slope and were in pursuit, the four guns of Ross' battery came into action again, after having been temporarily evacuated due to the cuirassiers' presence.¹¹⁶

In their haste, the cuirassiers hurried back to the position where they had come from: in rear of Lobau's corps, which now stood on the intermediate ridge. As the British dragoons persisted in their pursuit, they were now drawn into the danger zone of the French second line.

As part of the cuirassiers crossed the chaussée immediately south of the orchard and fled for the safety of the infantry of Lobau posted there, others from there turned to their right into the chaussée which was cut here lined with high banks on both sides.¹¹⁷

As it pursued the cuirassiers further south, the one squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards now came under the fire of the infantry and artillery of Lobau in its flank. As they had perhaps proceeded another 300 meters further south from there, the dragoons realized they were in the very centre of the French position and turned. Having witnessed the British pursuit way beyond their line, Subervie – in position slightly further to the east – saw his chance and launched his lancers, while Travers did so with part of his cuirassiers to intercept the dragoons. In the process of the French interception and the resulting confrontation, one of the four troops of the King's Dragoon Guards was virtually annihilated, while others were able to cut their way through by a flank movement to their left.¹¹⁸

The 1st Life Guards did not fare much better, although it could have been worse. As many cuirassiers got to the rear through the defile formed by the Brussels road, part of the 1st Life Guards were tempted to press them further into the passage by entering into a mêlée and lingering in the French position, carmped with infantry and artillery. As a result, also these dragoons were fired at from above by units of Lobau, thereby inflicting high casualties.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile, the left wing of the Household brigade, now separated from the right by the farm of La Haye Sainte, pursued the scattered cuirassiers east of that farm. While the centre squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards had been delayed by the broken ground it had passed over, the left squadron advanced at a higher pace to the right of the 2nd Life Guards. Of that regiment, the left squadron mingled in their advance with the right flank of Ponsonby's brigade.¹²⁰ In this situation, the regiment was eventually faced with Lobau's units on the opposite ridge, as well as parties of the 3rd regiment of lancers which swept along this ridge while coming from the right French flank, after their confrontation with the Scots Greys. Yet, the resistance they met was not that fierce as the right squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards faced.¹²¹

As soon as his units had wheeled around the orchard of La Haye Sainte, lord Edward Somerset attempted to make his men refrain from further pursuit and to rally and halt. Eventually, all regiments of the Household brigade continued their pursuit too far, but for the King's Dragoon Guards the attempt clearly was too late. Having been instructed to rally and halt as many horsemen as possible, captain Elton (King's Dragoon Guards) states: "the greater part of the King's Dragoon Guards were broken and gone away without order into the enemy's lines. Attempt was too late as no one seemed to know what was become of the right squadron and other broken troops, and ground where they had so far advanced was covered with immense columns of the enemy. [...] Every other regiment of heavy cavalry engaged that day seem to have shown equal gallantry, with as little judgement."¹²²

Eventually, the 2nd Life Guards fell back due to their losses (mainly in horses) and their broken state; in its front it had no more forces to oppose, apart for some small bodies of lancers. The dragoons collected in small bodies and returned on a line to the left of the *chaussée*.¹²³ In this way, some stragglers fell back along with members of the Union brigade.¹²⁴

Of the three regiments of the Household brigade, the King's Dragoon Guards suffered the

most and therefore returned badly shaken. Its commander, colonel Fuller, fell during the charge.¹²⁵ Part of them, about a 120 men, retired along with the Royals as these headed back for the main position.¹²⁶

In its turn, the 1st Life Guards' strength had been reduced because of their penetrating as far as the intermediate ridge as well. The role of the Blues remains obscure; it might have mingled during the advance into the first line during the advance, but it is more logical to suppose that it was kept in support and had a role in covering the right wing of the brigade.¹²⁷

As the Household brigade was far in front, about 2.30 p.m., the brigade of Trip was pulled towards the Brussels road. Some time before, around 12.15 o'clock, it had been called to the front by Collaert. As a result, the brigade had taken up a position at 1 p.m. in rear of the brigade of Kielmansegge. Here, it got under the fire of the French grand battery and it was only after more than one hour that it pulled to its left rear, in a lower ground, for more cover.

Some time after, as Somerset had left for his charge, the brigade was summoned to the Brussels road as a precaution to reinforce the centre. Here, just south of the farm of Mont Saint Jean, Trip placed his 3rd regiment of carabiniers in column per divisions or half squadrons on the road, the 1st regiment to the right of the road in an oblique front, while the 2nd regiment came astride the road further to the rear.¹²⁸

Simultaneously with Trip or possibly some time later, the brigade of Van Merlen was launched by Collaert to a position to the immediately left of the Brussels road, between the farm of Mont Saint Jean and Kempt's brigade.

As both the 5th regiment of light dragoons and the 6th regiment of hussars had taken up their positions, Van Merlen sent out a patrol led by adjudant Van Doren to find out whether the fields in his rear would allow a decent retreat in case this would prove necessary. Van Doren did so and barely he had made his report to Van Merlen, when his superior was struck by a cannon-ball in the lower abdomen. At that moment Van Merlen was in the interval between both regiments on foot, holding the bridles of his horse. His entourage, of whom his adjudant Van Doren and his aide de camp captain De Bellefoid came to his rescue. He would have declined any help, realizing he would not live long and instructed his men to return to their posts.

While still conscious, he was put on a mantle of one of the officers and dragged to the rear by Van Doren, an adjudant and two of his aide de camps. Here, he was laid in a hut at the chaussée near the mill and barrier of Mont Saint Jean. It was there that surgeon Rodi de Loo (3rd carabiniers) – working at Mont saint Jean – was summoned to take care of him. He did so though both men realized the wound was mortal and not long after Van Merlen expired.

Meanwhile, lieutenant colonel Boreel, commander of the 6th regiment of hussars, as senior, took over the command of the brigade. Boreel was now ordered by general Collaert to remain in the position where he was. By now it was probably somewhere between 1 and 2 p.m.¹²⁹

As the French attacked, between 2 and 3 p.m., the 3rd regiment of hussars KGL of the brigade Von Arentschildt took a position further to the front, in rear of the brigade of Kielmansegge, to replace Trip.¹³⁰

The regiment of Cumberland hussars also suddenly changed its position shortly before the actual charge of Dubois, probably around 2 p.m. The hussars moved from their position near the Nivelles-road to one west of the Brussels-road, directly southwest of the orchard of the farm of

Mont Saint Jean. Here the regiment came in line, its left flank leaning upon the Brussels road, about 100 metres in rear of the Household brigade and most probably in front of Trip's regiments. ¹³¹

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1. Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508
Captain Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: Rough sketches etc. p.387
Lieutenant colonel Barnard (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265
Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30 and in:
Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.334
Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.48

2. Captain Duthilt. In: Les mémoires etc. p.302-303
Lieutenant colonel Barnard (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265
Captain Caldwell (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.217-222
Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.48

3. Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.222-223
Colonel Barnard (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265
Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30, and in:
Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, p.334
Captain Dansey (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.nr.34.706 p.468-470
Kincaid points to the fact that some of the men had a personal fight with the French before they pulled back. Kincaid himself came to the extreme right of the battalion, close at the Brussels road.

4. Lieutenant Riach (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.107-110
Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment). In: With the thirty second etc. p.272 In his mind, these men fell back too soon.

5. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30
Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.222-223, 405-407
Private Cruikshank (1st battalion, 95th regiment).In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138

Major Calvert (32nd regiment) states that the British riflemen fell back through the intervals the 32nd made for them and that many of them halted and joined their ranks. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.395-397

According to Caldwell and Cooper the three reserve companies of the battalion (in position in rear of the road to Ohain) initially had been ordered to retreat as well, but this error was soon resolved and the other two companies now reformed behind them. They were led by captain Lee, due to the fact that colonel Barnard and Cameron had been wounded. Cf. Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.48-49

6. Captain Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.227-234
According to Rogers, one gun was spiked during the attack of the 1st corps.

⁷ Cf. lieutenant Riach (79th regiment) for the brigade of Kempt. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707

p.107-110

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

8. Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135

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

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

Captain Gore (adjutant of Kempt). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.426-431

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

9. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Adventures etc. p.334

Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106

Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135

Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106

Kempt himself says: "[..] just as the French infantry were gaining the road etc. I met it with the charge [..]" In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.305-306

10. Captain Gore (adjutant of Kempt). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.426-431

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

The troops of the 95th regiment would have formed a line of four files deep. Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.48

Also see an anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment, in: United Service Journal II 1841 p.178

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

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

12. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.29-30

Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.222-223, 405-407

Private Cruikshank (1st battalion, 95th regiment).In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138

According to Caldwell and Cooper the three reserve companies of the battalion (in position in rear of the road to Ohain) initially had been ordered to retreat as well, but this error was soon resolved and the other two companies now reformed behind them. They were led by captain Lee, due to the fact that colonel Barnard and Cameron had been wounded. Cf. Cf.Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.48-49

¹³ Cf. Major Calvert (32nd regiment). He states that the British riflemen in falling back through the intervals the 32nd made for them and that many of them halted and joined their ranks. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.395-397

14. Sir H.Seymour. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.471-480, 489-491

Captain Gore (adjutant of Kempt) gives two different versions: in the first that he fell the

moment he attempted to assemble Van Bijlandt's brigade and in the second he confirms Seymour's version that Picton was killed before the brigade of Kempt advanced. Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.426-431 and in another account, in a private collection.

The fact that Picton was killed before he launched the brigade of Kempt is confirmed by captain Kincaid (95th regiment). In: Adventures etc. p.335

According to captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment) Picton got killed after the French had been driven back, i.e, the moment he rode to the front near the skirmishers of Leach' battalion to watch the retreating French. In: Rough sketches etc. p.388

The bullet would have entered the temple and bent down towards the articulation of the lower jaw. Cf. H.B.Robinson - Memoirs of lieutenant general sir Thomas Picton etc. p.384

Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment) claims Picton was hit in the right temple. In: With the thirty second etc. p.272

Sir Horace Seymour states Picton was hit in the fore-head. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.471-480

15. Captain Rogers (battery Rogers) states it was near his unit that Picton fell. In: BL, Add.ms.34. 706 p.227-234

Captain Gore reports as that Picton would have fallen between the trees near the hedge immediately in rear of the sand-pit. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.426-431

Sir Horace Seymour also situates the spot above the sand-pit, near the hedge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.489-491 and 517-519

Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment) adds that Picton fell in the immediate vicinity of the skirmishers of his battalion. In: Rough sketches etc. p.388.

Back in 1980, the Belgian "Waterloo Committee" erected a monument to Picton. It stands at the southern side of the Ohain-road (now rue de la Croix) about 50 metres east of the Belgian monument and its inscription reads: " To the gallant memory of Lt.general Sir Thomas Picton commander of the 5th division on the left wing of the army at the battle of Waterloo. Born 1758. Died near this spot in the early afternoon of the 18th June 1815 leading his men against Count d'Erlon "

Raffles, an Englishman who visited the field in the summer of 1817 states that he fell at about 40 to 50 yards to the left of the road (he was guided by Decoster). In: Letters during a tour through some parts of France etc. p.327

16. Major general Kempt in his report dated 19th of June 1815 to Wellington. In: WSD, Vol.X p.535-537

Captain Gore. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.707 p.426-431 and in a manuscript account in a private collection.

Lieutenant general Alten in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: VPH, nr.20

17. Cf. Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment). In: With the thirty second etc. p.272

Captain Tyler, Picton's first aide de camp, was sent home with the body. Cf. report of major general Kempt dated 19th of June 1815 to Wellington. In: WSD, Vol.X p.537.

Picton's body was shipped overseas from Ostend on the 22nd of June and arrived in Deal (England) three days later. From there, it was escorted to London by a battalion of the 52nd regiment. On the 3rd of July, his body was interred in the family grave in St. George's cemetery. In 1859, Picton's remains were placed in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Cf. Dalton, Ch. The Waterloo roll call p.14-15

Robinson, H.B. – Memoirs of lieutenant general etc. p.386, 389, 392

After Picton had got killed, it became clear that he had got wounded at Quatre Bras, something which he would have concealed. The nature of this wound is not very clear. Robinson describes it as two or three ribs being broken as well as some other internal injuries, produced by a musketball. In: Memoirs of lieutenant general etc. p.386

Siborne, however, describes it as: "the skin, on one side, just above the hip, was raised into a very large bladder, and distended with a mass of conglobated blood, unaccompanied by any abrasion. It has evidently been occasioned by the action of a round shot, causing extensive contusion, and its very dark colour showed that the wound occurred previously to the 18th of June." His source for this statement remains unknown. In: History of the war etc. Vol.II p.14

18. Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106

Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135

Captain Duthilt. In: Les mémoires etc. p.302

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.39-41

Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Rough sketches etc. p.388 and in BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.222-223

Private O'Neil (28th regiment). In: The military adventures etc. p.233, 246

O'Neil's confirms the volley, but other than that his account does not deal with the 28th only, but generalizes the attack onto the 5th division as a whole. During the attack, O'Neil got wounded in the left arm and thigh.

19. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms. 34.707 p.39-41

Ross-Lewin, H. With the thirty second etc. p.272

Simmons, G. A British rifle man etc. p.365

Private Cruikshank, however, states there was not any unusual degree of disorder in reforming after having crossed the Ohain-road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138

²⁰ Sergeant Dewar (79th regiment). Cf. his letter dated 5th August 1815. In: NWMS, nr.1960.2

²¹ Lieutenant Belcher (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.53-54

²² Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135

23. Major general Kempt. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.305-306 and his report of the 19th of June to Wellington. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.535-537

Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135
Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106
Lieutenant Belcher (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.53-54
Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.222-223 and in: Rough sketches etc. p.388
Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.105-109
Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.39-41 and in: Adventures etc. p.336
Private Cruikshank (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.137-138
Captain H.Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment). In: With the thirty seond etc. p.272
Captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH, nr.66
Colonel Shaw Kennedy (chief of staff of the 3rd division). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.350-352

In the action, somehow, the colour of the 32nd would almost have fallen into enemy's hands.
Cf. lieutenant Belcher (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.53-54
Major Calvert (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.407-408, 449-450

Simond claims there was a short hand-to-hand fight until the British cavalry intervened. Cf. Simond, E. - Le 28me de ligne etc. p.247
Canler (member of the 28th regiment of the line, brigade Bourgeois), however, does not mention a charge of enemy infantry. In: Mémoires de Canler p.27

²⁴ Captain Von Wynecken (1st battalion light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.224-225
Captain Von Gilsa (1st battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.227-229
Adjutant Heise (1st battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.229-232, 241-243, 249-250, 294-297 (In the advance, Heise got wounded).
Lieutenant Buhse (1st battalion of light infantry). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.264-267
General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.34.705 p.289-302
General Hanoverian report. In: VPH, nr.19
Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.259-260, 265-268, 357-359 and 363-365
Lieutenant Leonhart (1st battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.226-227, 239-240 and 247-248

Both Leonhart and Heise erroneously claim that it was Wellington who gave the order to advance.

This version of the events of the 1st battalion of light infantry KGL is contested by captain Leach and lieutenant Kincaid of the 1st battalion 95th regiment and major Calvert of the 32nd. The 95th had its positions in and above the sandpit, as well as along the Ohain-road in its rear. Their main reason for reasoning this way are that they never saw such infantry cross the

Brussels road towards their own position and to be involved there in some kind of action. And if they would have fired upon the French column they could possibly have done so from the other side of the road.

The German sources, on the other hand, are quite clear on this subject and cannot be mixed up with other events later during the day. Captain Von Gilsa (5th company) gives some explanation but the plan he refers to is missing. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.227-229

The only explanation for the absence in the British view is that the Hanoverians emerged from the hollow road right at the time that the British riflemen were already further to the front in pursuit. The Riflemen returned in their former positions after the attack, and by then the 1st battalion of light infantry KGL had already returned to its starting point, the hollow road to the west of the Brussels road.

Cf. Captain Leach. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.197-200, 205-206, 210-212, 236-238 and 243-244

Cf. Lieutenant Kincaid. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.39-41, 201-202, 212-214, 218-221, 234-236
Cf. Major Calvert (32nd). In: BL, Add.ms.707 p.395-397

²⁵. Captain Elton in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36

The time-schedule can be derived from the fact that Union brigade had the same and both brigades advanced towards the ridge simultaneously. Cf. Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123

The fact that the men suffered from the French gunfire is confirmed by captain Naylor in his diary (King's Dragoon Guards). In: Mann, M. And they rode on p.32

Sergeant major Page (King's Dragoon Guards) In: 1st The Queen's Dragoon Guards Heritage Trust

26. Cf. Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192, 707 p.152-156

27. Lord E.Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.316-320 and 707 p.259-260

Waymouth adds that captain Naylor was in charge of the centre squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards, and that this was the centre of the line of the brigade as this regiment comprised three squadrons, while both Life Guards regiments each counted two.

Waymouth was in charge of the left half squadron of the 2nd Life Guards. He adds that at least his regiment, after getting into line, had to lie down (while the men held the bridles in their hands) because of severe French gunfire. Shortly after, the men mounted and immediately advanced to cross the chaussée. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.265-268, 281-284

Lieutenant Marten (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.5-6 Marten was in rear of the right flank of the left squadron.

Captain Randall (1st regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.20-21

Some, however, deny that the Blues rode in second line, but in the front line as well. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Robert Hill (Royal Horse Guards, WL p.56
Lieutenant colonel Clement Hill. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.269-270
Lieutenant colonel Lygon (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.265-268

Captain Elton (1st King's Dragoon Guards) indicates that the men already had drawn their swords without having been ordered to do so. Cf. his letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th of July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6310-36
Elton was in the centre squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards.

²⁸ Cf. order of battle.

29. Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd regiment Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.259-260

30. Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.548-551

³¹ Captain Elton in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36

In this charge, lord Somerset lost his cocked hat and went to the charge bare-headed. On his return, he donned a Life Guards's helmet and wore it during the battle.

Cf. Lord F.Somerset. In a letter of lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.369-371

Dalton, Ch. The Waterloo roll call p.21

Lord Greenock, aide de camp of Uxbridge, was riding with lord Somerset. In: BL, Addms.34.707 p.412-414

32. Lord E.Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140

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

Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.548-551, 34.706 p.195-192

Lord Uxbridge adds that, as the dragoons passed them, the squares had not yet been fully formed and that very few cuirassiers had gone beyond them. BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.540-543, 548-551

Uxbridge says that Somerset closed in with cuirassiers immediately after they had passed through the British infantry which was then chiefly in line, but getting into squares and making intervals to pass. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.548-551, 34.706 p.185-192

33. Captain Ross (battery Ross). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.p255-259

Captain Elton (1st King's Dragoon Guards). Cf. his letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th of July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6310-36

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.316-320

34. Lord Greenock, aide de camp of lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.412-414
He clearly indicates that, apart from the mass of cuirassiers, there were many cuirassiers riding individually and that they even mixed with the dragoons, endeavouring to make their escape before the British horsemen reached the hollow road.

Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.540-543, 546-548, 548-551

William Siborne. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.540-543

Lord E.Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140

35. Captain Elton (1st King's Dragoon Guards) confirms that his (centre) squadron and the one on the right wheeled to the right. Cf. his letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th of July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6310-36

36. Some cuirassiers got away between guns nr.1 and 2 of Ross's troop, but were taken prisoner by the Life Guards. Cf. lieutenant Warde of Ross troop. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.361-363

37. Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.259-260

Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.181-182

Captain Ross (Battery Ross). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.255-259

Octave Levassieur adds that the rearmost ranks of the cuirassiers already went about even before a confrontation with the British dragoons had taken place and that these horsemen also used the Brussels road to do so. In: Levassieur, O. - Souvenirs militaires p.299-300

38. Lieutenant Kincaid (95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.234-236

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.266-270

Major Naylor (King's Dragoon Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.266-270

Captain Elton in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36

³⁹ Captain Elton in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36

40. Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.179-181, 263-265, 286-288
Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.266-270, 299-301, 34.707 p.263-265, 34.703 p.244-247

Waymouth confirms that his regiment, plus part of the King's Dragoon Guards, passed along the left side of La Haye Sainte and the other part of the same regiment, the 1st Life Guards and the Blues to its right. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.269-270

Lieutenant colonel Lygon (2nd Life Guards), cited by lieutenant Waymouth. In: BL,

Add.ms.34.707 p.265-268

Sir H.Seymour. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.517-519

Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.546-548

Lord FitzRoy Somerset confirms a charge of the brigade on both sides of the farm of La Haye Sainte. Cf. his account. In: NAM, Book of manuscript copies of Waterloo letters. Nr.6507-1
Cf. Sketch William Siborne. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.284-286

Lieutenant Waymouth describes how he forced his horse to descend down on the Brussels road through a steep bank; most fellow horsemen choose more other, less difficult, access points. Waymouth then followed the road up to the farm of La Haye Sainte, where he left it by climbing the bank of the road immediately north of the sand-pit. Later, he was taken prisoner by cuirassiers in the fields east of the farm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.299-301

41. Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.259-260

Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.179-182

Lieutenant colonel Lygon (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.265-268

Lord E.Somerset in a letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: Bodleian library MS Eng.hist.d. ff.49-60

It was in these actions that corporal Shaw – in the centre of the left squadron of the 2nd Life Guards - distinguished himself. In the vicinity of the farm of La Haye Sainte he not only knocked down nine cuirassiers, he some time later also rescued captain Kelly of the 1st Life Guards as this officer, with some fellow horsemen, had been cut off from the position by French cavalry. Later in the day, Shaw was cut down by cuirassiers near the farm of La Haye Sainte; wounded, he crept towards La Haye Sainte where he died from the loss of blood.

Cf. Bruce-Low, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.169-178

Summerville, Chr.J. – Who was who at Waterloo: a biography of the battle p.357-358

42. Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.263-265

Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.5-6

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

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

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.457

Captain Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.458-459

⁴³ Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.179-181, 286-288, 34.704 p.5-6

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

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

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.39-41 Kincaid speaks of about 100 cuirassiers, and about the same number of Life Guards.

44. Captain Ross. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.255-259

In another account Ross says that at that time three guns were disabled by enemy gunfire. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.201-204

45. The cuirassiers, about a hundred, coming up on the right of the 1st battalion 95th regiment came up so sudden that it seemed for a moment that they were charging the Riflemen, until it became clear that they, pursued by the Life Guards, fell back over the Brussels road and over the fields east of this road, where they ran over their own infantry of which some threw themselves upon the ground for protection. Cf. Lieutenant Kincaid. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.39-41 and in: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.336

46. Cf. Account of adjudant Fleuret (55th regiment of line infantry). He was himself a member of the voltigeurs who were in advance of the regiment's column and as such involved in pushing back the British Riflemen in and around the sand-pit. As the British cavalry approached, they threw themselves upon the ground and went back after they had passed over them. In: Description etc. p.149-151

The fact that the French columns around La Haye Sainte were also driven back by the cavalry is confirmed by major Baring of the 2nd battalion of light infantry KGL. In: VPH, nr.30

It was during the actions near the farm of La Haye Sainte that lieutenant Tathwell of the Royal Horse Guards was able to seize a French eagle. Shortly after, however, his horse got killed and he was taken prisoner as a result. He was able to escape two days later. Cf.

Kelly, Chr. - A full and circumstantial account of the memorable battle of Waterloo p.94
Dalton, Ch. – The Waterloo roll call p.51

⁴⁷ The fact that a strong column of French infantry was heading for the interval which was to the left of Kempt's brigade and that it advanced to the immediate right of the one which approached Kempt's brigade [Bourgeois] is confirmed by captain Gore (adc of major general Kempt) and ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.426-431 and 104-106

48. Captain Van Bronkhorst (7th battalion of national militia and member of the company in the first line) indicates the difficulty his company had of maintaining its position under the strong French skirmishing fire. Cf. his letter dated 9th July 1815. In: Ons leger (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

49. Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8 (he mentions 30 metres).

1st lieutenant Scheltens. In: Souvenirs etc. p.201

Lieutenant colonel De Jongh (8th battalion of national militia). In: Nagelaten papieren etc. 1866

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion of chasseurs). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels,

0302, inv.nr.265

Adjutant Gastinieu of the 13th regiment light infantry (division of Donzelot) confirms the fact that troops in front of the column gave a volley (he mentions a “feu terrible”), but believes they were British troops- according to the fact that he claims they were in the Ohain-road, it can be derived that they were in fact those of Van Bylandt. In: Coppens, B. & Courcelle, P. - La Haie Sainte p.75

From their positions, it can be assumed that the 8th battalion of national militia, the 7th battalion of the line and the 27th battalion chasseurs were the nearest to the columns involved, those of Donzelot and Marcognet.

⁵⁰ Cf. separate note. Because of their respective positions, most probably the 8th and 7th battalions of national militia fell back along and through the 42nd and 1st British battalions, while the 27th chasseurs did so along and through the left wing of the 28th. The 7th battalion of the line had no infantry in its rear; only cavalry.

⁵¹ Major general Kempt. In his report dated 19th June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.535
Colonel Clifton to colonel Hervey. In his report dated 23rd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.568
Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.76-78, 91-94
Journal of Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25
Captain Gore (adc of Kempt). Cf. his account in a private collection.

52. Captain Van Bronkhorst (7th battalion of national militia) Cf. his letter dated 9th July 1815. In: *Ons leger* (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion of chasseurs). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

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

Adjutant Gastinieu (see above) claims the French of Donzelot here crossed the road and bumped into the second British line of infantry which fired, after which the French fell back for some distance, advanced again, so that a *mêlée* followed after which the British cavalry intervened. This is incorrect. In: Coppens, B. & Courcelle, P. La Haie Sainte p.75

53. Cf. Gomm, W.M. - Letters and journals etc. footnote p.352

Captain Von Rettberg (battery Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-234

⁵⁴ Cf. Captain Von Rettberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-234

Major Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

⁵⁵ Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment). In: *The journal of sergeant Robertson* p.154

Ensign Mudie (1st Royals) in his journal. In: *The Royal Scots Museum, Edinburg castle.*

56. Major Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.259, 335-338

Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

Lieutenant Martin (45th regiment of the line) In: Souvenirs d'un ex-officier p.288
Cf. his letter dated 1st of August 1815 to his mother. In: Carnets de la Sabretache, Vol.3 (1895) pp.483

Yet, neither lieutenant Hope, nor sergeant Robertson mention any volley, but it is hard to presume that the battalion did not fire at such a close range.

In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.18-21 and Letters from Portugal etc. p.254

In: The journal of sergeant Robertson p.154

Just before the 92nd would have advanced, major general Pack would have shouted: "Everything has given way on your right and left and you must charge this column". Cf. Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.212-214

According to lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) Pack's words would have been: "92th, you must charge! All the troops in your front have given way." In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.18-21

As there were no forces which had given way to their left, the words as cited by Hope are more probable as those cited by Winchester.

According to cornet Crawford (Scots Greys) the distance between his regiment and the column was not more than 60 paces (about 35 metres). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.72-74

57. Lieutenant Martin (45th regiment of the line) In: Souvenirs d'un ex-officier p.288

Cf. his letter dated 1st of August 1815 to his mother. In: Carnets de la Sabretache, Vol.3 (1895) pp.483

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.18-21

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

Captain Von Rettberg (battery Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-234

⁵⁸ Cf. reports of major general Best and Von Vincke. In: VPH, nrs.22, 24, 25 and 26.

Major Best. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.278-282

⁵⁹ Cf. Major Evans (aide de camp of Ponsobny). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123, 708 p.10-12, 13-16

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royal Dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94

Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). In his journal. In: NWMS, nr. A.213.2.07

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

Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.70-72, 72-74

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

Sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys) mentions an advance in open column of half squadrons, right in front. In: Atkinson, C.T. – A Waterloo journal p.37

60. Cf. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-90, 91-94, 98-10 and 34.708 p.13-16

Lieutenant colonel Miller (Inniskillings). In a letter dated 11th June 1839 to sir Joseph Straton. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Warwickshire County Record Office, CR 1374/1/1

Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192 He speaks about a charge in line and doesn't specify a certain role of the Greys.

Kennedy Clark stresses the swift sequence of the formation in line, the advance and the moment of the charge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.76-78

Sir Ch.Gore (aide de camp of Kempt) states he rode to Ponsonby to inform him that a French column [the division of Donzelot] was advancing to the left of Kempts brigade. Cf. His account in a private collection.

61. Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.124-126

At Ponsonby's side was also one of his aides, lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). Cf. his letter to general Sir J.Stewart, dated 23rd June 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.74

⁶² Cf. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94

Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.72-74

63. Those present on the crest of the ridge were also for a moment, lieutenant colonel Muter and major Miller, both of the Inniskillings. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62 and 67-69

64. According to major Evans there were 850 men. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-126

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals) mentions 950 to 1000 men. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.707 p.76-78, 148-150

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

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

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

Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). In a letter to general Sir J.Stewart, dated 23rd June 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.75

Major Clarke (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.72-74

Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.70-72

An unknown member of the Inniskillings Dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.17-19

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-90, 91-94

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.142

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.95-98

According to captain Phipps (Royals) the Scots Greys supported. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.141-142

⁶⁶ Lieutenant colonel Miller (Inniskillings). He states that he, being in front of the left of the front line of the regiment, heard no word of comand and only did what he saw done on his right until he got in sight of the enemy, and therefore was rather behind the rest of the line when he advanced. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.79-81

This situation may have been the reason that his squadron, as the sole one of the Inniskillings, fell upon Marcognet's column.

⁶⁷ Cf. his letter dated 4th of July 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon archives nr. 413/382

Radclyffe got wounded immediately after having advanced for the charge. Cf. his letter dated 7th of July 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon archives nr. 413/382

68. Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34707 p.119-123

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94, 34.708 p.1-4

Lieutenant colonel J.Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62, 74-76, 79-81

Rem, J. (7th battalion of national militia). In: Aanteekeningen van een veteraan etc.

He believes that the right squadron of the Royals had to deal with the first column of the French and not the second. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-90

For the commanders of the squadrons of the Inniskillings, cf. lieutenant colonel Miller. In: BL, Add.m.34.707 p.67-69

⁶⁹ Cf. Major Evans. In: NLS, adv.46.9.19

The claim of 1st lieutenant Scheltens (7th battalion of the line) that it did deploy is incorrect. In: Souvenirs etc. p.200

70. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 151-154, 34.707 p.76-78, 91-94, 98-100, 148-150, 165-167

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

Major Llewellyn (28th regiment). Cited by captain Kennedy Clark. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-90

Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.135-136

Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.142-145

Both captain Kennedy Clark and major Evans mention the irregular fire of small groups of British infantry firing from very close range at the corners and flanks of the French column. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.391-394 and 707 p.148-150

71. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-94

Lt.Gunning (Royals). Gunning was leading the left half of the centre squadron of the Royals.

He erroneously speaks of a square of French infantry. Cf. his account in www.spink.com

Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.74-76

72. Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals) mentions the 32nd regiment, but this unit was further to the right. Here, he based himself upon the statement of captain Phipps (Royals), who claimed that captain Hames of the 32nd regiment had found the watch of captain Windsor of the Royals. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.148-150

Major Evans (in position in front of the centre of the Royals) mentions one or two battalions of infantry (at about 50 metres in rear of the hedge) which had gone over from line into open columns of companies, left in front. These were probably companies of the 28th regiment. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.391-394

73. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94, 98-100, 148-150
He mentions 20 men.

Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106 He mentions the fire from a small portion of the column.

Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). Cf. his letter to general Sir J.Stewart, dated 23rd June 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal, 1926 Vol.16 p.75

Major Evans, however, says that the column gave very little fire and that it was weak, confused and discouraged. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123, 391-393

74. General Schmitz (division Donzelot) claims his brigade a formed square “par le moyen de remplir l’intervalle des bataillons par des pelotons de ailes.” This had to do with the fact that the brigade would have initially been formed “en colonnes par bataillon en échelon.” In this way it repelled the British cavalry. This is incorrect. Cf. his report dated 25th of June 1815. In: Brouwet, E. -Mémoires et documents sur la campagne de 1815. In: Revue des études Napoleoniennes. (1932) p.360-365

75. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-90, 91-94, 165-167
Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123, 391-393

76. Captain Duthilt. In: In: Les mémoires etc. p.302

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.238-239

Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.5-6

77. Canler, L. - Mémoires de Canler p.27

Adjudant. D.Fleuret, F. Description des passages de Dominique Fleuret p.150

⁷⁸ Lieutenant colonel Miller (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.79-81

Lieutenant colonel Miller (Inniskillings). In a letter dated 11th June 1839 to sir Joseph Straton. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Warwickshire County Record Office, CR 1374/1/1

79. Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.19-22 and account in: NAM, nr.8106-15

Both Wyndham and lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner) speak of Highlanders retreating. For Ingilby, cf. 34.703 p.266-271 Ingilby even speaks of Highlanders being in confusion.

Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment).In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.212-214 and 34.703 p.335-

338

Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

Lieutenant J.Hope (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.18-21 and in: Letters from Portugal etc. p.254

Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.70-72

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.142

Sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys), his journal. In: Atkinson, C.T. - A Waterloo journal. JSAHR.Vol.38. p.37 He confirms the battalions of Pack's brigade were in open column the moment the Scots Greys charged and the men of the 92nd followed them in their charge.

An anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment, in: United Service Journal II 1841 p.178

Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment) states that his comrades called "Old Scotland forever" just *before* the cavalry was about to charge. In: The journal of sergeant Robertson p.154

Because of the low speed of the horsemen, it is possible that some Highlanders – in their enthusiasm - grasped the stirrups of those horsemen who passed where this could easily be done. Trained horses, in practices of guidance of their training procedure, normally allow this. The phenomenon has acquired mythical proportions, also because it has been described in a high-speed action and it is just in this that it is simply impossible. This of course apart from the fact that the advance of the Scots Greys took place at a low speed.

Cf. Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.142

80. Major Miller (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.79-81

Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.74-76

Major Clarke (Scots Greys) in a letter to Sir J.Stewart, dated 11th July 1815. In: NWMS, no reference

Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.70-72

⁸¹ Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.70-72

Sergeant Clarke (Scots Greys). Cf. his journal. In: NLS, MS 15379 p.10

Lieutenant colonel Miller (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.707 p.79-81

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

Lt.Hamilton (Scots Greys). In his journal and in a letter dated 24th of June 1815 to captain Lawson In: NWMS, nr.A.213.2.07

Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment) states that the front ranks of the French fired upon the 92nd before the cavalry came in, but this is unlogical in the sense that the French gave their fire against the Scots Greys very shortly after. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

⁸² Lt.Hamilton (Scots Greys). In his journal. In: NWMS, nr.A.213.2.07

Lieutenant Martin mentions the ruthlessness of the British dragoons, also by cutting down the musicians of the division, who were mere boys. Cf. letter to his mother dated 1st August

1815.In: Carnets de la Sabretache, Vol.3 (1895) pp.493

Martin threw himself on the ground so as to escape the sabres of the British dragoons; he eventually managed, though slightly wounded, to reach the French lines. In: Souvenirs d'un ex officier p.289-291

In the confrontation with the French infantry, lieutenant colonel Miller (commander of the left squadron of the Inniskillings) was bayoneted twice slightly. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.67-69

He also thinks the column changed to square. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.79-81

83. Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys).In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.21-22, 23-27

Cornet Crawford (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.72-74

⁸⁴ Cf. separate note.

The fact that the eagle was taken from the 45th regiment of the line is confirmed from the French side by lieutenant Martin of this regiment. In: Souvenirs d'un ex officier p.289

85. Report of major Best. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI nr.152 p.82-88

Report of colonel Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI nr.151 p.89-93 and nr.152 p.90-103

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

Account of Durutte. In: La sentinelle de l'armée p.78

86. With this reinforcement, the grenadier and the 9th company kept their position on the height behind the farm.

Cf. Report of major Von Rettberg. In: VPH, nr.77

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

Colonel Von Kruse. In: VPH, nr.73

Schmidtborn - Antheil etc. p.27

Von Kruse claims Von Rettberg retook the farm of Papelotte, but in fact he had never lost it.

In their report, Von Rettberg, lieutenant Wittich and major Sattler are mentioning that five companies were struggling at the village of La Haye. First of all, they were not in a village of this name, but in the complex of both La Haye and Papelotte and their enclosures. In the second place these five were the number at this point of time; before it was lower and later it was higher. In: VPH, nr.86

⁸⁷ Captain Wirths (2nd Nassau battalion). In: Aus der Schlacht bei Waterloo p.144

88. Report of colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.01 nr.8

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion chasseurs). He mentions a fanion of the 125th regiment of the line, which should probably be the 105th regiment of the line. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Scheltens speaks of "all fanions" of the 105th regiment of the line. In: Souvenirs etc. p.201

Yet, this regiment carried only one fanion, as it contained only two battalions, of which the

senior, the 1st, carried the eagle.

It was in this stage that Van Bijlandt himself got wounded by a bayonet in the thigh. He also asserts that he was ordered by the prince of Orange to move forward, but there is no further evidence that the prince himself was present here at that time. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

89. Major Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.224-226
Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

⁹⁰ Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

91. Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135
Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment) adds that his regiment kept its forward position as long as the dragoons had not returned and the prisoners had not been brought in. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.135-136

92. Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106, 135-136
Mounsteven stresses the fact that the splitting of the regiment was *not* caused by the appearance of the column of Donzelot, as this column could initially not be detected due to the thick smoke and the confusion.

⁹³ Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135
Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106

94. Major general Kempt. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.305-306
Ensign Mounsteven (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.104-106
Captain Caddell (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.217-222
Private A.Cruikshank (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.138-139
Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.76-78

95. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.87-90, 91-94, 98-100, 165-167
The left wing of the 28th assisted in securing a large number of prisoners. Cf. Lieutenant Shelton (28th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.131-135
Captain Scheltens (7th battalion of the line). In: Souvenirs d'un vieux soldat Belge etc. p.
Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion chasseurs). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265
Lieutenant Martin (45th regiment of the line) in a letter to his mother dated 1st August 1815
In: Carnets de la Sabretache Vol.3 (1895) p.493
Private Boulter (Scots Greys) speaks of 1800 prisoners. Cf. his letter dated 23rd September 1815. In: NAM, nr.9501-118

The prisoners were led off the field and accompanied towards Brussels by a squadron of the Inniskillings and some small units of Van Bijlandt's brigade. They arrived at the capital towards 6 p.m. and were initially quartered at the Petit Château, near the Porte du Rivage.

Cf. Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62

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

Basil Jackson. In: Notes and reminiscences etc. p.82-823

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th battalion of chasseurs). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Aantekeningen over 1815 uit de nagelaten papieren van kolonel De Jongh. In: Nieuwe Militaire Spectator (1866)

2nd lieutenant Pronk. In: Pronkstukken etc. p.18

Lieutenant Linton (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.239-240

Aerts, W. & Fleischman, Th. – Bruxelles pendant la bataille de Waterloo p.159

⁹⁶ Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.23-27, 207-210

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.144

According to the lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment) the French column would have formed squares as the dragoons approached. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

⁹⁷ Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123

Lt. Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.207-210

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Lowe, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.144

The fact that it was a detachment of Scots Greys which charged the guns is confirmed by sergeant Clarke. Cf. Journal of sergeant Clarke (Scots Greys). In: NLS, MS 15379 p.11

⁹⁸ The advance of the 6th corps to the position referred to is confirmed by accounts from both French and British participants.

Sergeant-major Marq (107th regiment, brigade Tromelin) states that the 6th corps advanced at 3 p.m. (which is incorrect) to a position in the middle of the battlefield, where it took up regimental squares. As British dragoons fell upon them the same moment they were also involved in an action against cuirassiers. In: Description etc. p.48

From this description, these dragoons cannot be other dragoons as those of either Somerset or Ponsonby.

Janin, *sous-chef d'état-major* of Lobau's corps, claims the corps advanced "pour soutenir l'attaque du centre" and that it took up a position "sur la crête du ravin que sépare les deux armées." [this is the intermediate ridge]. Some time later, after a reconnaissance carried out by general Durrieu and later by Lobau and Janin himself, "la destination du 6^e corps se trouva changée par cet incident; il ne s'agissait plus de continuer l'attaque contre les Anglais, mais bien de repousser celle des Prussiens." In: Campagne de Waterloo p.35

Durutte confirms that Lobau placed himself in rear of his own division the moment the 1st corps was facing defeat, and clearly situates this some time before the Prussians emerged on his right. In: Mouvements etc. p.78

Colonel Combes-Brassard writes that the corps “marcha pour soutenir l’attaque de la droite” and that at 3.30 p.m. (it was one hour earlier) it “achevait de se déployer en réserve sur *toute* la droite de l’armée.” This means that it took up a position with wide intervals the moment d’Erlon was involved in its actual attack (the italics are mine). In: Souvenirs et correspondance etc. p.19-20

Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment) confirms the presence of the 6th corps in rear of his own during the attack of the 1st corps. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo etc. p.376

Though general Tromelin correctly takes a position to the *west* of the Brussels road as a starting point for the movements of the 6th corps, he states that it moved from there at 3 p.m. at 200 metres south of La Belle Alliance, in rear of Milhaud and leaving Plancenoit to its right, to a position – as he describes it - on a height between the streams of Smohain and the Lasne which was at a little more as one kilometre from the north-east side of Plancenoit. This is a position between the small woods near Fichermont and the farm of Hanotelet, at about 1500 metres from the centre of Plancenoit.

This would suggest that the corps moved straight from its position in the centre of the army to the extreme right flank, which is in contradiction to the other testimonies.

In: Lachouque, H. – Sous la République etc. p.227

From the British side, the presence of French infantry immediately in rear of the advanced guns is confirmed by:

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

Major Clarke (Scots Greys) who mentions the presence of a (third) line of French infantry beyond the cavalry upon which the dragoons could not make any impression due to their broken and crippled state. Cf. his letter to sir J.S.Denham, dated 11th July 1815. In: NWMS, no reference.

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals) writes about the fire of fresh troops stationed on the opposite height. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94, 165-167 and 34.708 p.1-4

Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner) confirms the presence of French squares or columns north of La Belle Alliance. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271 plan nr.2

Adjudant Fleuret (55th regiment of line infantry, Quiot’s brigade) also confirms the presence of squares in rear of his brigade, and which received British cavalry. In: Description etc. p.151

Captain De Brack (lancers of the Imperial Guard) states that both the light and heavy cavalry of the Imperial Guard had – by the time the first attack started - received the order to advance towards La Haye Sainte and that in their new position they were separated from the enemy by “par un léger relèvement de terrain, une pente douce et une petite plaine assez rapprochée.”

The lancers were on the far right, with to their left the chasseurs à cheval and still further to their left the dragoons and grenadiers à cheval. To the right of the light cavalry was a large body of cuirassiers [Milhaud]. Some time later, as the grand cavalry charges were about to start, the units crossed the Brussels road diagonally.

From the combination of the description of the advance, the ridge alluded to, the presence of Milhaud and the crossing of the road (he refers to it as the Nivelles road), it is evident that the second position of the light cavalry of the imperial guard was with the corps of Milhaud on / in rear of the intermediate ridge. In: La cavalerie de la garde à Waterloo.” In: Carnet de la Sabretache. (1901) p.361-362

99. Cf. De Salle. In: Souvenirs et correspondance etc. p.54

100. Cf. General De Salle. In: Souvenirs et correspondance etc. p.54

Though by far the large majority of the sources indicate that the guns were *not* abandoned before they were overrun, the number of guns - as well as the circumstances in which this confrontation took place - have been depicted in different ways.

According to Gourgaud, 15 guns which had advanced were overrun in a hollow road. In: Campagne de dix-huit cent quinze p.78

According to Napoleon, the number of guns was lower: seven. In: Mémoires pour servir etc. p.144

According to De Mauduit, the guns (30 in total) were “mal gardées.” In: Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.298 He might have taken this number from Craan who mentions the same number. In: Gore - An historical account of the battle of Waterloo fought on the 18th of June p.48

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys) speaks of 15 guns being put out of action. In: Bruce Lowe, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.145

Lord Uxbridge claims the dragoons had 40 guns in their possession, but that they could not hold them. At the same time he recognizes that he had this information from the third hand. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192

General Delort, from his side, believes that 20 guns were saved from enemy’s hands. In: Notice etc. p.380

Lieutenant Wyndham speaks for cornet Crawford (both Scots Greys) that the gunners and drivers of 20 guns would have been disabled. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.23-27, 34.707 p.19-20 On the other hand, sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys) claims that one battery was silenced. In: Atkinson, C.T. – A Waterloo journal p.38

Sir H.Vivian believes that the dragoons held possession of 30 guns for some time. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.95-98

From afar, captain Ingilby (battery Gardiner) claims he saw that a small part of the Union brigade rode amongst the guns of the right flank of the grand battery and kept undisturbed possession of them for 15 or 20 minutes, and that they after that abandoned them, unspiked. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271

Ingilby is wrong in his conclusion regarding the grand battery, as well as in the length of time that the British dragoons spent there (see below).

Eventually, major Evans indicates that the guns were abandoned by their gunners before the dragoons reached them. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123

Bowden mentions the batteries of Donzelot and Marcognet as being overrun but this is incorrect. In: *The armies at Waterloo* App.C

¹⁰¹ As to the confrontation with Lobau:

Cf. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94, 165-167

He writes about fire of fresh troops stationed on the opposite height.

Major Clarke (Scots Greys). He writes about penetrating through the first [=Marcognet and Durutte] and second French line [=Milhaud and Jacquinet] up to a third upon which they could make no impression due to their crippled and broken state; this third line (which he describes as “immense columns of infantry”) was composed of the infantry of Lobau. Cf. his letter dated 11th of July 1815 to sir J.S.Denham. In: NWMS, no reference

Corporal Dickson speaks from French infantry wearing fur hats, advancing in rear of the artillery. If this would be correct, these men might have been members of the Imperial Guard in rear of Lobau, or members of Lobau (yet these wore no fur hats). In: Bruce Low, E. *With Napoleon* etc. p.145

As to the confrontation with the cuirassiers:

Cf. Lieutenant general Delort's report to maréchal de camp from 19th August 1820 in which he states it was his second brigade [Vial] which drove back the British dragoons, thereby retaking some guns. He also says that it was sent there by Napoleon through an order carried by Dejean. In: Stouff, L. – Essai etc. p.153

In another account he mentions the brigade of Farine, but states it was composed of the 6th and 9th regiment which is in fact the one of Vial. In: *Waterloo. Relation inédite* etc. p.255

Milhaud himself in his report to Soult only reports that his corps saved the right part of the 1st corps by liberating several thousand of men from the enemy, as well as 20 guns from the enemy's cavalry. In: *Notice sur les batailles* etc. p.380

D'Erlon himself makes a very general claim about Milhaud having interfered, without giving any further identification of those involved. In: *Le maréchal Drouet* etc. p.97

Noguès mentions cuirassiers as destroying the dragoons, but relates them to the name of Lefebvre Desnouettes, the commander of the light cavalry of the imperial guard. In: *Mémoires du général Noguès* p.275

Both Gourgaud and Napoleon confirm it was a brigade of cuirassiers which threw back the British cavalry which had taken the guns as having been detached by Napoleon.

In: *La campagne de 1815* p.78

Mémoires pour servir etc. p.144

De Mauduit says it was Travers' brigade (7th and 12th cuirassiers) . In: *Les derniers jours* etc. Vol.II p.299, 301

Colonel Bro (4th regiment of lancers) depicts six regiments of cuirassiers to the left rear of his regiment and to the right front of infantry reserves of the 1st corps [which was the 6th corps].

In: AN, nr.82AP5

Sergeant major Marq merely mentions a mêlée between the cuirassiers and the dragoons, without pointing to some kind of unit. In: Dubois, E. - Description des campagnes de guerre. Faites par moi, Francois Marq etc. p.48

Colonel De Brack (lancers of the imperial guard) also speaks of the confrontation of cuirassiers and the British cavalry. In: Brack, A.F.de - Note du général De Brack au général Pelet p.362

¹⁰² British eye-witness accounts are not entering into real detail about their confrontation with the cuirassiers.

Sergeant Johnston states: “after dispersing the second line [=Durutte] many advanced as far as the third which was chiefly composed of lancers and cuirassiers whose horses were quite fresh and which our brigade could not penetrate, being few in numbers occasioned by the great loss sustained in the advance.” (p.38)

Corporal Dickson mentions a “couple of regiments of cuirassiers” as coming up in full gallop in their rear on the right while they were near the French guns, but does not enter into any detail either. In: Bruce Low, E. - With Napoleon etc. p.145

Private Stevenson (Scots Greys) mentions the mere confrontation but no more. In: MWMS, U3 Box file one

The same is with major general Best. In: VPH, nr.24

Both lieutenant Hamilton and major Clarke (both Scots Greys) complicate matters further by stating in their contemporary account that after they had charged the French infantry, they dispersed French lancers and cuirassiers, until they met a line of fresh French infantry [Lobau] upon which they could not make any impression. After that, the French lancers and cuirassiers – having rallied – would have overpowered them.

Cf. letter of lieutenant Hamilton, dated 24th June 1815 to captain Lawson. In: NWMS A.213.2.07

Cf. Letter of major Clarke to sir James Stewart Denam, dated 11th July 1815. In: NWMS no reference

It is in connection to the Royals that captain Clarke (the squadron in the centre of the regiment) claims as having *not* encountered any cavalry after having repulsed the infantry, while private Smithies [Smithers] states his unit (the squadron to the right) had a terrific shock with the cuirassiers, and that they repulsed them until they met French lancers. In: Recollections etc. p.7-8

103. Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192

Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.21-27

Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.1-4 and 34.707 p.91-94

Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Low, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.145

Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). Cf. his journal. In: NWMS, nr.A.213.2.07

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

Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.266-271 sketch nr.2
Sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys). Cf. his journal. In: Atkinson, C.T. - "A Waterloo journal."
In: Journal of the society for army historical research. 38 (1960), p.38
Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.244-247, plan. Here, he depicts them opposite the dragoons, but states he is not sure about this position.
Canler, L. Mémoires de Canler p.27

104. Captain Madox (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.85-86
Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123
Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.23-27

105. Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.19-22, 23-27
Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). Letter to Sir J.Stewart, dated 23rd June 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.75
Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.185-192
According to Sir H.Vivian the dragoons left the French guns before the French cavalry fell upon them. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.109-111

106. Lieutenant Wyndham (Scots Greys). He mentions a private called Lock, covered with 18 lance wounds and surviving. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.21-27

107. Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123
Corporal Dickson (Scots Greys). In: Bruce Low, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.142
According to sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys) the lancers moved in an oblique angle so as to cut the dragoons off from the main allied position. Cf. his journal. In: Atkinson, C.T. - A Waterloo journal. JSAHR. Vol.38.1960 p.38

For the exact circumstances of Sir William Ponsonby's death, see a separate note.

108. Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62 and in a letter dated 10th of July to his brother. In: www.nam.ac.uk/waterloo200/
Colonel Clifton in his report to Wellington, dated 23rd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.568-569
Major Dorville (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.231-233
Memorandum of the Inniskilling Dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.11-15
Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys), in a letter Sir J.Stewart, dated 23rd June 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal 1926 Vol.16 p.75
After Miller got wounded around 6.30 p.m., he was succeeded by captain Madox (cf. memorandum).

109. Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.60-62
Colonel Clifton in his report to Wellington, dated 23rd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.568-

569

Hamilton had both arms shot off, a shot through the heart and other wounds, and was rifled. Cf. Dalton, Ch. – The Waterloo roll call p.59.

110. Colonel Clifton in his report to Wellington, dated 23rd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.568-569

Major Evans. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.124-126

Journal of sergeant Clarke (Scots Greys). In: NLS, MS 15379 p.11

¹¹¹ Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer in the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns 1809-1815 p.301

112. Lieutenant colonel Muter (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.74-76, 85-86, 34.708 p.344-345

Records of the Inniskillings dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.11-15

Muter is unsure whether he also saw *chasseurs à cheval*. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.83-84

113. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p..49 151-154, 34.707 p.91-94, 165-167

114. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.91-94

Major Evans (extra aide de camp of Ponsonby). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.119-123

Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.5-6

¹¹⁵ Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.269-270

¹¹⁶ Captain Ross. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.255-259

Lieutenant Warde adds that the few cuirassiers who passed between no.1 and no.2 guns as stragglers in single rank were taken prisoner by the dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.361-363

¹¹⁷ Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.244-247, 706 p.266-270

¹¹⁸ Lord E.Somerset. In a letter dated 23rd June 1815. In Bodleian Library. MS Eng.hist.d.140 ff 49-60 He mentions the loss of almost the entire right squadron.

Account of private Hasker (King's Dragoon Guards). In King's Dragoon Guards Museum. Hasker lost his horse and was stabbed by a lance and a bayonet.

Lieutenant Hibbert (King's Dragoon Guards). In a letter dated 13th July 1815. In collection of lieutenant colonel Hibbert.

Captain Naylor (King's Dragoon Guards). Cf. Diary. In: King's Dragoon Guards Museum. Nr. CARDG 19085.1199

Sergeant major Page (King's Dragoon Guards) In: 1st The Queen's Dragoon Guards Heritage Trust

According to Page, many of the horses got stuck in the deep mud, as a result of which men were obliged to jump off, leave them and seek their safety away from the French guns.

Captain Elton in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36 - He denotes the forces of Lobau as "immense columns of the enemy."

Ordener claims it was Travers who charged the dragoons of Ponsonby, but these were the ones of the King's Dragoon Guards. In: Les deux Ordener p.91

¹¹⁹ Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.244-247, 706 p.266-270

Lord E.Somerset. In a letter dated 23rd June 1815. In Bodleian Library. MS Eng.hist.d.140 ff 49-60

Corporal Coulter (1st Life Guards). Cf. a letter to his cousin dated 1815 from France. In: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3012560/Soldier-s-letter-telling-British-swords-reeking-French-blood-glorious-charge-turned-Battle-Waterloo-unearthed-200-years.html>

¹²⁰ Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.244-247, 706 p.266-270

Captain Kennedy Clark. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.1-4

According to chef de bataillon Levavasseur, the red lancers initially came down by the Brussels road only and by doing so they blocked the road for the cuirassiers who were in turn cut up from behind by the British dragoons. Shortly after, they also emerged over the height at the road. In: Souvenirs militaires p.300

¹²¹ Captain Elton in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36

Cannon speaks of a troop led by captain Kenyon which bumped into a few guns [Lobau's] which they couldn't keep; as they abandoned them, they were fired at by French infantry [Lobau] and closely pressed by lancers [3rd regiment]. In: Historical records of the Life Guards p.199

¹²² Captain Elton (King's Dragoon Guards) in a letter to lieutenant general Fane, dated 15th July 1815. In former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382 and copy in NAM, 6310-36

¹²³ Lieutenant Marten (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p. 179-181, 263-265, 34.704 p.5-6

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.265-268

¹²⁴ Cf. Captain Kennedy Clark. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.1-4

¹²⁵ Cf. Lord Edward Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140

Lieutenant Waymouth believes Fuller fell down the slope of the position to the right of the farm of La Haye Sainte. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.316-320

Lieutenant Hibbert of the King's Dragoon Guards, however, mentions that Fuller lost his horse in the action with the lancers (so beyond the farm), and that he was killed right after that. Cf. his letter dated 13th July 1815. in private collection of lieutenant colonel Hibbert.

¹²⁶ Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.76-78

¹²⁷ The only account available is the one of private Rothwell (Royals Horse Guards). Initially suggesting as if his regiment or brigade would have killed 2000 French infantry and running through their squares, he states that his regiment bumped into French cavalry and that other French infantry came round it and gave it a volley. From this, it could be inferred that the Blues actually did get in touch with the lancers and Lobau on or on the foot of the intermediate ridge. Then, Rothwell got wounded. Cf. his letter dated 23rd November 1815. In: Waterloo journal Vol.32 nr.2 p.33-34

Interestingly, lord E.Somerset reported to Wellington on the 24th of June 1815: "The brigade, pursuing its advantage, came up with and routed a strong body of infantry posted on the opposite hill; on which occasion a private of the Blues seized and carried off an eagle, having first cut down the officer who bore it; but his horse being soon afterwards killed, he was obliged to relinquish it." In: WSD Vol.XII p.577-578

What body of French infantry could have been remains obscure as Somerset's description is ambiguous: in case it was a routed one it could only have been one coming from the 1st French division. In case it was a strong one posted on the opposite hill, it could only have been one of the 6th corps. Whatever infantry it may have been, in case the event occurred the way Somerset describes it, the eagle could not be taken back to the allied line.

¹²⁸ Cf. Major general Trip. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.404-412

Cf. his report dated 25th October 1815. In: Aerts, W. – Le colonel J.B. Debruyne et les carabiniers no.2 p.57-58

Lieutenant Warin (3rd carabiniers). Cf. his undated letter. In: Rijksarchief van de provincie Utrecht. Familie archief Van Ortt, 74 inv.nr.157

¹²⁹ Cf. Lieutenant colonel Boreel. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.418-420

Brevet major Van Balveren (6th regiment of hussars). In: VLS, nr.II.5.2

Adjutant Van Doren. In: Strategisch verhaal etc. p.87

Dommelen, G.F.van - Levensbericht van wijlen met rang van kolonel gepensioneerden 1^e officier van gezondheid der 1^e klasse bij de Landmagt M.Rodi. In: Geneeskundig archief voor de zeemacht 1+2, nr.4 and 1 p.5

1st lieutenant Deebet (6th regiment of hussars). In: VLS, nr.II5.5

Fundter, J.C. - Geschiedenis van het 4^e regiment dragonders p.15

Lieutenant colonel De Mercx, in a letter dated 17th January 1855. In: Marchot, R. – Notice biographique etc. p.77

Muilwijk, E. - Standing firm at Waterloo p.126-128

Craan situates the brigade of De Ghigny at the one of Van Merlen. Cf. plan.

The fate of Van Merlen's body is unclear. F.de Bas' claim that Van Merlen was missing and that his body was never found is highly improbable as he was led off the field by his staff. At the same time, information that he would be buried in the church of Waterloo, the *quartier de la Putterie* in Brussels or the former *temple des Augustins* at Brussels cannot be confirmed. This temple was a church in 1815 (demolished in 1893-1894) and which served as an arsenal and hospital for the British forces in 1815. Cf. Duchesne, A. - Un général belge de Napoleon. Jean Baptiste Van Merlen. In: Carnet de la fourragère (1946), nr.4 p.306-335

Cadet Capiaumont (36th chasseurs, 3rd division) claims Van Merlen expired in a house near the *barrière* at Mont Saint Jean. Cf. his account. In: Handelsblad van Antwerpen, 21st-22nd June 1865

The prince of Orange confirms Van Merlen expired on the battlefield. Cf. his report for the duke of Wellington. In: WSD, Vol.X p.556

130. Major Von Schnehen (3rd regiment of hussars KGL). In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.7-10

Major Von Goeben (3rd regiment of hussars KGL). In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.11-15

Colonel Arentschildt in his report to the duke of Cambridge In: Hann.38D, nr.200 here he mentions a time of 4 p.m.

131. Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.273-276 and p.281-284 and his plan in 34.703 p.244-247

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

Captain Von Brandis (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) confirms the regiment stood in the rear of his brigade, as well as British and Dutch cavalry. In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc. p.287

Lieutenant Meyer (2nd regiment of light dragoons KGL). He claims the hussars made a sudden and rather unsteady movement to the left and then fled from the field. However, this suggestion as if this happened right after is not correct; it was the march of the hussars to their second position to their far left, near the Brussels road. In: Meyer, E. - Aus dem Tagebuche etc. p.61

Corporal Coulter (1st Life Guards claims a Netherlands regiment of cavalry made a hurrah as they returned from their charge towards 3 p.m. This could have been a unit of Trip or the

Cumberland hussars. Cf. letter to his cousin dated 1815 from France. In:
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3012560/Soldier-s-letter-telling-British-swords-reeking-French-blood-glorious-charge-turned-Battle-Waterloo-unearthed-200-years.html>