

The charge of Vandeleur's brigade.

After the French grand battery had opened fire, the brigade of Vandeleur mounted and came in open column of squadrons, left in front. ¹

After the brigade of Von Vincke (which stood to the immediate left of the one of Best) had been ordered further to the right in rear of the left wing of the army (see below), Vandeleur was ordered to do the same and therefore he was to cross the low ground and enclosures between his brigade and the infantry and to take up a position to the left of the brigade of Pack. The brigade did so by advancing in column with a small front with the 12th regiment of light dragoons in front, followed by the 16th and 11th regiment. The brigade took up a position in line, the 12th regiment of light dragoons to the left, the 16th regiment in the middle and the 11th regiment to the right. ²

Vandeleur did so just at the time that the remnants of Ponsonby's brigade, scattered and pursued by the French cavalry, returned precipitately and in disorder to the main position of the army. ³

Now, major general Vandeleur decided to intervene as swiftly as possible to rescue the brigade of Ponsonby - and the Scots Greys more in particular - from their perilous situation. ⁴

Therefore, Vandeleur now had his brigade advance through the right wing of Best's brigade in open column of divisions or half squadrons left in front, and cross the Ohain-road. ⁵ By doing so, the 16th regiment of light dragoons lost slightly its formation, but this was repaired immediately after. ⁶ Vandeleur kept the 11th regiment of light dragoons on the crest of the ridge in reserve and had both the 12th and 16th regiment advance in line, the 12th to the left and in front, the 16th to the right and a bit further to the rear. ⁷

As both regiments advanced, the 16th regiment of light dragoons – personally led by Vandeleur himself – somewhat approached the 12th regiment, which was led by lieutenant colonel Frederick Ponsonby. ⁸ Both regimental commanders, lieutenant colonel Frederick Ponsonby and lieutenant colonel Hay, had received the order from major general Vandeleur *not* to pass the low ground between both main positions. ⁹

In the actions which ensued, it was the 12th regiment of light dragoons which collided with a strong column of infantry and the majority of the 16th regiment of light dragoons which did so with the lancers which pursued the British heavy dragoons. ¹⁰

The French infantry under attack was the unsteady main column of Durutte, which now came under an attack upon its left flank of the 12th regiment of light dragoons and the left squadron of the 16th regiment of light dragoons. ¹¹ The column advanced with an irregular fire which had begun long before it could take effect upon the British light dragoons and which slackened as they drew nearer. ¹² The British light cavalry penetrated deep into the column and inflicted such casualties and confusion that its remnants were forced to fall back several hundred metres in rear of the 85th regiment of the line which stood on the extremity of the intermediate ridge. ¹³

As the left squadron of the 16th regiment of light dragoons charged upon the French infantry of Durutte as well (¹⁴), the right and centre squadron charged upon the lancers further to the right, while these were in pursuit of the British heavy dragoons. ¹⁵

In this situation a considerable part of the heavy dragoons escaped from their pursuers while passing through between both regiments of light dragoons, the more as the majority of the 16th

regiment of light dragoons – as the lancers approached - drew further to its right. One squadron of the Scots Greys got away in good order to the right of the 16th regiment.¹⁶ In combination with the action of the 12th regiment of light dragoons, these lancers were now driven back by the two squadrons of the 16th regiment.¹⁷ In this situation, its commander, lieutenant colonel Hay, got seriously wounded.¹⁸

At the same time, perhaps as a result of it, both squadrons were prevented with some difficulty from attacking in small bodies the parties of French cavalry which had pursued the Union brigade.¹⁹

Despite the explicit instructions, yet many members of the 12th regiment of light dragoons crossed the low ground in front of them and climbed the height where the French 85th regiment of the line and some guns were posted.²⁰

This regiment, as well as the artillery of the division of Durutte to its left, had followed the brigade of Pégot in its wake and had meanwhile taken up a position upon the extremity of the intermediate ridge. This force had served a screen for the brigade of Pégot to retreat upon and now this regiment had formed a square in two files and fired a volley upon the British light dragoons and which broke their charge.²¹ After the light dragoons had suffered from this fire, they now also came under a combined attack of both the 4th regiment lancers and the 3rd regiment of chasseurs à cheval; these last were *en echelon* to the right of the lancers.²² Though the deep ground did not permit easy manoeuvring, colonel Bro led his lancers forward and as he saw the British light dragoons threatening to turn the chasseurs à cheval, he charged them; in the confrontation he got wounded.²³

In their turn, the first squadron of the chasseurs à cheval - led by chef d'escadron Posac - charged the British light dragoons in their flank while the other two squadrons - led by colonel Lawoestine – fell upon their front. This combination proved very successful and the British horsemen flew back in great confusion.²⁴

From the very beginning of the charge, the 12th regiment of light dragoons had also suffered under a sharp French gunfire and at the same time got mixed up with the enemy's broken infantry. Now, before the regiment could form, the combination with the charge of the French cavalry proved too much and they fell back upon their former position. By then, the regiment had already suffered high casualties.²⁵

It was in this action that lieutenant colonel Frederick Ponsonby got almost instantly seriously wounded, as he received wounds upon both his arms. Being unable to manage his horse, and having lost his sword, he was unwillingly taken towards the French position where he received a blow of a sabre upon his head, which resulted in falling unconscious to the ground.²⁶

After the two squadrons of the 16th regiment of light dragoons had repulsed the French lancers, they formed a line in conjunction with the 11th regiment halfway down the slope of the ridge which enabled the 12th regiment to retire with safety to more or less the same place as all the remnants of the Union brigade had done.²⁷

The role of De Ghigny's brigade.

As the allied left wing came under attack of the 1st corps – it was around 2.15 p.m. - De Ghigny ordered his brigade to cross the Brussels road to take up positions in rear of the infantry there.

During this move, the brigade trotted away in echelon, the 8th regiment of hussars in front. Once on the other side of the road, the brigade broke into two as the 8th regiment hussars halted near the battery of Whinyates, which was in its position from where the Union brigade had just left by now. The 4th regiment of light dragoons continued its advance to a position in rear of Pack's brigade, where it took up a position in two lines. The first line, consisting of three squadrons, did not stand parallel to the front as it had its right wing thrown forward. The remaining squadron stood in the second line.²⁸

Here, the regiment came under a severe French gunfire, as a result of which it fell back slightly to the rear. Not long after this, as the battery of Whinyates had advanced (see below), the 8th regiment of hussars was reunited with the light dragoons, which now pulled slightly to their left. It was now baron Constant Rebecque who deemed it necessary to launch the brigade as a result of the resulting retreat of the British cavalry, the advance of the French cavalry which was in pursuit, and the need to cover the bombarding frame of Whinyates (see below).²⁹

The situation was that the 12th and 16th regiment of light dragoons returned from their charge upon the French cavalry and infantry. As they did so, they now approached the brigade of Best.³⁰ Initially, this brigade had been – together with the brigade of Von Vincke – in one massive square but had changed formation the moment the British heavy cavalry charged. As the brigade of Von Vincke was then moved off to the right (see below), Best directed his battalion Verden further left to establish a connection with the Nassau troops (first in square but shortly after in line), the Lüneburg and Osterode battalions came in square and closed column in the first line respectively, while Best placed his Münden battalion in line further away in the second line in rear of the artillery.³¹

Just after the charge of the Union brigade and before the intervention of Vandeleur, Von Vincke complied with the order carried by assistant adjutant general sir Guy Campbell to place his brigade in line in rear of the brigades of Kempt and Pack.³²

The moment the light dragoons of Vandeleur had passed through the intervals of the brigade of Best and the French cavalry was approaching, Ghigny's cavalry intervened.³³

As the bombarding frame of the rocket battery advanced over the brow of the ridge to fire upon the retreating French infantry to its right, the 8th regiment of hussars did the same to cover it. There, on the slope of the other side of the ridge both kept a stationary position.

This was not the case with the 4th regiment of light dragoons. In its charge in line (the right wing thrown forward), it successfully drove the pursuing lancers back into the low ground as far as the square of the 85th regiment of the line (Durutte). Here, De Ghigny had his light dragoons halt at some distance of the French infantry where his skirmishers started skirmishing with the French until these brought up supports, both in infantry and cavalry, particularly upon his left flank. This, plus the presence of heavy gunfire, was the signal for De Ghigny to assemble his dragoons and lead them back *en echelon*, while being pursued by the French lancers. After the 4th regiment of light dragoons had reached the ridge, both regiments were now pulled back some 100 metres in rear of Pack's brigade.³⁴

Despite its successful retreat, De Ghigny suffered some losses in his confrontation with the French. In the 8th regiment of hussars, the chef d'escadron count Duchastel de la Howarderie was killed and major De Villers and marquess De Chasteler got seriously wounded. Later, De Villers succumbed from his wounds.

From the 4th regiment of light dragoons captain Kreysig and Matschek were killed, just as 2nd lieutenant Stratenus. Lieutenant baron Van Alderweldt Houttuyn and two others officers were wounded. Lieutenant Haak was taken prisoner.³⁵

The role of Vivian's brigade.

From his position, on the extreme left flank on the height to the left of Smohain, sir Hussey Vivian had a good view of the fields where the 1st French corps was about to attack Wellington's position.

It was during the bombardment which preceded the grand attack that French light infantry started skirmishing in front of the farm of Papelotte, but not further to the left.³⁶

Around the same time the brigade was moved slightly to its right, towards the guns of the section Winssinger, leaning with the right flank towards the Ohain-road. It was here that the brigade suffered considerably from the French gunfire.³⁷

For Vivian, it was the moment to ride himself to his colleague cavalry brigade to his right, the one of sir Ormsby Vandeleur. Having got there, he realized that a grand attack was about to take place and therefore he had his men mount their horses. After that, Vivian himself again towards Vandeleur's brigade but while doing so the French attack became more and more pronounced and therefore he decided to descend the heights and find a point from where he could observe the French attack. He found one in front of his brigade, on the slopes between the Ohain-road and the hamlet of Smohain. From here he could convince himself that by now British dragoons of the Union brigade were scattered amidst French forces and guns near and on the opposite ridge.

This, plus the change of position of the brigade of Vandeleur, made Vivian decide to move with the 10th and 18th regiment of hussars towards this brigade. The 1st regiment of hussars KGL was left by Vivian in observation in its original position.³⁸

Both regiments now advanced by crossing the lane to their right, as well as the low ground which was beyond it. From there, they climbed in column of half squadrons to the crest of the position immediately west of it, to the left of the former position of Vandeleur; here they posted themselves in line.³⁹

With the two regiments of hussars, the horse battery which was attached to them, the one of Gardiner, joined in the advance through the lane which the hussars had crossed. As captain Gardiner saw what was happening he was tempted to interfere as well. The result was that Gardiner ordered two guns to move forward, but due to the muddy state of the ground they were barely able to do so.

As they moved along the road very obliquely to the right through the deep ground, they emerged to the point where Von Rettberg's battery was stationed, both guns had hardly opened their fire on the French when a ammunition-caisson was struck by a French shell. It caused it to explode and made the French cheer, but in the process a sergeant and four gunners were killed. After that, both guns were instantly withdrawn by sir Hussey Vivian to the battery in their original position.⁴⁰

As the smoke of the explosion had cleared away, both regiments of Vandeleur could be seen coming back from their charge, covered by their fellow regiment, the 11th, which then stood

halfway down the ridge to cover their retreat. Very shortly after, some French lancers, excited by their success, passed along the front of the brigade and turned away, back to their army. As Vandeleur now withdrew his 11th regiment, it was clear for Vivian that it was too late for his brigade to participate in the actions from which Vandeleur and De Ghigny had returned.⁴¹ It was then that Vivian led his brigade back to the other side of the ridge in the low ground as well, out of range from the French fire.⁴²

The battery Whinyates.

Initially, the battery stood in a position to the right rear of the Union brigade when captain Whinyates received the instruction to follow this brigade in its charge. By then it was running towards 2.30 p.m.

As the Union brigade was prepared for the charge, and Whinyates wasn't, an interval in time between both units could not be avoided. Eventually, this ran to about 30 minutes.⁴³

Having prepared his guns and rockets, Whinyates moved them forward to the Ohain-road where Whinyates himself was looking for a proper place where he could cross it with his guns, when he was ordered by colonel Macdonald of the Horse Artillery to leave his guns at the road and to advance with the 13 mounted rocket-section only.

Accordingly, Whinyates left his guns unlimbered in close proximity to the former position of Roger's battery, which by now had moved to the other side of the Brussels road before Whinyates' battery had reached the crest of the ridge. In this way, it stood about 135 metre to the right of Bijleveld's battery.

The rocket-sections now moved forward and fired away some discharges of ground-rockets from the foot of the declivity through the corn which still stood high, just to the left of the knoll which is situated above the sand-pit.⁴⁴

Not long after, Whinyates was instructed by Macdonald to return to his guns with the sections and this is what he did in good order, without being pursued by the French.⁴⁵

Further to the left, in front of the left wing of Pack's brigade, another part of Whinyates' unit was active for a very short while. It was a large awkward lumbering carriage, carrying an apparatus called a bombarding frame. It was designed for firing off heavy rockets. It basically consisted of a long frame cocked up in the air at angle of about 45 degrees. Its commander, a non-commissioned officer, had advanced under the cover of a detachment of the 8th regiment of hussars of De Ghigny's brigade, but his fire was suspended by Whinyates as he had done so on his own accord. Soon after, guided by the 8th regiment hussars, the unit rejoined the battery.

⁴⁶ The total number of rockets fired by the battery in this last stage of the attack of the 1st corps was somewhere between 250 and 300.⁴⁷

After the collapse of the French forces in their confrontation with their opponents, their remnants streamed back into safety beyond the intermediate ridge where the 6th corps and parts of Milhaud's corps were stationed. What had to be the main attack that day, had bled to death. By now it was around 3 p.m.⁴⁸

The situation at Gomont.

At Gomont, French success so far had been limited to the occupation of the wood, which created a frontline right in front of the buildings, the garden and the orchard.

To benefit the first grand offensive as a cover on its left flank as planned to, this success was not enough. For Napoleon, Ney and Reille - then near the Decoster house – it was now a matter to choose for a more drastic course to accelerate progress by a sheer bombardment. Until now, the complex of Gomont had hardly been bombarded by the French artillery, but now Napoleon instructed his artillery to set the buildings alight.⁴⁹ To this end, eight howitzers got into a position on the heights at about 500 metres south-west of Gomont (and about 300 metres from the Nivelles road) from where they threw their grenades upon the buildings. The building which caught fire first was the large barn.⁵⁰

Jérôme decided to attack the buildings again. By now it was running towards 1.30 p.m. Of the 1st regiment of the line (brigade Soye) it was its 2nd battalion, supported by the remains of the 1st, which made another futile attempt against them; the 3rd battalion was kept in reserve.⁵¹ While part of the brigade stormed the buildings from the front, it was during this second attack that a part of the 1st regiment of light infantry led by colonel De Cubières turned the buildings on their west side.⁵² The two companies of light infantry of Byng's brigade, plus the reinforcements of Home and Mackinnon, tried their utmost to prevent this. For a while they kept their positions; one of them was the haystack which by now was on fire.⁵³ As the risk of being turned was imminent, they now hastily went back to the north gate, which was still open.⁵⁴ The British attempted to block the gate as soon as they could with waggons, ladders and the like, but this was too late.⁵⁵ The French infantry reached the gate and were able to open it; this was possible as 2nd lieutenant Legros (1st company, 3rd battalion, 1st regiment light infantry) forced it with the axe of a sapper.⁵⁶ After a fierce fight the French streamed into the courtyard.⁵⁷ A bitter confrontation ensued here, in which the British and Nassau troops were able to maintain a heavy fire from the surrounding buildings and which forced the French to leave the complex as they had entered it: through the north gate.⁵⁸ As they had left, the British immediately shut and barricaded it (⁵⁹); the remaining French within the complex were all killed or taken prisoner.⁶⁰ It was now almost 2 p.m.

Meanwhile, the remaining French troops pulled further along the northwest-corner of Gomont; they crossed the lane which connects Gomont with the Nivelles-road and occupied the fields here between Gomont and the Anglo-Netherlands-German main position. By doing so, they were now at the foot of the slope on top of which captain Webber Smith had his position. His battery had been duelling for some time with the one of Piré and had succeeded in silencing it, until the French skirmishers now made his position virtually impossible by their strong fire. They inflicted so many losses and damage to the battery that it was forced to fall back into the hollow road to recover.⁶¹ As Byng witnessed the French advance, he sent for four companies of Coldstream Guards, led by lieutenant colonel Woodford, against them.⁶² As Woodford's men found the French near the outer walls of the complex, they drove them off towards the wood of Gomont and the Nivelles-road.⁶³ Woodford left a part of his units along the lane and pulled the rest of his men along the west side of the buildings of Gomont, to enter the complex through the door in the smaller barn on that side.⁶⁴ Within the complex the men occupied the formal

garden, its east wall in particular. ⁶⁵ Woodford himself, as senior in rank, now got command over the British forces in both the garden and the buildings. ⁶⁶ With this action the second French offensive against the buildings of Gomont had stranded. Apart from the Nassau troops, British forces now also occupied the buildings.

Parallel to the other actions, it had also been since about 1.15 / 1.30 p.m. that French units attempted to turn the buildings and the garden to the right. To do so, they came from the wood to attack the orchard for the first time. However, the action was immediately broken by the stout advance of Lord Saltoun's two light companies (brigade Maitland) as a result of which the French fell back into the wood. ⁶⁷

Having the first grand offensive already taking place further to the right, the situation at the orchard now asked for a powerful intervention by Reille. It was therefore towards 2 p.m. – in the advance of his two remaining divisions for the grand offensive – that he decided to split off a brigade of Foy's division for the situation at Gomont. It became the one of colonel Tissot. It was engaged per battalion to support or relieve the infantry already engaged in the eastern enclosures of Gomont. ⁶⁸ As the French had now engaged an extra full brigade, lord Saltoun was forced – though slowly – to leave the orchard and to go back in and behind the hollow road which lined the northern edge of the complex. ⁶⁹ At the same time, captain Bull had changed the direction of the fire of his battery towards Tissot's columns, which were posted on the other side of the wood as well upon those in the orchard. Right at that moment, the battery seriously suffered from fire which came from 18 guns in his front and from 4 guns of Piré to its far right and was taken to the rear as a result. ⁷⁰ It didn't take long however before two companies (no.4 and 5) of the 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards, led by captain Drummond, pulled down from the ridge towards the French east of Gomont and into the orchard. ⁷¹ It was about 2.15 p.m. Saltoun, now supported to his left by these forces and to his right by the men of the Coldstream Guards led by Woodford, who fired from the east garden-wall, retook the offensive. It was also now that the Advance-guard battalion of the Brunswickers was sent forward and engaged in the orchard. At the same time, the Leib battalion and the 1st battalion of light infantry advanced but these were placed further to the rear between Gomont and the Nivelles road. ⁷² This offensive proved successful: the enemy evacuated the orchard and the forces east of Gomont were pushed back by the two companies alluded to. Then, these companies reinforced the garrison in the orchard. ⁷³ By now it was between 2.30 and 3 p.m.

In the meantime, due to the fact that the large barn was covered with a thatched roof, the fire communicated with rapidity and fury to other buildings with an amazing flame and smoke. The buildings which eventually suffered most from the gunfire and resulting fire were the chateau itself, the large barn, the western and northern stables and the farmer's house. The southern part of the complex (the gardener's house, the adjoining buildings and the chapel) was spared. ⁷⁴ Before the fire had reached its full extent, Wellington had sent the following order to lieutenant colonel Macdonell:

I see that the fire has communicated from the hay stack to the roof of the chateau. You must however still keep your men in those parts to which the fire does not reach. Take care that no men are lost by the falling in of the roof or floors. After they will have fallen in occupy the ruined walls inside of the garden, particularly if it should be possible for the enemy to pass through the embers in the inside of the house. ⁷⁵

Additionally, the duke – considering the defence of Gomont of the last consequence to the success of the operations of the day - ordered the commanders at Gomont through lieutenant colonel Hamilton (aide de camp to sir Edward Barnes) to keep the post to the last and if that could not be done due to the fire, to occupy the strong ground on the right and rear and defend it to extremity.⁷⁶

Attempts were carried out to remove the wounded who been carried or had walked in the buildings before and which were now in flames; some were saved, but others perished.⁷⁷ As the fire extended into the complex, smoke rose up and was blown eastward, across the battlefield.⁷⁸

It was shortly after the re-taking of the orchard by Lord Saltoun's units that this position was further consolidated by the remainder of the 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards. These were three companies (the 6th, 7th and 8th), led by colonel Mercer. As they descended the slope, they took up positions at the hollow road north of the orchard. By then it was about 3 p.m.⁷⁹

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¹ Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.176

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

2. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.167-168, 169-170 and 34.708 p.349-350
Captain Childers (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.165-166 and 34.706 p.149-150

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297

Lieutenant colonel F.Ponsonby (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.116-119 and 34.706 p.116-118

Private Farmer (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: The light dragoon p.154

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

Captain Childers (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.165-166

Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer in the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns 1809-1815 p.300

The first squadron of the 12th regiment of light dragoons barely had reached this new position, or the first dragoons of the Union brigade returned from their action. Cf. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.349-350

Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment light dragoons) erroneously remarks that Ponsonby charged *after* his regiment had moved this way. In: Hay, lieutenant. In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.181

Also lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of light dragoons) situates his advance later as he suggest that Ponsonby charged everything opposed to them, the moment his brigade moved over the ridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140

Lieutenant colonel F.Ponsonby (12th regiment of light dragoons) also states that - as the moment his regiment was formed upon its new ground - he saw a good many scattered dragoons in red nearly on the crest of the French position. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.116-118

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

5. Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 502-503 and

34.708 p.293-297. He states that the infantry (dressed in red) stood in line and that one company fell back and opened its ranks to let the light dragoons pass through.

Vandeleur himself adds that he was not able to charge the French perpendicular in their right flank as Ponsonby fell back very near the left of the 5th division and to the right of his own.
In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.169-170

6. Tomkinson, W. - The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.300-301

Captain Erskine's squadron rode to the left, the one of captain Sandys in the centre and the one of captain Stawell to the right. Cf. Collins, R.M. - The 12th light dragoons at Waterloo.
In: Tradition, nr.17 (p.17-20,37), nr.18 (p.16-19,31) and nr. ? (p.24-25)

7. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.349-350 and 34.706 p.169-170

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.95-107

Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297

Captain Schreiber (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.145-146

This was caused by the fact that the 16th regiment had been delayed a bit more by the passage of the Ohain-road as was the 12th regiment. Cf. Tomkinson, W. The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.300-301

Lieutenant colonel Ponsonby states his regiment descended the height in a gallop. Cf. the letter of S.Rogers in former www.18151td.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

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

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

Captain Barton (12th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

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

⁹ Cf. Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.169-170

¹⁰ Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297

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

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

Also in: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.116-119

His letter in the archive in former www.1815.1td.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

Sir H.Vivian. BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107

Captain Barton (12th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment light dragoons).In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

(he was pretty sure that some of the 16th charged with the 12th).

¹² Lieutenant colonel F.Ponsonby. In the letter of S.Rogers in the archive in former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

13. Lieutenant colonel Ponsonby. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.116-118 and in his letter in the archive in former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

Captain Barton (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Addms.34.703 p.184-191

Chapuis, F.C. Notice sur le 85e de ligne etc. p.48

Mauduit, H. de - Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.313

In the process, the commander of the 8th battalion of the column would have intended to form a battalion square, but refrained from doing so upon the order of Durutte himself. Cf. Chef de bataillon Rullière. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo: la défaite glorieuse de 1815 à nos jours p.375

The ratio of allied cavalry versus French infantry here was 1:3 [500 :1500]. Those of the other confrontations were 1:8 for Donzelot's column [500 : 4000] and the same or Marcognet [400 : 3250].

14. Cf. lieutenant colonel Frederick Ponsonby. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.116-118
It was one squadron, led by colonel Cheney.

15. Tomkinson, W. - The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.300-301

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

Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

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

Lieutenant Baker (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.502-503 and 34.708 p.293-297 He mentions the presence of French dragoons as well.

16. Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305

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

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

An adjudant of Durutte's division (55th regiment line-infantry), named Fleuret, refers to the lancers being driven away by the British cavalry. In: Description des passages de Dominique Fleuret p.150

Against scattered infantry and cavalry, lancers had a psychological advantage. Yet, in case they were no longer kept as one formation, which is most probable here, they faced a disadvantage against well-formed bodies such as the light dragoons now. Cf. Muir, R. –

Tactics etc. p.110

18. Lieutenant colonel Hay. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.65-66

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

Tomkinson, W. The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.300-301

Captain Childers (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.165-166

According to lieutenant Baker, Hay got wounded very shortly after the regiment had crossed the Ohain-road. Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.293-297

Cornet Beckwith (16th regiment light dragoons) uttered his fear for the death of Hay in his letter dated 19th June 1815. In: Museum of the Queen's Royal Lancers.

¹⁹ Tomkinson, W. The diary of a cavalry officer etc. p.300-301

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

21. Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée VolIII p.307

Chapuis, F.C. Notice sur le 85e de ligne etc. p.46

Chapuis mixes up the light dragoons with the Scots Greys, as he claims that the last charged the French regiment, which is incorrect.

Durutte writes that most horses and some men of his artillery were cut down by the dragoons. This might be possible. The way he describes this, it seems as if this is all about the Scots Greys charging the batteries of the grand battery, but this was earlier in the action and has nothing to do with this episode of the action.

Durutte also places his guns in front of artillery of the imperial guard which he situates to his left rear. These guns, though not from the guard, were those of the grand battery. In: Mouvements [sic] de la 4^e division du 1er corps d'armée p.78

According to captain Chapuis (85th regiment of the line) the presence of his regiment to cover the guns was an initiative of its commander, colonel Masson. In: Notice etc. p.45

Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment of line infantry) denies this implicitly: he believes Durutte had left the regiment behind as a support. In: Largeaud, J.M. Napoleon et Waterloo: la défaite glorieuse de 1815 à nos jours p.376

22. Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.

Chapuis, F.C. Notice sur le 85e de ligne etc. p.46

Captain Barton (12th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Colonel Bro of the 4th lancers. Cf. his sketch. In: AN, nr.82 AP5

Lieutenant colonel Frederick Ponsonby – commander of the 12th regiment of light dragoons – states in his letter to Siborne that the French horsemen were both lancers and chasseurs à cheval, while in another (undated) letter in which he is cited, he only speaks of 300 (Polish) lancers. In: BL, Add.ms.34706 p.118-119 and the letter in the archive in former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

²³ Bro, colonel. Mémoires p.148

²⁴ Baron Bruno. In: Le 3e chasseurs à cheval etc. p.88

Bruno remains silent about the share of the lancers. He speaks about the presence of a few Belgian lancers though [!] and also of cuirassiers charging the British dragoons after they had been pushed back in confusion by the chasseurs à cheval.

Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment of light dragoons) adds that his regiment suffered the drawbacks from having lighter horses and being inferior in number. He was instructed by Frederick Ponsonby to extricate his squadron from the action, which he was able to do despite the fact that parties were very much entangled. In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.179

²⁵ Captain Barton (12nd regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Sir Hussey Vivian confirms the brigade suffered high casualties. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107

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

26. Lieutenant colonel Ponsonby (12th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, nr. 34.706 p.116-118 and 34.704 p.116-119

Cf. the letter of S.Rogers in the archive in former www.18151td.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

Papers relating to the battle of Waterloo. In: BL. Add.ms.19.590 f.11

In his letter to William Siborne, Ponsonby omits the French cavalry charge altogether and suggests as if he got wounded in his charge upon Durutte's column. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.116-119

Shortly after Ponsonby had regained consciousness and rose, a French lancer noticed that he was still alive and stabbed him with his lance in his side. Some time later, Ponsonby was plundered by a French skirmisher, until a French officer, a baron called Laussat, found him. He gave him some brandy and put him in a better position. Later in the day, another French skirmisher used his body as a shield when he fell back and during the evening he was ridden over by Prussian cavalry. Eventually, it would have been a soldier of the 40th regiment who took guard over Ponsonby during the night. The next day, he was carried off the field and taken care of in the village of Waterloo. Ponsonby survived the campaign.

Cf. the letter of S.Rogers in the archive in former www.18151td.uk Original in: Stafford Record Office, nr.D3259/14/22/4C

Gronow, R.H. - The reminiscences and recollection etc. p.204-205

Ponsonby denotes the lancers as (about 300) Polish ones, but these did not see any action at this stage of the battle; they were those of the 4th regiment. Cf. De Brack. La cavalerie de la garde à Waterloo p.361-362

The unit De Laussat was serving in remains a puzzle. According Gronow, he was a member of the dragoons of the Imperial Guard, while De Laussat himself assigns himself yet two other units: the 2nd regiment of lancers (division of Subervie) and in another account (a letter dated 1884) the 2nd regiment of dragoons (corps Kellermann). For the letter cf. Elmer, B.- The other Ponsonby p.16

It could be that both men, mixing up events, were mistaken about each other's identity.

From a statement dated 10th of August 1815 written by surgeon Hume, it becomes clear which wounds Ponsonby was suffering from:

-a sabre-cut in the outside of the right arm

-a lance wound in the left-side and which continued into the lung and through which the sixth rib had been broken.

-small sabre-cuts on the shoulders, the head, the left-arm and his body

-bruises all over his body

Hume also declares in the same document that Ponsonby did not have very much use in his right arm, was suffering from heavy breathing, was slowly recovering and that he was very weak. Cf. his statement in: "Papers relating to the battle of Waterloo". In: BL, Add.ms.19.590 f.11, and in:

Ponsonby, J. – The Ponsonby family p.220, 225

Mudford, W. - An historical account of the campaign in the Netherlands p.289

²⁷ Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer in the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns 1809-1815 p.301

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107a, and 34.707 p.185-187

Farmer's presentation of the event is different. He states that his regiment made an actual charge to push back the French lancers as they threatened the artillery. The dragoons went at them with good will, but not with perfect judgement as their speed was too high for the soft ground going downhill as a result of which many of their horses came down and order was lost. In: The light dragoon p.155

²⁸. Major general Trip. In: Bas, F.de - La campagne de 1815 Vol. III p.410

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

Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of De Ghigny's brigade). In: CBG, inv.nr.95

Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4^e regiment lichte dragonders p.17

According to Fundter, the 4th regiment of light dragoons was composed of five squadrons.

Captain Kraijenhoff (4th regiment of light dragoons). He mixes up the times completely as he mentions the manoeuvre as referred to would have taken place at 9 a.m. In: Rijksmuseum, nr.NM 10255b

29. Cf. Journal of Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

According to captain Kraijenhoff both regiments initially had been separate, but that they rejoined some time later. Cf. his account in the Rijksmuseum, nr.NM 10255b

30. Cf. report of major general Best. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.82-88

³¹ Major general Best. In: VPH, nr.22 and 24

³² Cf. reports of colonel Von Vincke. In: VPH, nr.25 and 26. He erroneously situates the intervention of Vandeleur *before* his departure.

33. Major general Best does not mention the charge of De Ghigny, but refers to the effective gunfire which prevented the French from a further pursuit. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.82-88

³⁴ Report of De Ghigny. In: Bas, F.de – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.416-417

Captain Krayenhoff (4th regiment of light dragoons). Cf. his account. In: Rijksmuseum, nr. NM 10255b

Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of brigade of Ghigny). In: CBG, nr.95 and in: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263

Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Lieutenant colonel Renno (4th regiment of light dragoons) in his diary. In: Groninger Museum, Stichting Offerhaus.

Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4^e regiment lichte dragonders p.17-18

35. Cf. Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.II p.160

Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4^e regiment lichte dragonders p.17-18

Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of De Ghigny). In: CBG, nr.95 and in: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263

Captain Matschek of the 4th regiment light dragoons was killed just before the charge took place. Captain Krayenhoff himself was wounded later in the day. Cf. his account. In: Rijksmuseum, nr. NM 10255b

³⁶ Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107a

37. Sergant Coglan (18th regiment hussars). In: History of the XVIIIth hussars

Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91

Colonel Von Wissell (1st regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.98-102

Von Wissell claims that if Vivian would not have moved his brigade in time, he would have lost one third of his strength due to the French gunfire.

Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and 34.706 p.60-63
According to Taylor, however, losses were low as the majority of the balls hit the ground in front and in rear of the brigade.

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars) confirms some losses of the brigade. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209

38. Cf. Vivian himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107a

That sir H.Vivian, accompanied by his regimental commanders, observed the battle from a height is confirmed by colonel Von Wissell (1st regiment hussars) and lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.98-102 and 34.704 p.205-209

In his report, major Von der Decken's of the 1st regiment of hussars does mention a lateral march, but for the brigade, not necessarily for his regiment. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.27-29

39. Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107 and 34.707 p.185-187

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

40. Captain Dyneley (battery Gardiner). Cf. his letter dated 23rd August 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI, nr.MD 1051

Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, 34.703 p.266-271, 34.706 p.465-467, 471-473 and in diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

Lieutenant Swabey (battery Gardiner). Cf.his letter dated 24th June 1815. In: Regimental Museum XVth / XIXth the King's Royal Hussars, Newcastle upon Tyne.

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

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107 and 34.707 p.185-187

According lieutenant Ingilby, Gardiner led the guns forward on the instruction of sir H.Vivian. Cf. his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

41. Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment hussars).In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91

Sketches of lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.290-296

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107a and 34.707 p.185-187

Major general Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.349-350

42. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.99-107

Vivian disassociates himself from captain Taylor's claim as if the brigade would have gone back to its initial position first, before moving to a position in the low ground north of the Ohain-road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

⁴³ Lieutenant Dansey (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.29-31

⁴⁴ General Noguès mentions the rockets as being fired the moment the corps attacked, but it

was later. In: Mémoires du général Noguès etc. p.274

Colonel Heymès has Ponsonby's charge supported by the rocket-fire. Also here, the fire is represented at a more early stage as that it actually took place. In: Documents inédits etc. p.15

45. Captain Whinyates. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.187-188, 251-254, 466-470 and 513-515

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

Lieutenant Strangways (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.342-343

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

Sergeant Taylor (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.367

Sergeant Dunneett (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.92-93, 96-97

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.24-25

Lieutenant Warde (battery Ross) claims that Whinyates would have taken over the position of a Dutch battery; however, from the other testimonies it becomes clear that this was the one of Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.170-172

Tennant, R. - Congreve's rockets p.33-34

General Schmitz (brigade Schmitz, division Donzelot) states that two companies of voltigeurs of the 13th regiment of light infantry chased the rocket-crew away. In: Brouwet, E. -Mémoires et documents sur la campagne de 1815. In: Revue des études Napoléoniennes. (1932) p.360-365

46. Lieutenant Dansey (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.50-52

One of the heavy rockets fired turned and fell in the middle of the 8th regiment of hussars (De Ghigny), which caused considerable panic amongst the horses; this was quickly restored, however. Cf. Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het 4^e regiment lichte dragonders p.17-18

⁴⁷ Cf. lieutenant Warde (Ross' battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.1701-72

⁴⁸ Cf. Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment, division of Durutte). In: Largeaud, J.M. – Napoleon et Waterloo etc. p.376

General Delort. In: Notice etc. p.380 Presuming the grand cavalry charges started at 4 p.m. (see below), he came out to 3 p.m.

Lieutenant Martin (45th regiment of the line, division Marcognet). In: Souvenirs d'un ex-officier p.292

General Vincent states the attack was over by 2 p.m. Cf. his report dated In: The battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny etc. Vol.I p.214

Jardin, master of the horse of the imperial headquarters, confirms that the news of the defeat of the 1st corps reached imperial headquarters by 3.30 p.m. Cf. his account. In: Beaucour, F. - La campagne de Waterloo vue par Jardin L'Aîné, un écuyer de Napoleon p.28

⁴⁹. Mémoires pour servir etc. p.136

Major Büsgen. In: VPH, nr.75

General Von Kruse. In: VPH, nr.73

Sir A.Frazer. In: Sabine, E. Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer. Letter XXV, 20th June 1815 p.557

Both Büsgen, Von Kruse and Frazer speak about an hour between 2 and 3 p.m.

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

An anonymous witness speaks about the fire in the buildings around 3.30 p.m. In: More reminiscences of Waterloo. The defence of Hougoumont. In: USJ, July 1836 p.355

Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment) could see the fire as he says at 3 p.m. He was, as a member of the light infantry, in front of his battalion on the slope of the ridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.331-344 and 34.705 p.88-94

⁵⁰. Mémoires pour servir etc. p.136

Major Büsgen. In: VPH, nr.75

These guns probably were from Reille's corps.

In this connection, De Mauduit cites a report of a sous-intendant militaire A. Année, dated 1st September 1840. He says Napoleon ordered a battery twelve-pounders (led by captain Raffron) in vain to Gomont twice. As there was no captain with this name at Waterloo, this assertion is highly improbable. In: Mauduit, H. de - Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.320

According to baron Petiet, staff-officer of Soult, it was Reille who ordered Foy to assemble a battery of howitzers. In: Souvenirs militaires p.216

Muilwijk believes the bombardment was not intended and was caused by accident by guns of Piré's artillery, firing too short. This is contradicted however by Napoleon, Von Büsgen and Petiet. In: Standing firm at Waterloo p.150

⁵¹ Cf. the account of major Lebeau, the commander of the regiment. In: Coppens, B. & P.Courcelle - Hougoumont p.44

52. One of the units involved in this attack was the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of line infantry, supported by the remains of the 1st battalion.

Cf. the account of major Lebeau, the commander of the regiment. In: Coppens, B. & P.Courcelle - Hougoumont p.44

53. Major Büsgen. In: VPH, nr.75

He speaks of more as one haystack.

Ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.19-22 and 34.708 p.328-334

Standen confirms that the haystack was used as a rallying point.

54. Private M.Clay (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards). In: former www.1815.ltd.uk –

Original in: Regiment Headquarters Scots Guards

Ensign Gouch (2nd battalion Coldstream Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.299-302

Ensign Standen (3rd Foot Guards).In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.328-334

Ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 27th June 1815. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

The fact that the light company of the 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards occupied the buildings is confirmed by captain Mercer (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.203-206 and ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.19-22

55. Ensign Standen (3rd regiment Foot Guards).In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.121

It was near this gate that colonel De Cubières, on horseback, got wounded on his head and fell under his horse which was killed. In:

Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours Vol.II p.322

Lieutenant colonel Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.423-426

In a later stage, however, Woodford mentions a spot in front of the house of the gardener. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.490-493

As the British saw De Cubières fall, they halted their fire. Cf. lieutenant colonel Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.423-426, 490-493

Another version of the event is that sergeant-major R.Fraser of the 2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards charged De Cubières, grabbed him from his horse and rode it into the courtyard, where about a hundred French followed him there. Cf. Adkin, M. – The Waterloo campaign p.335

Aerts, W. Etudes etc. Livre V (manuscript) p.14

56. Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.339

Legros was also called "*l'enfonceur*".

Cf. Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours Vol.II p.321

Martinien, A. – Tableaux etc. p.387

Bruce Low, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.133

According to Petiet, however, it was lieutenant Boucher who was "*l'enfonceur*". He was a member of the 3rd company 3rd battalion 1st regiment of light infantry and was killed at Waterloo. Cf. both Legros' and Boucher's files. In: SHAT, nrs.22YC/8 and 2YE carton 417

Cf. Petiet – Souvenirs militaires etc. p.215-216

⁵⁷ According to Paget and Saunders thirty to forty Frenchmen got into the courtyard. Cf. Paget and Saunders p.43

58. Ensign Standen (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). In: BL, Ad.ms.34.705 p.19-22

Private Clay had entered the courtyard after the retreat of his company to the buildings and was instructed to take a position on the first floor of the château. From here he fired at the French

who entered into the courtyard. former www.1815.ltd.uk – Original in: Regiment Headquarters Scots Guards

One of the Nassauers to fire through loopholes on the French was sergeant Buchsieb (grenadier company) who had a position behind a door with eight other men in the château. After the buildings were set on fire, he left his position and pulled back to the main position. Cf. Buchsieb, A. - Denkwürdigkeiten etc. p.75-76

During this period of the fighting at Gomont, lieutenant D. von Wilder (grenadier company 1st battalion 2nd regiment Nassau) was seriously wounded, as a Frenchman would have chopped off his hand with an axe near the farmer's house. Cf. Adkin, M. - The Waterloo companion p.330

Aerts erroneously believes it was lieutenant Völger of the Lüneburg battalion (brigade Kielmansegge), but this unit was for the most part not at Gomont and this lieutenant had got seriously wounded on the 16th already. In: Etudes etc. Livre V (manuscript) p.14

59. Those who distinguished themselves on that occasion were: lieutenant colonel Macdonell, lieutenant colonel Wyndham (company no.6, Coldstream Guards), ensigns Gooch (light company, Coldstream Guards), ensign Hervey (?), sergeant Fraser (company no.3, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards), sergeant McGregor (grenadier company, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards), sergeant Aston (grenadier company, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards), private Lester (company no.1, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards), corporal James Graham (light company, Coldstream Guards) and corporal Joseph Graham (?).

Cf. Siborne, W. - History of the war etc. Vol.I p.391

Bruce Low, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.126-129

Adkin, M. - The Waterloo campaign p.330

In these publications, others are mentioned too, but there is no further evidence that they actually had a share at the north gate at that moment. They are sergeant Fraser (company no.3, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards), sergeant McGregor (grenadier company, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards), sergeant Aston (grenadier company, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards) and private Lester (company no.1, 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards). Cf. Franklin, J. – Waterloo, the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards (unpublished manuscript) p.433

60. Ensign Standen (2nd battalion / 3rd regiment Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.19-22 and 34.708 p.328-334

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

Legros was one of the victims. Cf. Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours Vol.II p.321

Martinien, A. – Tableaux etc. p.387

Legros' body would have been found back near the door of the chapel. In: Bruce Low, E. – With Napoleon at Waterloo p.133

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

62. Lieutenant colonel Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.423-426

He (erroneously) believes it was around noon.

Woodford himself is not explicit about the number of companies involved.

In fact, no eyewitness speaks about a specific number. Four is taken from Siborne and from where he got it is unclear. In: History of the war etc. Vol.I p.393

63. Lieutenant colonel Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.423-426

64. Lieutenant colonel Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.423-426

Lieutenant Walton (2nd battalion Coldstream Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.36-39

MacKinnon. The origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.217

65. See below.

Also see: major Büsgen. In: VPH, nr.75

More reminiscences of Waterloo. The defence of Hougoumont In: USJ, 1836 II, p.354

⁶⁶ Colonel Hepburn to Sir Walter Scott, 17th September 1815. In: Franklin, J. – Waterloo, 3rd regiment of foot guards (unpublished manuscript) p.437

Lieutenant colonel Mackinnon of the Coldstream Guards had been wounded in his knee by a spent musket ball when he was heading to Gomont in his first advance. Cf. Franklin, J. – Waterloo. 3rd regiment of Foot Guards (unpublished manuscript) p.101, 433

⁶⁷ Cf. Lieutenant Ellison (light company, 2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.1-2

68. Cf. Foy. Notes journalières. In: De l'Ain, G. Vie militaire etc. p.280

Foy in a letter to general Guilleminot, cited in: Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.388

Foy confirms the involvement of his battalions in the wood of Gomont and east of it, but doesn't enter into any details. Yet, he mentions the high losses he suffered and the fact that his units moved back and forth several times.

Cf. Colonel Trefcon (chief of staff of Bachelu). In: Carnet de campagne du colonel Trefcon p.187

Cf. Ensign L.de Civrieux (93rd regiment, brigade Gauthier). De Civrieux writes that his division suffered from enemy's gunfire for some time and that the division finally advanced a couple of hundred metres to avoid it. Soon after the division had taken up this position, half of it was engaged at Gomont. The troops were instructed to leave their eagles to a sergeant major but the ones of the 93rd would not have done so. In: Souvenirs d'un cadet p.167-168

Chef de bataillon Puvis of the 93rd regiment of the line tells us that his regiment was involved as skirmishers from 2 p.m. onwards in and around the wood of Gomont; here they stranded on a hedge [of the orchard]. Some time later, Puvis carried an order from Ney [?] to have the 100th regiment of the line (which had been in the rear) to support the 93rd, which then went back to

the rear to re-form. In: souvenirs p.117

⁶⁹. Lord Saltoun. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.431-434

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

Subaltern Townsend (battery Bull). Cf. extract of a letter. In: Lipscombe, N. - Henry's Shrapnel's shell – a force multiplier. In: The Waterloo journal Vol.35 no.3 p.5

The fact that the wood was taken and retaken is confirmed by lieutenant general Alten in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: VPH, nr.20

Cf. Mémoires pour servir etc. p.136

⁷¹. Ensign Wedgwood (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards), in a letter dated 19th June 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards

Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment), as a member of the light troops, witnessed the actions around Gomont and he reports about the French advance along its eastern side. According to Pratt it was then between 1 and 2 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94, 256-257

According to Home, these companies would have been sent upon his request. Cf. his letter dated 9th December 1836. In: NLS, Mss.866

⁷² Wachholtz, F.von - Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.39-41-42, and in a report dated 16th September 1841. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, VI Hs.18 nr.8

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

He situates the Advance guard battalion in front of the southern wall of the garden wall, which is highly unlikely as this was a pure killing-ground.

⁷³. Major Hepburn (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.703 p.311-316
Report of count Pozzo di Borgo to king Wolkonsky, dated 19th June. In: VPH, nr.123

According to ensign Larreguy de Civrieux of the 93rd regiment of the line (brigade Gauthier, division Foy) the fighting here must have been bitter and his regiment would have lost half of its strength within 30 minutes. In: Souvenirs p.168

⁷⁴. Cf. old engravings and drawings of Gomont.

Sir A.Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.490-493

The manuscript of his account dated 4th August 1815. In: Catalogue Maggs Bross, nr.1104 May 1990

Ensign Standen (3rd regiment Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.19-22

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

According to the local tradition the flames entered the chapel but extinguished at the feet of the crucifix; this tradition is confirmed by lieutenant colonel Woodford and ensign Standen. In: BL,

Add.ms.34.706 p.490-493 and 34.705 p.19-22

Cf. W. Thomson. In: A journal during a visit to Paris and a tour through part of Holland etc. p.117 Manuscript in: NLS, MS6334

In one of his letters captain Siborne cites lieutenant colonel Macdonnell who confirms that the buildings were not battered by balls but suffered from grenades, which set them on fire. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.136-139

⁷⁵. In: Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London, nr.WM 1257-1948

It was written with pencil on a piece of skin, which could be re-used simply by erasing the text.

⁷⁶ Lieutenant colonel Home (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards) Cf. his account dated 1816. In: BL, Add.ms.19590 (Mudford papers).

⁷⁷. Lieutenant colonel Woodford. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.423-426, 490-493

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

⁷⁸ Cf. Ensign Batty (3rd battalion, 1st Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: The Harrington collection.

⁷⁹. Lord Saltoun. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.227-229

Colonel Hepburn erroneously mentions 1 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316

According to captain Mercer (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards) it was between 2 and 3 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.203-206

Ensign Montagu (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Guards) believes it was 2 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.311-314

Lieutenant colonel Home (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards) mentions 2.30 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 7th December 1836. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in NLS, Mss 866

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

2 p.m. is also taken by MacKinnon. Cf. Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.218