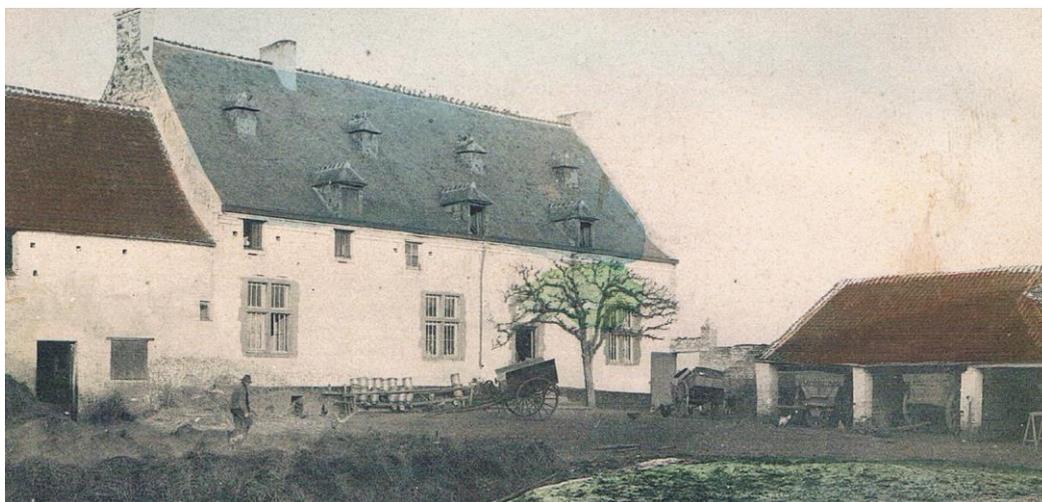


It was now between 6 and 6.30 p.m. By then, the French cavalry charges on the plateau of Mont Saint Jean had petered out, but this did not mean that the French released the pressure upon their opponent.

The situation in Wellington's centre was aggravated by the fact that in their fourth attempt the French had finally managed to take the farm of La Haye Sainte around 6 p.m.¹ Again, as in the third attack, French guns had been pounding the farm, thereby damaging the walls on the east-side and some parts of the roofs. Had Quiot's brigade failed in its third attempt, it were now the remains of this brigade plus the one of general Schmitz (Donzelot's division), which had stormed the farm.² In this, the 17th regiment of the line had taken its course towards the left side of the farm where, as before, the action had started at the west gate of the barn. It was also here that the 17th had been able to set this building into fire, but the occupants had been able to extinguish it.³ This had, however, not been possible without the assistance of men who had stood at the outer wall on the east side of the farm.

Meanwhile, the 13th regiment of light infantry had assaulted this opposite side of the farm. Additionally, they had been supported by the 60 engineers of the 2nd company of the 2nd battalion, led by captain Chiappe.⁴ Amongst them was a captain of the engineers of the corps, called Vieux, who had distinguished himself at the door in the outer wall immediately adjacent to the house of the farm. Although he had been wounded in his wrist and shoulder in the act, it was with his effort that the French had been able to break it.⁵ Yet, they had been unable to penetrate into the courtyard as the passage was small and resistance strong.

Had major Baring been suffering from a serious shortage of ammunition prior to the attack, he now had asked for it again but it was in vain. At this stage, most men had only 3 or 4 rounds of ammunition in their pouches. At the same time, he had urged his men to spare their ammunition to the utmost.



The interior of the farm of La Haye Sainte.

Yet, the situation had now got to such a critical state that the French could clearly feel that counter-fire was rapidly slackening. It gave them finally the chance to scale the outer wall on the east side and to penetrate into the barn at more or less the same time.⁶ The occupants were slowly driven back from the outbuildings and walls into the large courtyard of the farm, where

they were called back to the house by major Baring. As the French had taken the outer perimeters of the farm, they now also had forced the great gate opening at the *chaussée*. Not all its former occupants of the farm had been able to make it to the house, however. Some, such as private Lindau and captain Holzermann, had attempted to get away through the barn but had been halted there, robbed, taunted and brutally led by the French to the main gate and from there they had been forced to run towards the French position.⁷

Through the dwelling-house there was only the narrow passage which led to the garden in rear of the farm. Baring had given instructions to muster there. Meanwhile, it had been in the house that hand-to-hand fighting took place between the French and a small group, which covered the fugitives as a small rear-guard. Amongst them were lieutenant Graeme and Carey and ensign Frank and they all distinguished themselves here.⁸

As they all got out from the rear-entrance of the house, the remnants of the garrison of the farm had been assembled in the garden. Here, Baring had realized he would not be able to withstand the French from where he was and therefore he had decided to send the reinforcements he had received during the battle back to their units, while he himself had fallen back to the main position over the slopes of the ridge immediately above the farm. In the process, the French had refrained from pursuing him. The remains of Baring's battalion now linked up with the remains of the 1st battalion of light infantry KGL, which had their position in the hollow road north of the farm.⁹

The loss of the farm of La Haye Sainte in the very heart of Wellington's position now permitted the French to establish themselves also immediately north of it.¹⁰ An attempt to establish two guns there, however, failed. After these had been dragged all the way through the low ground and up the steep slopes again, they had barely taken up positions there and fired a round of ammunition, or the crews were eliminated by the musketry fire of the 1st battalion of the 95th regiment which stood on the other side of the *chaussée* in rear of the Ohain-road.¹¹

To the east of the Brussels road and in rear of the Ohain-road, the brigades of Lambert and Kempt suffered from musketry fire which was given off by these numerous French skirmishers not only in their front, but also in their right flank.¹² The situation was that the French there also fired from behind the cover of the knoll which ran parallel to this road north of the farm of La Haye Sainte.¹³



The knoll immediately north of the farm of La Haye Sainte.

The one in command here, major general Kempt, did everything to reply to this fire by having his men fire from whatever natural cover the terrain could offer.

Being too much exposed, however, in its forward position leaning upon the *chaussée* and being immediately behind the Ohain-road, the 27th regiment suffered such from the French fire that it lost about half of its strength within a short period of time.¹⁴ At the same time, cuirassiers were still hovering around in front of both allied brigades, taking their chances and covering their fellow infantry-men.¹⁵

After the fall of the farm of La Haye Sainte, the position of the battery of Ross became untenable and therefore it probably changed its position towards one in front of Von Kruse's battalions.¹⁶ The situation in this sector became such that the prince of Orange decided to act. He decided to send an allied unit forward to drive the French skirmishers away from the immediate surroundings of the farm. The task was assigned by the prince of Orange to the 5th battalion KGL of the line of Von Ompteda's brigade. Accordingly, he sent his adjutant lord Somerset to colonel Von Ompteda to deploy the battalion into line and to drive the French away.¹⁷ Von Ompteda, noticing the helmets of the French cuirassiers just beyond the crest of the ridge, pointed out to Somerset about the vulnerability of such an action without the support of cavalry. Somerset then left, but came back not long after accompanied by the prince and lieutenant general Alten.

Alten repeated the order, upon which Von Ompteda made the same objection as had done before. The prince intervened by stating that the cavalry involved were from army of the Netherlands. Though Von Ompteda was able to convince him of the fact that this could not be the case, the prince, peremptory, repeated his order.¹⁸

To comply with the order, Von Ompteda then formed the 250 men (¹⁹) in line, put himself at their head, crossed the Ohain-road and advanced, under a hurrah, towards the garden of the farm of La Haye Sainte.

Initially, the battalion was successful as the French infantry fell back towards the hedges north of the farm to regroup, until the Hanoverians were suddenly charged on their right and right-rear by the 9th regiment of cuirassiers.²⁰

In a second, before it was able to form square, the battalion was slain by the steel-clad horsemen: only 70 of the 250 men remained.²¹ As a trophy, quartermaster-sergeant Isaac Palan took one of its colours.²²

During the action, colonel Von Ompteda, while on horseback, had advanced against the French skirmishers. His adc, captain Von Berger, witnessed how the French ceased firing as the colonel approached them. The moment however that Von Ompteda jumped in the line of skirmishers at the hedge of the garden of the farm and hit one of them on his shako, they immediately all fell upon him, pulled him off his horse and killed him through a shot in the neck.²³

After the event, lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen mustered the remains of his battalion in rear of the hollow road, in which also the remains of the two KGL battalions of light infantry had their position.²⁴

It was from these battalions that the cuirassiers now received a volley, as they had continued their success towards the ridge beyond the farm of La Haye Sainte. Here, due to the volley their advance grounded to a halt. As they assembled further to the rear and charged again, they were now assailed in their left flank by the 3rd regiment of hussars KGL.²⁵ A 15 minute *mêlée* was the result, in which the hussars suffered considerably and as a result they had to fall back upon their original position. In this confrontation, captain Von Kerksenbruch fell. Captain Von Goeben then took the command of the regiment.²⁶ The French success did not last though: shortly after, the French were pushed back by a volley of adjoining allied infantry.²⁷

Colonel Von Ompteda was succeeded by lieutenant colonel Von dem Bussche (1st battalion of light infantry KGL); Von dem Busche was in his turn succeeded by brevet lieutenant colonel Von Hartwig.²⁸ By this time, the 8th battalion of the line KGL still stood as a small, two files deep, square in its former position.²⁹

Shortly after this, the 3rd regiment of hussars was ordered to fall back to the low ground east of the Nivelles-road and south of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean. As the regiment did so, it encountered Vivian's brigade. This prompted the commander of the hussars to follow this unit and take up a position immediately in its rear.³⁰

It may have been in conjunction to the 5th battalion of the line KGL that the prince of Orange also sent forward the light company of the 69th regiment in order to skirmish with the enemy near La Haye Sainte, but which in the process was nearly annihilated. Just in time, it was recalled by major general Colin Halkett.³¹

This commander, however, was also ordered (perhaps shortly after) by Wellington through an aide de camp to retake the farm. This took place just at the moment Halkett had moved his 33rd / 69th regiments towards the Foot Guards as these were suffering from the tremendous pressure of a French mass of infantry and both these battalions were about to fire upon the nearest angle of the French formation. Though suffering severe casualties, both regiments were able to arrest the French progress.

As they prepared the 30th / 73rd regiments to advance towards the farm, both Colin Halkett and the aide de camp were wounded by grape shot, the first slightly and the latter severely. The attempt to take the farm was however short-lived and wasn't pushed through, and both regiments retook their position at the Ohain-road.³²

By the time the farm of La Haye Sainte fell into French hands, some more support for Wellington's hard-pressed centre became at hand.

After he had been informed by his patrols about the approach of the advance guard of the 1st Prussian corps – it may have been not longer after 6 p.m. - [³³] sir Hussey Vivian decided to propose to his neighbouring cavalry commander, major general Vandeleur, to lead their brigades from the extreme left flank to the centre of the allied position. Vandeleur, reasoning he had no instruction to do so, declined the proposal. It did not prevent Vivian from his pushing through his intention. Unexposed to French fire, he led his brigade along the left wing of the army in an open column of half squadrons. While doing so, he met lord Uxbridge who was about to deliver him and Vandeleur the order to do what Vivian was doing. Now, Uxbridge despatched a messenger to Vandeleur and rode ahead of Vivian's brigade to a place where he wanted to have it.³⁴

Due some misunderstanding in the transmission of the order by lord Greenock the brigade halted for some minutes to the left of the farm of Mont Saint Jean [³⁵], but this was soon corrected by lord Uxbridge, and right after the majority of the brigade crossed the Brussels road south of the farm of Mont Saint Jean. After that, it wheeled to its left and initially took up a position in closed columns. Not long after, it switched into an open line of columns, the 18th regiment of hussars to the left, leaning upon the road. To its right stood the 10th regiment of hussars. In the second line stood two squadrons of the 1st regiment of hussars; the other two still stood to the left of the Brussels road. Not long after having established itself this way, the brigade advanced to a position not far behind the battalions of Alten, Kruse and of the Brunswick contingent.³⁶

Captain Gardiner had joined Vivian in his move to the centre of the army. Despite some losses he suffered in horses while doing so, he was able to establish his unit to the immediate left of Vivian's horsemen.³⁷

In this way, Vivian's brigade took up the former position of the depleted remains of the British cavalry, the 3rd regiment of hussars KGL and the heavy cavalry of Trip which now fell back in the low ground in the rear of the British dragoons.³⁸ It was here that general Collaert got seriously wounded at his foot by the explosion of a howitzer-grenade; he was succeeded by major general Trip, who was in turn succeeded by lieutenant colonel De Bruyn, commander of the 2nd regiment of carabineers.³⁹

Instructed by lord Uxbridge, it was at this stage that the 6th regiment of hussars (brigade Van Merlen) attached themselves to the 18th British regiment of hussars. By then, the hussars were reduced to the strength of about one squadron.⁴⁰

It may have been around 6.30 p.m. that major general Vandeleur left his position on the left wing, the 12th regiment of light dragoons in front.⁴¹ In its march to the centre the brigade would have halted briefly between its former position and the farm of Mont Saint Jean [⁴²], but not long after the brigade crossed the *chaussée* and took up a position in line to the right of the one of Vivian, on its right leaning against the Nivelles-road. The 12th regiment of light dragoons (now two squadrons) stood to the left and the other two regiments to its right rear. Shortly after, the Netherlands brigade of d'Aubremé (division Chassé) would establish itself between the brigade and the Foot Guards in its front.⁴³ Both positions of the cavalry brigades were assigned by lord Uxbridge himself.⁴⁴

After the failure of Von Ompteda's battalion, by 6.45 p.m., Wellington reinforced the line here drawing the battalion of Hameln (brigade Von Vincke) from its position immediately left of the Brussels road to a position in the rear of Von Ompteda's units. The battalion did so by switching from square into column, crossed the Brussels road and then to take up a position in a four-file deep line immediately to the right of the *maison Valette*.⁴⁵

Additionally, major general Von Vincke was also ordered through lieutenant colonel Campbell to place his Gifhorn battalion between the Brunswickers (in front) and the 10th regiment of hussars (in rear) as an extra support for the first line. Here its members laid down to the ground to avoid the intense musketry fire.⁴⁶

The French attempt to use artillery at very close range against the very centre of Wellington had failed, but this was not the case against the forces which stood to its immediate right. Here, the French were able to continue or expand the formula they had used in the hour before: to keep the pressure upon the allied line by a very strong infantry skirmishing fire, while guns - covered by formations of cavalry in their immediate vicinity - were firing away with round-shot and grape shot in the enemy's line from a short distance. At the same time, the presence of the cavalry forced the allied units to maintain squares, which made them in turn more exposed to the continuous musketry- and artillery-fire.

It was against the left square of Kielmansegge's brigade (Grubenhagen / Yorck) that two light guns, covered by cuirassiers and infantry, were dragged by the French through the low ground and up the slopes to fire grape-shot at a range of just several hundred paces.⁴⁷ As a result, it gave way a little, but Alten directed Kielmansegge to stop the square and to bring it up, which he did.⁴⁸

At the same time French infantry - probably of Pégot's brigade - boldly advanced against the other square of the brigade (Bremen / Verden).⁴⁹ Due to the lack of success of the Nassau forces to its immediate right (see below) and its serious casualties caused by gunfire [⁵⁰], the Hanoverians here in a moment of confusion had to yield for the French but finally the square was able to pull itself together and in the process also drove off some enemy cavalry, despite its

lack of ammunition. The square – which by now had been reduced to merely a triangle – took up a new position further to the rear, but still in front of the dragoons of Vivian and within reach of the French musketry-fire.⁵¹ By 7 p.m. , the result was that both Kielmansegge's squares were very weak and irregular in shape.⁵²

In front of the Nassau battalions of Von Kruse the situation was not much different. Here, the French had established two guns, firing grapeshot at a distance of about 150 metres. The 1st battalion was in the first line, it was this battalion which suffered the most. At the same time the guns were covered by a force of cuirassiers to the right of the Nassau troops, awaiting a moment of disorder.

Within a short time, the 1st battalion lost all its experienced officers and now captain Weiz (leading the Jäger-company) got the command over the battalion. Though captain Schüller warned colonel Von Weyhers for the dangers of such an action, this colonel still decided to carry out a bayonet-attack to silence the guns. The battalion had advanced about 40 to 50 paces when two grape-shots killed some of the Nassauers; colonel Von Weyhers was wounded. Now, the battalion wavered and halted. At the same an adjutant of Wellington hurried to the battalion and instructed it to return to the main position immediately. Now, lieutenant colonel Von Hagen led back the battalion to this position: the three rearward companies (⁵³) wheeled and marched back to the position, while the two remaining ones of the first echelon (the grenadier and the 1st company) kept their position. The reason was that they hadn't heard the orders in the midst of the roar. Not long after both these units (not counting then more than 140 men) were charged by cuirassiers which finally dispersed this group of men which had tried to hold on, without any support whatsoever. Of the battalion one and a half company were scattered and 22 men were taken prisoner. The remainder of the 1st battalion was now joined to the 2nd battalion as it was no longer able to operate on its own.⁵⁴

It was also in this stage of the battle that this 2nd battalion, supported by the remains of the 1st, was ordered and led to the front by the prince of Orange in order to disperse the French skirmishers.

Von Kruse had, accordingly, moved his 2nd battalion forward, supported in its rear by the remains of the 1st battalion. They had barely advanced, however, as that the French skirmishers fell back before them. Right at that moment, the prince was hit by a musket-ball in his shoulder.⁵⁵ It was also at that time that the Nassauers suddenly panicked and fell back again somewhat beyond their former position to their Landwehr comrades which allowed the French to advance up to the crest of the ridge.⁵⁶

Just at that time, help was at hand. Five Brunswick battalions (the 2nd and 3rd battalion of light infantry and the 1st, 2nd and 3rd battalion of line infantry) came to support the Nassauers to their immediately right.

As Wellington had pulled the brigade of Adam back upon the ridge (see below), these battalions had become available to shore up the centre of the allied line.⁵⁷

Initially, the Brunswick battalions also suffered from some disorder as a result of the Nassauers situation, but soon after the officers were able to lead the battalions to the frontline to restore the original situation and to place themselves there in closed columns. This was also thanks to the effort of the duke of Wellington himself who had succeeded, with the aid of Sir Alexander Gordon (member of the 3rd regiment Foot Guards and aide de camp of Wellington) in collecting the Brunswick battalions under the cover of the 3rd battalion line infantry which had pulled itself together first.⁵⁸ In the act, Gordon, got wounded in his right thigh by musketry fire, a wound which would prove fatal.⁵⁹

This all did not prevent both the Nassau and Brunswick forces to recoil once again not long after, but the stationary attitude of Vivian's brigade prevented them from a further retreat.⁶⁰ As

the situation had been repaired, Vivian now pulled his men back for about 25 metre to shield them somewhat from the strong French musketry-fire.⁶¹

From fear of a threat as coming from Gomont, it was towards 6.30 p.m. (⁶²) that major general Adam decided to move his brigade back from its position between Gomont and the Ohain-road towards one in rear of this road.⁶³ Accordingly, at least the 52nd regiment switched from two squares through columns into two lines, of which the subdivisions from the right formed one, those from the left the other. As they had faced about, they moved to the main ridge.⁶⁴

This is where all battalions of the brigade took up positions immediately in rear of the Ohain-road. All of them, except one (the 3rd battalion 95th regiment) did so in lines of four files deep. The 52nd and the 71st regiment were to the left and right, having the 2nd battalion 95th regiment slightly to the left rear of the 52nd and the 3rd battalion 95th regiment in rear of the right wing of the 71st. The reason for the 3rd battalion 95th regiment not to be in the first line was that the flanks of the 52nd and the 71st were very close to each other. Of the 52nd, the left wing stood slightly to the rear of the right wing due to the terrain.⁶⁵

Not long after, Rogers' battery came into a position to the right of the Foot Guards, to the front of the 2nd battalion 95th regiment and to the left front of the 52nd regiment. Not long after, captain Rogers had left his former position in the very centre of the army to move towards the Nivelles-road which he then followed for some distance in a westward direction until he advanced again to the front to the position as described. Here, the battery came into action with three guns only, as two others had lost all their horses and the remaining one had been lost before.⁶⁶ Also, the 23rd regiment (Mitchell's brigade) fell back towards its original position in rear of the Ohain-road, to the right of Adam's brigade. Its light companies maintained their positions to the right of Gomont, in the vicinity of the 14th and 51st regiment.

Amidst their numerous skirmishers and scattered cavalry-units, the French had divided their guns in sections of two at large intervals of 100 to 150 metres, as a third section – covered by some cavalry - was pounding the brigade of Colin Halkett from close range with grape. It was the combined square of the 30th / 73rd, in the first line, which suffered most.⁶⁷

The suffering was such that the square even made an attempt to get possession of them, but soon this attempt had to be relinquished. As the square was taken back behind the Ohain-road it somehow bumped into the combined square of the 33rd / 69th and the result was that both units got intermixed and got into a terribly confused clew of men.⁶⁸⁻⁶⁹ As the officers were trying to restore order, the duke of Wellington passed in rear of the brigade and remarked to his staff members "See what's wrong there".

Accordingly, major Dawson Kelly (assistant QMG) found Sir Colin Halkett, but just at that moment, a musket bullet passed through his mouth, upon which he was led to the rear.⁷⁰ Now, the commander of the 33rd regiment, lieutenant colonel Elphinstone, asked Dawson Kelly whether he had carried any orders.⁷¹ He replied he had none was merely sent out to enquire about the situation. Having learnt this, Kelly now advised Dawson Kelly to have the men take up their former positions and to form a wide front so as to be able to receive a new attack.⁷²

With an abrupt and loud cry of someone, the remains of the brigade were now re-formed at the hedge of the Ohain-road under the cover of the remains of the light company of the 30th regiment which had been sent forward by major Chambers (30th regiment). Soon, this company was reinforced with a second and major Dawson Kelly remained with the 73rd regiment as this had by now lost all of its officers.⁷³ It was in the same phase of the battle that lieutenant general Alten was wounded and taken to the rear.⁷⁴ In the same sector, it was towards 6 p.m. that captain Cleeves' battery had ran out of ammunition. The result was that the half battery of three guns was ordered by the prince of Orange to limber up and to go to the rear.

Captain Cleeves was now ordered by lieutenant colonel Hartmann (of the artillery of the KGL) to collect his battery and to join Sympher's battery. Cleeves succeeded in leading his guns, except one, out from the battle to the rear to a field near the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean. It was here that the battery was re-supplied with ammunition of the one of captain Sandham. The moment captain Cleeves was on his way to the front again he was instructed by the adjutant Heise to take up a position at the bottom of the slope and to wait there for further orders. Sometime later, before 7 p.m., it advanced again to the front line, in front of Colin Halkett's brigade.⁷⁵

As a result of the strong French pressure, the brigade of De Ghigny here moved back in good order to another position a short distance further to the rear. By then it was towards 6 p.m.

Very shortly after, in the process of reforming ranks under enemy fire, however, a misunderstanding in the transmission of orders caused the hussars to get into such a state of confusion that they streamed back from the field as far as the edge of the forest of Soignes.

In the meantime, the regiment had captain Chastel de la Howarderie killed and major De Villiers, lieutenants Gérard, de Baillet and De Villers wounded.

Eventually, colonel Duvivier succeeded in restoring order and to bring the regiment back into a position in the low ground to the left of the Nivelles road, in the immediate vicinity of Trip's brigade. By then, it was about 7 p.m.⁷⁶

Having got hold of La Haye Sainte and while keeping large swarms of infantry upon the flanks of the remains of his cavalry as well as sections of artillery on and along the ridge of Mont Saint Jean, Ney now committed units of infantry of the 1st and 2nd corps as a chain into this mix of weapons so as to maximize power close to Wellington's line. They were the remains of the division of Bachelu, as well as those of Pégot's (division Durutte) and Jamin's brigade (division Foy). By this time it was around 6.30 p.m. While the 85th regiment of the line (brigade Brue) was engaged to the immediate right of the farm of La Haye Sainte (on and along the Brussels road), Ney placed the brigade of Pégot to the left of this farm.⁷⁷ At the same time, those forces opposing the wood and orchard of Gomont were ordered to maximize their power upon these sectors again (see the action at Gomont).

To complete the front line between Gomont and La Haye Sainte, Reille had Bachelu and the brigade of Jamin form up further up to the left, in columns of regiments *en echelon*, having Bachelu in front. As they advanced, they passed through their fellow cavalry and artillery upon the ridge. Here, however, also their advance came to a stand-still due to the strong gun- and musketry fire of allied units opposed to them. Pégot managed to maintain his forces at some distance of the enemy, covered by cavalry and artillery, but both Bachelu and Jamin suffered considerably and large parts of them fell back to the low grounds further to the rear alongside the complex of Gomont. Both Foy and Bachelu themselves were wounded. Though his left shoulder had been pierced by a musket-ball, Foy could continue his command; Bachelu was succeeded by his adjutant colonel Trefcon.⁷⁸

The strong French fire at close range, both in artillery and musketry, upon the allied line stretching from the brigade of Lambert towards the one of Colin Halkett in particular resulted in dense clouds of smoke which obscured visibility and which made it very hard for the allied infantry to maintain its positions.⁷⁹

Sir Hussey Vivian writes: "Lord Uxbridge shortly returned to me, and finding the fire still heavy, and the enemy evidently in great force immediately in our front, he asked me whether we had not better advance and charge. The smoke at this moment was so dense on the side of the hill, that it was scarcely possible to see ten yards before us; and consequently, no enemy being

visible, I observed, "that as my brigade was in perfect order, I thought it would be advisable not to hazard an attack whereby we might be thrown into confusion, which it would be difficult to repair; that if the enemy appeared on the crest of the hill through the smoke, by a sudden and unexpected charge on them we could, no doubt, drive them back." His Lordship then dismounted from his horse, and advanced himself on foot and unattended down the hill, hoping to be able to see under the smoke and make his own observations. I rode down to him and begged him not to expose himself so; on which he returned, saying he agreed with me in thinking that I had better remain steady, ready to attack if the enemy appeared; and, mounting his horse, he left me to join the Duke, and I saw no more of him during the day."⁸⁰

It was now running towards 7 p.m. By the hours of continuous pressure of the French, the ranks of many of Wellington's battalions and squadrons were seriously diminished. In addition, many other combatants had left the field while accompanying the wounded to the rear, or simply as fugitives. For both infantry and artillery, ammunition had got severely depleted.⁸¹

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1. Cf. Shaw Kennedy, J. – Notes etc. p.122

Opinions on the moment the farm fell in French hands differ.

First of all, Baring himself gives a time between 7 and 8 p.m. In: *Erzählung der Theilnahme* etc. In: NHA, *Hanoversches Militärisches Journal*.1831

Wellington gives the inexplicable time of 2 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 17th August 1815 to an unknown person In: WSD, Vol.XII p.610

According to colonel Heymès the farm fell between 6 and 7 p.m. In: *Documents inédits* p.19

General d'Erlon states it was 3 p.m. In: *Vie militaire* p.97

According to Napoleon himself the farm fell three hours after the attack of the 1st corps [i.e. around 5 p.m.]. In: *Mémoires pour servir* p.144

Gourgaud believes it was before 4 p.m. In: *Campagne de dix huit cent quinze* etc. p.79

Major general Kempt confirms the farm fell late afternoon. Cf. his report to Wellington, 19th of June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.535-537

Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment) believes the farm fell shortly after 3 p.m. but at the same time adds that he was not sure about it. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.388-391 and 402-404

Lieutenant Bertram (8th battalion of the line KGL) states the farm fell at 5 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.250-253

The fact that there were in all four French attacks on the farm is also confirmed by lieutenant colonel Bussche in his report dated 23rd June 1815 to the duke of Cambridge. In: NHA, NHA, .38D, nr.20

Baring states that it took the French about 7 hours to take the farm (from 12.30 to about 7.30 p.m.), while it was in reality about 4.5 hours (1.30 – 6 p.m.). Therefore, his claim that at least two attacks took 1.5 hours each cannot be maintained.

² The fact that this brigade was involved here can be taken from the following statement of general d'Erlon: Je certifie, en outre, que le général Schmitz recut l'ordre d'attaquer la Maison-Grénélee, dite la Haye Sainte, située sur la grande route et au centre de la position de l'ennemi; qu'il s'en est emparé en surmontant les plus grandes difficultés et qu'il eut plusieurs chevaux tués sous lui." In: http://cornessa.free.fr/livret_general/haye_sainte.html

³ Lindau, F. - *Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer* p.136

⁴ The 2nd battalion was led by chef de bataillon Borrel Vivier.

A note, dated at Montpellier 1st of September 1833, about his services reads: "Détails des services et campagnes [...] 1815 à Waterloo où il eut un cheval tué sous lui, à la prise de la ferme de la Haie Sainte qu'il enleva à la tête de 400 soldats de génie. " In: Coppens, B & P.Courcelle. *La Haye sainte* p.32

Octave Levavasseur, aide de camp of Ney, states he saw two companies of engineers taking part in the action against the farm at that stage. In: *Souvenirs militaires d'Octave Levavasseur* p.302

Though lieutenant Graeme stood at the east-wall of the farm, he denies having seen any French sappers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

⁵ Vieux had lost his horse by gunfire earlier in the battle and had attached himself to the engineers attacking the farm. His second wound, in the shoulder, forced him to leave the field. Cf. Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours Vol.II p.334

The fact that captain Vieux was wounded is confirmed by Martinien. In: Tableaux etc. p.666

Vieux is often portrayed as having smashed open the large main gate of the farm but this is incorrect. Baring says nothing about the smashing of this gate, but the ear smashing of the wicket-door involved. He adds that the French later entered by penetrating into the barn and by escalading the walls; after that, the French opened the main gate from the inside. In: Hannoversches Militärisches Journal.1831 p.82

⁶ Lindau, F. - Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer p.137

Major Baring. In: Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. In: NHA, Hannoversches Militärisches Journal.1831 p.82-83

Lieutenant Graeme, however, denies the fact that the French scaled the walls. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

⁷ Lindau, F. - Ein Waterloo-Kämpfer p.138-139

Major Baring. In: Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. In: Hannoversches Militärisches Journal.1831 p.83

Lieutenant Graeme (2nd battalion light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.407-408

⁸ In the house, ensign Frank stabbed two French, one of whom had attempted to shoot Graeme. A musket shot shattered Frank's right wrist; he also got a shot in his chest and sank down in of the rooms. He was left for dead but survived the battle. Schwertfeger, B. – Geschichte der Königlich Deutschen Legion Vol.I p.619

Those wounded who lay there were shot by the French. Cf. Lieutenant Graeme in his letter dated June 1815. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

Lieutenant Graeme started the battle in rear of the abatis on the *chaussée*, and was then on the piggery in the courtyard, from where he pulled back around 6 p.m. to the dwelling-house. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.497-508

9. Major Baring. In: Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. In: NHA, Hannoversches Militärisches Journal p.88

Also in: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.48-62

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

It was not long after this that Baring's horse got wounded; it hurt Baring at his right leg at the same moment. It caused him to start looking for a new horse which took him about 30 minutes; as he returned to the front, the French had established two guns north of the farm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.427-428

According to one source, 48 men (42 privates, one surgeon and five officers) came out of the farm alive. Cf. Anonymus. Die Königlich Deutsche Legion und das NHA, Hannoversche Corps bei Waterloo p.33

This number is probably based upon the account of Baring, who mentions the figure of 42 men, but this was the number he had with him at the very end of the battle, not by the

moment he evacuated the farm. In: Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. In: NHA, Hannoversches Militärisches Journal p.88

In real life, the battalion counted 398 men and the return over the 18th of June comprised 204 casualties, which counts for 51%

Cf. state dated 28th of May 1815. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.82-89

Return made by Baring himself. In: NHA, nr.38D. nr.200

10. Major Baring (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.48-62

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: Adventures of the Rifle Brigade p.339

Ensign Wheatley (5th battalion of the line KGL). Cf. his diary. In: Hibbert, Chr. (ed) , The Wheatley diary etc. p.68

11. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.339 and BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.218-221

¹² Lieutenant colonel Barnard (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.260-265

Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.210-214

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

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

Lieutenant Cox (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.279-280

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

Lieutenant Levinge (4th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.201-202

Major general Lambert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65

Major Browne (40th regiment). In : BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.258-261

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

Captain Bishop (40th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.213-216

Captain Stretton (40th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.224-226

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

13. Major Browne (40th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.258-261

Major general Lambert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65

Captain Stretton (40th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p. 224-226

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

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

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.218-221

14. Major general Lambert. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65

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

Captain Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.210-212 and in: Rough sketches etc. p.391

Captain Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.342

Captain Drewe (27th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.417-419

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

Major general Lambert to Kempt, dated 19th June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.537-538

To commemorate the share of the 27th in the battle, a monument was erected in 1990 in the north-east corner of the crossing. It contains the following inscription:

" In memory of the heroic stand by the 27th Inniskilling regiment of foot at the battle of Waterloo on 18th of June 1815 when of the 747 officers and men of the regiment who joined battle 493 were killed or wounded. A noble record of stubborn endurance. Of them the Duke of Wellington said: " Ah, they saved the centre of my line." Erected by their successors The Royal Irish Rangers (27th (Inniskillings) 83rd 87th) 18th June 1990"

¹⁵ Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.105-109

16. Captain Ross. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.255-259, 34.704 p.201-204, 34.708 p.318

¹⁷ Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.286

18. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-Englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.86-287

Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen (5th battalion of the line KGL). In: VPH, nr.37

According to the journal of the 5th battalion of the line KGL, the prince would have left after the objection of Von Ompteda, but would have sent the same order through lord Somerset after all. In: VPH, nr.36

19. Cf. The journal of the battalion. In: VPH, nr.36

20. Cf. Ensign Wheatley (5th battalion of the line KGL). He adds that he was taken prisoner after he had got unconscious by a blow received in this action. Cf. his diary. In: Hibbert, Chr. (ed) , The Wheatley diary etc. p.70

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade p.339

Journal of the 5th battalion of the line KGL. In: VPH, nr.36

Captain Von Brandis (5th battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.235-237

Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen (5th battalion of the line KGL) speaks of 5 or 6 squadrons of cuirassiers. In: VPH, nr.37

Cf. also his account. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.237-240

Lieutenant general Alten, in his report for Wellington dated 19th of June 1815, mentions the Hanoverians of the battalion driving back the French infantry but remains silent about the outcome of the action. In: WSD, Vol.X.p.534-535

At 5 p.m. and a little later, a publication dedicated to colonel Von Ompteda distinguishes two other instances that the battalion advanced against French infantry. First, one in which it was saved by Life Guards and second, in the sense that it could form square in time. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.283

The fact that it was the 9th regiment of cuirassiers can be taken from a combination of the probable formation of Milhaud's corps, the account of Delort and the note dated 26th of June 1815 (see below).

21. The battalion, deducting the grenadiers and the light company, counted 256 men (227 privates, 1 lieutenant colonel, 2 captains, 12 officers and 14 sergeants). Initially, some 18 men

and 6 officers were left, but within the hour this number again increased to 72 (65 men and 7 officers). In: VPH, nr.36

According to lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen 19 men were left. He counts the following casualties: 36 killed, 42 wounded, 76 prisoners [=154]. In: VPH, nr.37

In another document he mentions 30 men (with a few officers) who would have been left. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.237-240

Cf. Anonymous. Die Königlich Deutsche Legion und das NHA, Hannoversche Corps bei Waterloo p.34

Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.287

The battalion-journal states a loss of 12 officers, 12 sergeants, 1 drummer and 128 men. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von - Ein Hannoversch-Englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.287

22. Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen (5th battalion of the line KGL). In: VPH, nr.37

Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) Von. In: Dehnel, H. - Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc. p.291

General Delort. In: Stouff, L. – Essai sur le lieutenant général baron Delort p.154

A note date 26th June 1815 stating “Reçu un drapeau anglais pris à la bataille de Waterloo par le 9e régiment de cuirassiers, ce 26 Juin 1815. Pour Monsieur le maréchal, l’aide de camp, signé [unsigned].” In: General Delort. In: Stouff, L. – Essai sur le lieutenant général baron Delort p.131

23. Captain Berger. In: Ompteda, L.Fr. von Ein Hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.288

Cf. Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) Von. In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc. p.292 Von Brandis wasn’t there when Von Ompteda fell as he had gone to the rear to get him another horse.

Report about the In: VPH, nr.36

Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen (5th battalion of the line KGL). In: VPH, nr.37

Von Ompteda would have been buried in a mass-grave opposite the large gate of the farm of La Haye Sainte. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von Ein Hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.289

²⁴ Von Linsingen is contradictory in this: on the one hand he states that the remains were collected in the hollow road, but in another account he mentions it was in rear of it. In: VPH, nr.37

In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.237-240

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

According to some the 5th battalion of the line KGL was liberated from the French cuirassiers by the 3rd hussars, but this is incorrect. By the time the hussars intervened, the battalion had already been cut up.

Cf. Journal of the battalion. In: VPH, nr.36

Notes relating to the Hanoverian forces. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, p.340

Colonel Arentschildt in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: NHA, NHA, .38D, nr.200

Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen, commander of the battalion, confirms that he never received any direct (cavalry) support. In: VPH, nr.37

Both ensign Wheatley (5th battalion of the line KGL) and lieutenant Bertram (8th battalion of the line KGL) believe that the cuirassiers were in turn driven back by the Royal Horse Guards. In: In: Hibbert, Chr. (ed) - The Wheatley diary etc. p.66
In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.250-253

26. Colonel Arentschildt in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: NHA, NHA, .38D, nr.200
Major Von Schnehen (3rd regiment of hussars). In: VPH, nr.60

According to a general Hanoverian account the hussars counted 40 files after the action and joined the remains of the brigade of Ponsonby. In: General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302

27. Major Baring. In: In: Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. In: NHA, Hannoversches Militärisches Journal.1831 p.85-86

Major Von Schnehen (3rd regiment of hussars KGL). In: VPH, nr.59

According to colonel Arentschildt, the hussars were almost cut off by *chasseurs à cheval*. In: NHA, NHA, .38D, nr.200

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion , 95th regiment). He also claims that a volley of his battalion eventually separated the hussars and the cuirassiers, but this is from its position hard to comprehend due to configuration of the terrain. In: Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, p.340

28. Lieutenant colonel Von dem Bussche in his report to the duke of Cambridge, dated 23rd June 1815. In: NHA, NHA, .38D, nr.200

²⁹ Lieutenant colonel Von Linsingen (5th battalion of the line KGL). In: VPH, nr.37

Captain Bertram (8th battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.250-253

Von Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) Von. In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc. p.291-292

30. Major Von Goeben (3rd regiment of hussars). In: VPH,nr.60

³¹ Cf. Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.344-345

³² Cf. Sir Colin Halkett himself. In: BL, Add.34.705 p.344-345 and 34.708 p.245-250

Ensign Macready (30th regiment) situates the advance of the 33rd / 69th towards the Foot Guards at the time the Imperial Guard attacked, and *after* the temporary confusion within the brigade, but this is incorrect.

Apart from the details of the action itself, it becomes clear from Colin Halkett's account that the 33rd and 69th supported the Foot Guards first, that the 30th and 73rd were sent towards La Haye Sainte shortly afterwards and that some time later the brigade got into a temporary confusion.

Cf. Ensign Macready. In: On a part etc. p.400 and in: The crisis of Waterloo p.51

Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.245-250

Captain Siborne and his son H.T.Siborne make the same error. In: Captain Siborne to major Macready p.573 and in:The Waterloo letters p.321

33. The 1st Prussian corps reached Ohain by 6 p.m.
 Sir H.Vivian himself gives 6 p.m. as the time he was informed. Cf. His letter to his wife, dated 23rd June 1815. In: Vivian, Cl. - R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc.
 Cf. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.235-237
 The same hour is given by colonel Von Wissell (1st regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.98-102
 Major Von der Decken (1st regiment hussars) and the journal of the same regiment give 6.30 p.m. In: VPH, nr.56 and 55
 Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner) gives 7.30 and even 8.30 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.290-296 and his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

34. Sir Hussey Vivian. Cf. His letter to his wife, dated 23rd June 1815. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc.
 Sir H.Vivian. In: United Service Journal, July 1833, p.312
 Lord Greenock and sir H. Seymour confirm that it was Uxbridge who ordered both brigades to the centre of the army. In: BL, Add.ms.34. 34.704 p.187-189 and 34.707 p.471-480
 Von Müffling also claims to have ordered both brigades to new positions in the centre himself. In: The memoirs of baron Von Müffling etc. p.247
 Uxbridge himself wrote about this episode: "I first sent and then being uneasy about it went myself to reconnoitre it. Having happily ascertained that it was a Prussian force, I immediately withdrew all the cavalry from the left in order to strengthen the centre." Original note in the Plass Newyd papers. In: One leg p.146

35. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.235-237 and 34.708 p.351-356
 Lieutenant Slayter Smith (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.23-26

36. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45. 157-163, 34.707 p.50-57 and 34.708 p.351-356
 Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.312
 Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: NAM, nr.1974-06-35
 Major Von der Decken (1st regiment of hussars). In: VPH, nr.56
 Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90
 Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). Cf. his letter to W.Siborne. In: NAM, nr.8204-709
 Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter to mr. Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In collection A.Lagden.
 Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116
 Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.290-296 and in his diary. In: RAI, nr. MD 797
 Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91
 Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108
 Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166
 Lieutenant Slayter Smith (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.23-26
 Lieutenant Cartwright (10th regiment of hussars). Cf. his letter dated 22nd June 1815 to his father. In: Memoirs of the 10th Royal Hussars p.164
 Captain Shakespear (10th regiment of hussars). In: NAM, nr.7706-17 and in BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.482-485

Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner) mentions a march along the north-side of the farm of Mont Saint Jean. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

Some eyewitnesses mention the presence of forces of the Netherlanders, but these were actually those of the brigade of Von Kruse. Cf. for instance Murray, lieutenant colonel Manners and lieutenant Duperier.

37. Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 266-271 (sketch nr.4) and in his diary. In: RAI, nr.MD 797

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

Captain Hardinge (battery Gardiner). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.32-35

38. Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.44-45

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: NAM, nr.ARC 7612-19-1 and in: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.106-116

Major Von Goeben (3rd regiment hussars). In: VPH, nr.60

Cf. Major general Trip. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.404-412

Trip states he received the order to fall back by 7 p.m. from lord Uxbridge.

Trip's presence here is also confirmed by captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons, brigade Vandeleur) whose regiment stood in front of two squadrons of heavy cavalry of the Netherlands. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.131-32

Private Farmer (11th regiment light dragoons) speaks of a position of Nassau hussars in his rear. In: The light dragoon p.155

³⁹ Cf. Major general Trip. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.404-412

Lieutenant general De Ghigny. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.416-417

Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt. In: CBG, nr.95

⁴⁰ Cf. Report of lieutenant colonel Boreel. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.418-420

Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.118-123

He mentions the presence of cavalry of the Netherlands dressed in "grey or light blue Nassau jackets." The 6th regiment of hussars wore light-blue jackets.

Muilwijk erroneously believes Boreel attached himself to Grant's brigade. In: Standing firm at Waterloo p.158

41. It was 5 p.m. according to captain Barton (12th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.184-191

Cf. captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 131-132 and 34.708 p.177-181

Also in: The diary of a cavalry officer p.307

Captain Schreiber (11th regiment of light dragoons) speaks of 4 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.99-100

Lieutenant colonel Hay (16th regiment of light dragoons) claims his regiment reached its new position by 7 p.m. In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.186

42. Captain Schreiber (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.99-100
Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer p.307
Captain Childers (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.149-150 He claims a position in rear of Pack's brigade.

43. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833, II p.313
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
Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment of light dragoons). In: The diary of a cavalry officer p.307
BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.131-32 and 34.708 p.177-181
Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140
Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.50-57
Cornet Bullock (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.65-66
Captain Schreiber (11th regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.99-100
Captain Stawell (12th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.132-133
Sir J.Vandeleur denies a formation in echelon and is unsure whether the men were in line or column. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.167-168
Private Farmer (11th regiment light dragoons) speaks of a position in rear of the Brunswickers. In: The light dragoon p.155

The horsemen's presence in rear of a Netherlands brigade of infantry [d'Aubremé] is confirmed by the following eyewitnesses:

Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.131-132 and 34.708 p.177-181
Lieutenant colonel Sleigh (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.302-305
Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.133-140
Captain Childers (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.155-166, 209-210 and 34.706 p.149-150
Cornet Bullock (11th regiment light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.65-66
Sir J.Vandeleur. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.167-168
Captain Miller (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.241-245
Luitenant Sicker (11th regiment light dragoons and lieutenant Hay (12th regiment light dragoons) speak of the Foot Guards of the 1st British division. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.102
In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.186

44. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.312-313

45. Major general Von Vincke. In: VPH, nr. 25, 26
Lieutenant colonel Hartmann (battalion Hameln). He believes it was then 7.15 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.704 p.227-228

46. Major general Von Vincke. In: VPH, nr.25 and 26
He describes the position between the 1st regiment of hussars [=10th] and the Brunswick infantry.

He states it was 6 p.m, but it was somewhat later (6.45 p.m.).
Major Hartmann (battalion Hameln) claims his battalion moved to the right by 7.15 p.m. which is too late. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.227-228

47. Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). Cf. his letter dated 24th June 1815. In: former www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: National Archives of Scotland. RH1/2/517
Also see: lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.207
General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 289-302
This report mentions an initial distance of 150 and later 100 paces.

⁴⁸ Cf. Lieutenant general Alten's report, dated 22nd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.559

49. Report about the brigade of Von Kielmansegge. In: VPH, nr.21
Also see: lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.207
Scriba, Von - Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.99 According to Von Scriba it was the Imperial Guard.

50. A complete flank of the square was shattered. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Müller (battalion Bremen). In: VPH, nr.40)

51. Lieutenant colonel Müller (battalion Bremen). In: VPH, nr.40
General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302
Captain Von Scriba - Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.99-100 and in VPH, nr.41
Report about the brigade of Von Kielmansegge. In: VPH, nr.21
Lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.207

52. Lieutenant colonel Müller (battalion Bremen). In: VPH, nr.40
Captain Von Scriba - Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.99-100 and in VPH, nr.41
Lieutenant general Alten in his report dated 22nd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.559-560
Report about the brigade of Von Kielmansegge. In: VPH, nr.21

⁵³ The flanker company was at the farm of la Haye Sainte. Cf. Rössler, A.von Geschichte etc. p.128

⁵⁴ Cf. Account of captain F.Weiz. In: Unzer, A. Darstellung etc. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter, 1915 p.7-9
Reports about the 1st Nassau regiment. In: VPH, nr.71, 72

⁵⁵ Cf. extensive note.

56. Captain Von Morenhofen. In: VPH, nr.72
Major general Von Kruse. In: VPH, nr.71, 72, 73
Cf. lieutenant H. von Gagern (2nd battalion 1st regiment Nassau). In: Ein unbekannter Waterloo-Brief. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter 1956 Heft 1 p.24-25

Rössler, A.von Geschichte etc. p.129

According to Von Kruse, the attack failed due to a lack of strength.; he makes no connection between this failure and the prince getting wounded. Von Morenhofen, however, hints to a connection.

The fact that the 2nd battalion went back was due to the heavy French musketry-fire, according to Von Gagern. The battalion was also suffering from a lack of ammunition and the fact that the attack was not supported by artillery. He believes the battalion advanced twice without any success.

Lieutenant colonel D.Kelly (73rd regiment) confirms he saw the advance to his left of a battalion dressed in green, but that it fell back for French infantry fire. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.112-115

57. Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In: NAM, nr.8204-709

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: NAM, nr.7612-19

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

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

Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.43

However, Von Wachholtz and Von Herzberg situate the battalions too far in front, i.e. south of the Ohain-road, on the front edge of the height which is north of la Haye Sainte.

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

As Shaw Kennedy had explained the situation to the duke he would have said: "I shall order the Brunswick troops to the spot, and other troops besides; go you and get all the German troops of the division to the spot as you can, and all the guns that you can find." In: Notes on the battle of Waterloo, p.125

58. Major general Kielmansegge. In: VPH, nr.21

Major general Von Kruse. In: VPH, nr.71

Major general Von Vincke. In: VPH, nrs.25 and 26

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

Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.43-44

Von Vincke suggest that the battalion Gifhorn went to the front and back again several times. In: VPH, nrs.25 and 26

59. Cf. extensive note.

60. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833, II p.313 Vivian here speaks of a battalion of foreign troops, with white covers over their shakos [which were the Nassauers].

Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.w34.704 p.106-116

Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166

Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In his letter to mr. Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In collection A.Lagden. Also in: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90

Both Taylor and Bacon speak about the retreat of the Brunswickers upon the interval between the centre and right-squadron of the 10th regiment of hussars.

61. Lieutenant colonel R.Manners (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34703 p.103-108

Sir H.Vivian himself. Cf. His letter to his wife, dated 23rd June 1815. In: Vivian, Cl. R.H.Vivian, first baron Vivian etc.

He speaks of a distance to the infantry of less than 10 metres.
Manners speaks of about 25 metres. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108
Lieutenant colonel Murray (10th regiment of hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.19-20
Sir H.Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.118-123
Captain Shakespear (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.482-485
Sir H.Vivian confirms his men succeeded in stopping them and getting them back in the line, about 20 or 30 yards in front. Cf. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.311
According to captain Taylor the French skirmishers were only 50 paces [30 metres] in front of the allied infantry-line. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.60-63

62. Ensign Leeke (52nd regiment). In: History of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.37
Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment) states it was 6 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97
Captain Eeles (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82
Lord Seaton adds that he received the order to move to the Ohain-road at 5.30 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34708 p.319-323

63. Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.404-413
Initially, Colborne indicated to colonel Hervey, carrier of Wellington's order, that his position was not so vulnerable as it was supposed to be. Shortly after Hervey had left however, Colborne felt a threat coming from Gomont and fell back towards the main front-line. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.40-49 and 34.708 p.319-323
Cf. Lieutenant Hart (52nd regiment). In his letter dated 20th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.811/84
Private Robinson (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In his letter to his brother dated 10th September 1815. In: Regimental Headquarters, The Duke of Wellington's Regiment, Wellesley Park, Halifax.
Ensign Barnett (71st regiment). In: Glover, G. – Waterloo archive Vol.VI p.151
Captain Logan (2nd battalion, 95th regiment). Cf. his letter dated 18th July 1815 to mr.Sylvester. In: BL, Add.ms.43.830 p.86-87
Ensign Leeke, and with him Yonge and Cusick, makes an incorrect connection here with Nassau troops which would have been driven back in the enclosures of Gomont.
In: Ensign Leeke (52nd regiment). In: History of lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.37
Cf. Yonge, W.C. Memoir of Lord Seaton's Services p.223
Cf. Cusick, R. - Waterloo, the legacy of Sir John Moore. In: The Waterloo Journal Vol.20 nr.1 p.6

⁶⁴ Cf. Moorsom, W.S. – Historical record etc. p.256 The battalion of the 71st regiment moved in line, the right wing to the front and the left wing to the rear, forming a third and fourth rank. Cf. Sir Th.Reynell in a letter dated 18th July 1833. In: Sir Th.Reynell on the movements of the 71st during the crisis at Waterloo. In: USJ,II p.543

65. Major general Adam. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.404-413
Lieutenant colonel Colborne. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.40-49
Cf. Lieutenant colonel Colborne in his account for lieutenant Yonge. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. - The life of John Colborne, field marshal Lord Seaton p.411
He adds that he put the line of the left wing of the regiment in rear of the one of the right

wing, closed up.

Lieutenant Gawler (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.88-97, 34.705 p.312-318 and 34.705 p.369-382

Lord Seaton (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.192-195 and 34.708 p.40-49, 319-323

Captain Diggle (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.242-243

Corporal Aldridge (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.98-100

Captain Eeles (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.77-82

Ensign Leeke (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.98-100

He adds that the 52nd stood about 40 paces below the crest of the ridge. In: Lord Seaton's regiment at Waterloo Vol.I p.39

Captain Budgen (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.56-62

Brigade major Hunter Blair. In: BL, Add.ms.34.225-227

Lieutenant Hope (2nd battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.211-212

Lieutenant Grant (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.284-285

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

Lieutenant Lascelles (2nd battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.79-80

Major Norcott (2nd battalion, 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.121-124

Captain Cross (52nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.163-164

The 3rd battalion of the 95th regiment was now led by captain Eeles as major Fullerton had been severely injured. Cf. Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.77

Ensign Barnett (71st regiment) claims the regiments were in squares. In: Glover, G. – Waterloo archive Vol.VI p.151

66. Captain Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.227-234

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

Lieutenant Dunnicliffe (battery Rogers). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.297-298

According to lieutenant Wilson (battery Rogers) this was around 4 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.44-47

⁶⁷ Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: On a part etc. In: USM, 1845 I p.395

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

Sergeant Morris (73rd regiment). In: Recollections p.78

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

Ensign Macready believes both the 33rd and 69th had got the order to fall back, but that they bumped into each other due to a lack of leadership at one or both sides. In: USJ,1845, Vol I, p.400-401

Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment) remains silent about the incident, while his battalion formed the left face and half of the front of the square of the 33rd and the 69th. Cf. his diary. In: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

According to sergeant Morris (73rd) his unit fell back in a four-deep line. In: Recollections p.80

69. According to ensign Macready, both the 30th and 73rd regiment at this stage sent their colours to the rear. In: On a part etc. In: USM, 1845 I p.395

⁷⁰ Cf. Colin Halkett himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.245-250

71. Upon colonel Harris (73rd regiment) getting wounded, it was Elphinstone who assumed the command over the battalion. Cf. Major D.Kelly. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.345-347
 Cf. Elphinstone to his father, dated 23rd July 1815. In: BL, Mss Eur. F89.8
 Colin Halkett had just returned from the rear as he had got slightly wounded by grape-shot a short time before during the attempt of the 30th / 73rd to retake La Haye Sainte. Cf. his account. In: BL, Add.34.708 p.245-250
72. Major Dawson Kelly. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.345-347
 Captain Garland (73rd regiment) states it was Wellington himself who would have let the battalion into line. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.1-2
73. Major D.Kelly. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.345-347
 Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.253-255 and in: On a part etc. p.400-401
 Captain Howard (30rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.317-319
- 74 .Lieutenant general Alten himself to Wellington, dated 22nd June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X, p.559-560
 At Waterloo, Alexander Dallas, assistant of the commissariat, saw Alten, accompanied by two officers, on a horse led by a sergeant. In: Incidents in the life etc. p.132
75. Captain Cleeves. In: NHA, 41.XXI.nr.151 p.139-146
 General report. In: NHA, 41.XXI.nr.156 p.27-49
 Lieutenant colonel Hartmann. In: NHA, 41.XXI.nr.151 p.129-131
 2nd lieutenant Ludowicz (battery Cleeves). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.436-437
 General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302
76. Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt (chief of staff of the brigade). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.263
 Sergeant Storm de Grave (8th regiment of hussars). In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.263
 De Ghigny himself is not explicit about the situation of the hussars. After sketching the charge upon the cuirassiers he merely states: “Je me suis maintenu constamment dans cette position [in rear of the interval between the English and Nassau squares] et à proximité en manoeuvrant et observant les mouvements de l’ennemi; ma perte, tant en officiers que troupe et chevaux, a été pendant un instant très considerable.” Cf. his report. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III, nr.26 p.417
77. As the 95th regiment was the regiment in front of the brigade of Saxen Weimar and as it fell back from there later in the battle, it can be concluded that the units involved against Wellington’s centre were those of Pégot and the 85th of the line.
 They would have been accompanied by four 12-pounders, but were they were placed remains unknown.
 Cf. Account of general Durutte. In: Sentinelle de l’armée p.78
 Cf. Account of chef de bataillon Rullières (95th regiment). In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo: la défaite glorieuse de 1815 à nos jours p.377

In another account, however, Durutte claims that Pégot's brigade supported the Imperial Guard to the left of the chaussée, but that he left the 8th regiment of the line on the road, while this unit formed part of this brigade. It may either be that Durutte actually means the 85th, or that just the 29th regiment supported the Imperial Guard. Cf. his letter dated 25th January 1820 to the editor of *Le Constitutionnel*. In: Papers E.Stoffel, private collection.

⁷⁸ Cf. Notes journalières of Foy. In: Girod de l'Ain. *Vie militaire* etc. p.280-282
Colonel Trefcon. In: *Carnet de campagne du colonel Trefcon 1793-1815* p.187-192
General Bachelu in a letter cited by d'Avout. In: *Carnet de la Sabretache 1905* In: Houssaye, H. 1815. *Waterloo* p.388
Reille. In: *Documents inédits* p.62
Major Lemonnier Delafosse. In: *Souvenirs militaires* p.218-219
He speaks of a formation in squares and of 300 men of Jamin's brigade who were mustered after the attack immediately east of Gomont.
Lieutenant Kuckuck (3rd battalion line infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.35-38
Captain Von Goeben (1st battalion of line infantry KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.42-45
Lord E.Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140

The presence of French infantry formed in squares and / or columns in front of the allied frontline is confirmed by members of the British heavy cavalry. Cf.
Lieutenant Biddulph (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.325-328
Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.151-54
Lieutenant Hamilton (Scots Greys). In: *The cavalry journal*. 1926 Vol.XVI p.75
Major Clarke (Scots Greys). In his letter dated 11th of July 1815. In: *The cavalry journal*. 1926 Vol.XVI p.77
Lord Edward Somerset. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.135-140
Lieutenant colonel Clayton (Royal Horse Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.201-203
Captain Thackwell (15th regiment of hussars) claims his regiment drove back a French column of infantry of about 1000 men strong and which was supported by cavalry; this took place along the east edge of Gomont. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.305-308

It is unsure whether the action referred to here is the one to which major general Maitland refers. Here, he speaks of an advance of a French square upon the 3rd battalion of Foot Guards upon which he had the square advance as well to drive the French away down the hill. In this it succeeded and then the battalion placed itself upon the ridge, but it was not long after that the British had to fall back because of the strong gunfire and presence of enemy cavalry. This was not long before the Imperial Guard attacked. Cf. his report to George Regent [?], dated 19th of June 1815. In: Mentioned in despatches p.11

79. Captain Shakespear (18th regiment hussars). Cf. his letter to his brother dated 23rd June 1815. In: NAM, nr.7706-17 and in: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.482-485
Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* p.341-342
Lieutenant Ingilby (battery Gardiner). Cf. his diary. In: RAI, nr. MD 797
Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166

Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90
Captain Taylor (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter to mr.Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815.
In collection A.Lagden.
Major general Vivian. In BL, Add.sm.34.703 p.44-45, 34.706 p.11-12
Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.312
Captain Mackay (Inniskillings). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 81-82
Lieutenant R.Manners (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108
Private J. Marshall (10th regiment of hussars). In a letter to his father-in-law, dated 11th July
1815. In: USJ, 1831, I p.315
Lieutenant colonel Murray (18th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 106-116, 34.706
p.9-10, 19-20
Vandeleur's brigade would have been less exposed to the French fire because of its position at
the bottom of the slope. Cf. Captain Tomkinson (16th regiment light dragoons). In: BL,
Add.ms.34.705 p.131-132

80. Sir H.Vivian. In: Reply to major Gawler etc. In: USJ, 1833,II p.312-313

⁸¹ Von Müffling mentions the presence of about 30.000 combattants. In: C.v.W. Geschichte
des Feldzugs etc. p.34