

## The action at Gomont.

It was towards 4 p.m. that a third French attack started against the orchard and the buildings of Gomont.<sup>1</sup> In the one against the buildings, at least part of one battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment line infantry (Soye's brigade) participated. As it moved upon the buildings, part of it got along its west side where a detachment of some 60 men led by lieutenant Toulouse managed to break in the side-door in the small barn and from there to penetrate into the southern courtyard. Here, however, they were repulsed by the fire of the Nassau soldiers from the outbuildings and by British reinforcements which came down to their aid from the northern courtyard.<sup>2</sup>

Of the other regiment of Soye's brigade, the 1<sup>st</sup> line infantry, its commander, major Lebeau, now directed his 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion in his third attack against the buildings, with the remains of his 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion as skirmishers along their flanks.<sup>3</sup> The action against the orchard was mainly launched from its flanks. As the garrison was threatened on its flank, major Hepburn was forced to lead back his men across the orchard in rear of its north hedge, from where a tolerable fire was kept up until by degrees the men fell back into the hollow road.<sup>4</sup> It may have been at this stage that both companies no. 4 and 5 led by captain Drummond moved from the orchard to the formal garden.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, the French installed a howitzer on the height in the field in the south-east corner of the complex. A detachment consisting of parts of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards and some 50 Hanoverian riflemen led by Saltoun made an attempt to take it, but failed.<sup>6</sup>

As the French now managed to enter the orchard again and the British Guards fell back, they came under a devastating flank fire from within the wall of the garden. It was this fire which made them stagger and fall back. Now, the Foot Guards rushed forward, re-occupied the orchard and regained their posts at its south edge. Here, the guardsmen also lay down to fire from behind the cover of the bank.<sup>7</sup>

After this third attack the French no longer undertook any serious attacks on the buildings of Gomont; for the remainder of the day they only maintained a skirmishing fire.<sup>8</sup> Also at the orchard the French refrained from real attacks.<sup>9</sup> It did not prevent them though to maintain very large swarms of skirmishers east of Gomont, which prompted Wellington to bring part of his 2<sup>nd</sup> division further in front (see above).

It was late in the afternoon that major Seymour, aide de camp of lord Uxbridge, was called to by some officers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Guards to use his best endeavours to send them musket ammunition at Gomont. As he fell in with a private of the Royal Waggon Train in charge of a tumbril on the crest of the position, he pointed out to him where he was wanted. The man drove out to the north gate of Gomont and successfully accomplished his mission, despite the French fire.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, the fire in the complex had gradually been extinguished by members of its garrison.<sup>11</sup>

It was towards 5.30 p.m. that another French attack was launched upon the orchard. This attack was launched from the east-side of the orchard, and was driven back in the same way as the former one.<sup>12</sup> In this action the allied units were supported by the men of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion KGL line- battalion of Du Plat's brigade. After it had driven off the numerous French skirmishers to the east of the orchard, it was sent by general Clinton into the hollow road north of it.<sup>13-14</sup> In all probability they were supported by the Schützen-companies of the brigade, which had been merged into one battalion.<sup>15</sup> In was in this action captain Thiele fell and the captains Von der Decken, Purgold and Von Wenckstern got wounded.<sup>16</sup>

As these forces pulled up towards the wood, the French resistance here wasn't very strong: major Hepburn sent the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of KLG line-infantry, as well as two companies of his battalion into the wood (<sup>17</sup>) which was now gradually evacuated by the French. It was about 6

p.m. It was about half an hour after the allied units had penetrated into the wood of Gomont that several hundreds of Frenchmen re-entered the wood. By then it was about 6.30 p.m. The Hanoverians were not able to resist this force and evacuated the wood. They probably collected in rear of the orchard.<sup>18</sup> They were not the only ones to fall back for the French. The Brunswick advance guard battalion also did not have the strength to maintain its position and evacuated the orchard. They apparently did so more to the fields to the east as those to the north, as they were charged here by French cavalry. Though scattered, they were able to collect in time and the French refrained from pushing through their effort.<sup>19</sup>

At that moment, the majority of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment Foot Guards was stationary at the southern hedge of the orchard. To their left front and in front of them the fields were still in hands of the French; the light troops here had lied down, and by doing so, it was for the British hard to tell how many there were as the corn here for the most part was still standing. It was by the popping fire of the French that the guardsmen suffered quite a few casualties; the hedge itself didn't offer very much cover and the bank upon which it stood was very low. Because of these losses and by the length of the hedge, the battalion was in extended order.<sup>20</sup>

### **The situation at Wellington's left wing.**

After the rearrangement of their positions, the foremost battalions on Wellington's left wing threw out light troops as skirmishers upon the downward slope of the ridge of Mont Saint Jean. The battalions would come under a tremendous pressure, as after their defeat one hour before, the remains of the brigade of Bourgeois and of the divisions of Donzelot and Marcognet were now (towards 4 p.m.) launched as large swarms of skirmishers against Wellington's left wing. By their sheer numbers they were able to drive their counterparts back upon the slopes of the ridge and to harass the enemy line. From these slopes they were able to fire from close range in standing, kneeling or lying positions.<sup>21</sup> In numerous cases, the French were driven back to the slope in short actions, carried out by the allied skirmishers.

For instance, of Van Bijlandt's brigade, being in the forefront, remains of the 7<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia descended into the low ground three times that afternoon so as to drive the French back to their starting positions, but here the Netherlanders were confronted with French gunfire. In one of these occasions colonel Singendonck got wounded on his right hand and his command was taken over by captain Van Bronkhorst.<sup>22</sup>

The 27<sup>th</sup> battalion of chasseurs, standing at the Ohain-road, also detached skirmishers against the French.<sup>23</sup> During the same episode, the remains of the 5<sup>th</sup> battalion of national militia went down as skirmishers. In this situation its commander, lieutenant colonel Westenberg, got wounded and he was succeeded by captain Blom van Assendelft.<sup>24</sup>

Eventually, the moment the 1<sup>st</sup> Prussian corps started to deploy on its left (towards 7 p.m.) after having suffered a lost in casualties and spent even so much in ammunition, the brigade fell back towards the edge of the forest of Soignes.<sup>25</sup>

As with Van Bijlandt, it was also the moment the Prussians of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps started to emerge that Pack's brigade moved to the centre, to a position in rear of the brigades of Kempt and Lambert.<sup>26</sup> As a result of the second attack on the farm of La Haye Sainte and the resulting heavy skirmishing fire, the British Riflemen had to give up the sandpit and its immediate vicinity. From that moment on – it was towards 3.45 p.m. - the battalion operated at the Ohain-road.<sup>27</sup>

Major general Best, being faced with the French superiority in skirmishers, reinforced his *Scharfschützen* with a company of the battalion of Osterode, led by captain Papet. These men threw the French back from the ridge and Best decided to maintain the company in this position and to have the remainder of the battalion take up the former position (in closed column) of the

battalion of Lüneburg, to the right of Von Rettberg's battery. In this situation, the Lüneburg battalion came to the extreme right of the brigade, with the battalion of Münden in line, in the second line as a support. The Verden battalion stood to the left of Von Rettberg's battery.<sup>28</sup>

By the time Durutte's infantry had penetrated into Smohain, the Münden battalion was sent to the front line further to the left. After having passed the Verden battalion it had barely started firing from the Ohain-road or it was called back to its former position. By then Prussian cavalry had arrived there. The Münden was then also sent to support the 92<sup>nd</sup> by simply standing for about 60 metres in its rear, with shouldered arms.<sup>29</sup> The presence of numerous French skirmishers also necessitated the 92<sup>nd</sup> to form a chain of skirmishers at the hedges of the road.<sup>30</sup>

At some other occasions the French skirmishers carried out short sallies from their position in front of the enemy line but which were driven back by the enemy just as rapidly as they had come. Because their loose configuration they actually never pushed through their advances up to the crest of the ridge.<sup>31</sup>



The fields between Von Rettberg's battery and the Brussels road. The farm of Mont Saint Jean Is just to the left of the centre of the picture.

The almost continuous skirmishing fire was sometimes intermitted by threats or actual charges of French cavalry as well. As has been noted, it were units of cuirassiers which harassed the units of Kempt's and Lambert's brigades, while slightly further east units of Pack's brigade were now and then faced with French light cavalry of Jacquinet's division. Apparently, these horsemen had advanced up to the very slopes of the ridge so as to increase the pressure upon the allied line in conjunction with their fellow skirmishers.<sup>32-33</sup>

At some point of time, the 27<sup>th</sup> regiment even attempted to drive away French forces north of the farm of La Haye Sainte but were unable to do so due to the presence of French cavalry here.<sup>34</sup>

The mere presence and actions of cavalry caused the allied battalions (which were alternatively in columns at quarter distance or line depending upon the circumstances) to form squares which made them in turn vulnerable to French gunfire.<sup>35</sup>

The allied artillery in the sector to the left of the Brussels road was obviously no exception in its vulnerability towards skirmishers and cavalry.

The one exception, however, was the one of captain Von Rettberg. Thanks to its excellent position it escaped most damage done by French fire. Yet, due to a shortage of ammunition some time after the first main French offensive, its rate of fire slackened and then the battery was forced to fall back for a couple of hundred metres to replenish its ammunition. After that, it retook its position to remain in action until the forces of 1<sup>st</sup> Prussian corps closed upon its left.<sup>36</sup> By 5 p.m., Bijleveld's battery yielded for a combined action of French infantry and cavalry. As a result, it was dragged back for some 200 to 250 metres with ropes where it kept a position without coming back into action again.<sup>37</sup> Some hours later, in the early evening, the unit fell back further towards the reserve-park of the artillery. In the process, the crew left behind a dismantled gun, for which no reserve carriage was available.<sup>38</sup>

Captain Whinyates' battery, despite the strong French skirmishing fire, was able to maintain its position behind the Ohain-road. It would even have advanced over it for a while and back again.<sup>39</sup>

Captain Braun's battery, in position in front of Kempt's units and to the right of the rocket battery, was no exception in suffering from the heavy French skirmishing fire. It was fired from such a close range and with such intensity that by 6 p.m. - as a result of the casualties suffered - only three guns could still be used. Even members of Pack's brigade were pulled in to assist.<sup>40</sup>

It was also at that very moment that at a distance of about 400 metres, on the northern slope of the intermediate ridge, three French guns were placed which started to bombard Braun's guns. Soon, however, Braun was able to silence one of them upon which the other two retreated.

Meanwhile, captain d'Huvelé, now commander of the battery, had instructed his unit to drag the dismounted guns and ammunition-waggons off the field to a position at the entrance of the forest of Soignes. Due to a lack of horses and a damaged wheel, one gun had to be left behind on the field. Eventually, only one of the six guns of Braun's unit was still able to fire and with this gun the last ammunition was spent. Finally, this gun was drawn out from the frontline by 7.00 p.m., the moment the 1<sup>st</sup> Prussian corps had arrived.<sup>41</sup>

In the sector of Saksen Weimar's brigade, his units immediately south of the farms of La Haye and Papelotte were able to maintain their positions despite the skirmishing fire given from the hedge on the allied side of the low ground beyond the farm by the greatly superior French infantry.<sup>42</sup> The one company of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion Oranje Nassau at Smohain, however, was at this stage reinforced with the grenadier company, the 1<sup>st</sup> company and part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> company of the same battalion. Apparently, these supports did not prove to be sufficient as between 5 and 6 p.m. the French were able to take a small part of the village, as well as parts of the complex of Fichermont. From there, the French advanced against the area around Papelotte, but here captain Von Rettberg was able to withstand them. In the meantime, between 4 and 6 p.m., the French artillery continued a galling fire upon Saksen Weimar's units which were still on the heights in rear of La Haye and Papelotte, despite the counter-fire of Winssinger's guns.<sup>43</sup>

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1. Major Hepburn (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards).In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316  
Major Büsgen situates a third, desperate, attack shortly after the French bombardment which ended by 3.30 p.m. In: VPH, nr.75

2. Major Büsgen. In: VPH, nr.75

Private Clay (2nd battalion of the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards). Cf. Account. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

Note about chef de bataillon Sarrant, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of the line, as cited by A.Field. In: Hougoumont. The French perspective p.31

In the process, lieutenant Toulouse (and Sarrant) got wounded. Cf. Martinien, A. – Tableaux etc. p.120

Ensign Standen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards) confirms the fact that the French were able to get in from two ends, and were driven out again. Cf. his letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

A.Field and Glover are incorrect in their conclusion that Clay claims an irruption through the large, south gate. As Clay speaks of an archway in the higher part of the complex (contrary to the lower one) it is tempting to regard this as the large, south gate; yet, what he means here is the smaller passageway through the outbuilding immediately south of the large barn. The wall of this gate / door was pounded by gunfire and it was possible to defend this door / gate by just a few men, as Clay claims. For the same reason, the breach above it can only be in this wall; the gardener's house was kept intact. In: Hougoumont: the French perspective p.32 and Waterloo, myth and reality p.119

Woodford thought the French would launch an assault on Gomont after the bombardment, but this was not the case. Cf. his account dated 4th August 1815. In: Catalogue of Maggs Brothers, nr.1104 May 1990

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the account of major Lebeau, the commander of the regiment. In: Coppens, B. & P.Courcelle - Hougoumont p.44

He erroneously claims he took the outbuildings through an escalade for some time.

<sup>4</sup> Major Hepburn (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards).In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316  
Lieutenant colonel Mercer (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). Cf. his statement dated 26<sup>th</sup> June 1834. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: National archives of Scotland. GD 172/1201/1

<sup>5</sup> Ensign Wedgwood (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

He speaks of Dutch [Nassau] forces firing from the wall.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Saltoun.In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.431-434

MacKinnon. The origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.218

According to A.White it was this gun which set part of the buildings in flames. In: Of hedges, myths and memories. An interpretive report concerning the historical reappraisal of the chateau / ferme de Hougoumont p.24

7. Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316  
Captain Mercer (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.203-206  
Cf. his statement dated 26<sup>th</sup> June 1834. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: National archives of Scotland. GD 172/1201/1

8. Major Büsgen. In: VPH, nr.75

9. Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316  
MacKinnon. The origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.218  
Lieutenant colonel Home (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his account dated 1816. In: BL, Add.ms.19590 (Mudford papers).

<sup>10</sup> Captain Seymour. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.471-480

He states it was late in the day, but before the moment the brigade of Vivian was pulled from the extreme left [i.e. before 6 p.m.]

There may be a connection here with ensign Standen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards) who, according to himself, was sent to Byng at 6 p.m. for ammunition; Byng kept Standen with him for a while, and then sent him to the rear to the two companies guarding the colours. Here, he spent the remainder of the battle. Cf. his letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

Seymour does not mention the name of the man involved, but it could have been a private called Joseph Brewer. Cf. Summerville, Chr. – Who was who at Waterloo p.46

Cf. Franklin, J. – Waterloo, 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of foot guards (unpublished manuscript) p.447

According to MacKinnon it was around 1 p.m. that this ammunition was led into the buildings. In: Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II p.216

Adkin believes it was between 3 and 4 p.m. Cf. Adkin, M. The Waterloo companion p.341

At some point of time, ensign Berkely Drummond was also dispatched by colonel Hepburn to the rear to Sir John Byng to ask for more ammunition. Cf. his letter dated 1st May [no year]. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: National archives of Scotland. GD 172/1223/12/1

<sup>11</sup> Lieutenant colonel Home (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards) Cf. his account dated 1816. In: BL, Add.ms.19590 (Mudford papers).

12. Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316

13. Major Hepburn (2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316  
Lieutenant colonel Von Müller (2nd battalion line infantry KGL) doesn't make a clear difference between the wood and the orchard. In: VPH, nr.33

He remains silent about the presence of the British forces, but Hepburn does the same for the Germans. They may have advanced behind them.

Lieutenant Heise situates the battalion initially in the hollow road. Cf. Lieutenant Heise (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.255-258

14. Ensign Montagu (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards) claims the presence of two Hanoverian companies at the hollow road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.311-314

Siborne indicates the support of two companies of light infantry of Du Plat's brigade, but his source for this claim is unknown. In his view the guards of Hepburn, the 2nd battalion KGL line-infantry and these light troops took, lost and retook the orchard. However, this action relates to the situation in the wood and then not only for the 2nd battalion, together with two companies of the 2nd battalion 3rd regiment Foot Guards (see below). The reason is that major Hepburn doesn't speak about such an action with the Germans in the orchard. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316

The fact that the Foot Guards were supported by a KGL-battalion is confirmed by private Pritchard (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> July 1815. In: NAM, nr.1968-07-157-17

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ensign Uslar-Gleichen (4th battalion of the line, brigade Duplat). In: Dehnel, H. *Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc.* p.366  
Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316  
Lieutenant Heise (2nd battalion of the line KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.255-258

16. Cf. VPH, nr.33

General Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302

Captain Purgold (2nd battalion KGL). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.11-13

Lieutenant Hamilton (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of line infantry KGL) doesn't mention the action in the orchard at all. Cf. his letter dated 21st July 1815. In: NAM, 7905/5

17. Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316

18. Cf. Ensign Barnett (71<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: Glover, G. – Waterloo archive Vol.VI p.151  
Hepburn doesn't mention a retreat, but uses for the Hanoverians the expression that they "kept up a heavy fire". And "During this time I knew nothing of what was passing elsewhere" except for the southern hedge of the orchard. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316

<sup>19</sup> Colonel Von Herzberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

20. Major Hepburn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.311-316

Captain Mercer (2nd battalion 3rd regiment of Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.203-206

Sir W.Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.213-214

21. Luitenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.273-276, 369-371

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

Lieutenant Martin (45th regiment of the line, division Marcognet). In: Martin, J.F. *Souvenirs d'un ex-officier, 1812-1815* p.293

Captain Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment) speaks of a line of French infantry. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.388-391, 402-404

22. Cf. his letter dated 9th July 1815. In: *Ons leger* (1983) nr.6 p.32-38

Also see: *Historisch verhaal*, written by colonel De Jongh (8th battalion of national militia). In: *Militaire Spectator*, 1866.

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

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Lieutenant colonel Westenberg to colonel Nepveu. In: NL, ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.265

Lieutenant colonel Westenberg to ? In: NA, 2.13.52 inv.1098

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Report of general De Perponcher, dated 11th July 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III, nr.21a

Colonel van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In his report, dated . In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III, nr.21b

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

He speaks of a retreat to Waterloo, at 4.30 p.m.

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

Colonel De Jongh (8th battalion of national militia). In: Nagelaten papieren. In: Militaire Spectator, 1866

Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch (27th chasseurs). In: NL, ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.265 and in letter to colonel Nepveu. In: NA, nr.2.13.13.09.nr.204

Letter of a man called Schuurman citing an adjudant of the 2<sup>nd</sup> division. He mentions a retreat at 6 p.m. In: NA, nr.2.13.13.09 nr.204

Sergeant Welter (27<sup>th</sup> chasseurs). In: Family archive Volkersz

<sup>26</sup> Captain Macdonald (1st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

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

Captain Stoyte (1<sup>st</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.34.703 p.254-256

Lieutenant Winchester (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). He speaks of columns on quarter distance. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.216-223, 34.703 p.335-338

Captain Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). He speaks of closed columns or columns on quarter distance. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.215-217

27. Captain Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.707 p.388-391, 402-404 and in: Rough sketches etc. p.390

In this stage of the battle captain Leach took over the command of captain Lee. While falling back on the reserve companies, lieutenant E.Johnstone fell mortally wounded. Lieutenant Stewart took the command of the company of captain Chawner, the moment he fell wounded. Cf. Caldwell & Cooper. Rifle green at Waterloo p.53

28. General Hanoverian report. In: VPH, nr. 19

Reports about Best's brigade. In: VPH, nrs.22 and 24

Major general Best. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 278-283

ensign Oppermann (battalion Münden), in a letter to his parents dated 23 June 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.204

Lieutenant Von Berckefeldt (Münden battalion). In: Geschichte des Königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Battalion Münden. According to Von Berckefeldt, the Osterode battalion deployed two companies as a chain of skirmishers in front.

The fact that Best did not fight in masses, but in skirmishing actions, supported by single companies of the battalions is confirmed by a general Hanoverian report. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.289-302

<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant Von Berckefeldt (Münden battalion). In: Geschichte des Königlich

## Hannoverschen Landwehr Battalion Münden

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Sergeant Robertson (92<sup>nd</sup>). In: The journal of sergeant Robertson p.156-159  
Also see an anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment, in: United Service Journal II 1841 p.181-184

Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92<sup>nd</sup>). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.341-344

31. Captain Leach (1<sup>st</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.210-214 and 388-391

Captain Leach (1<sup>st</sup> battalion 95<sup>th</sup> regiment). In: Rough sketches etc.p.390

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

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

Ensign Mudie (1st Royal Scots). In: Operations of the 5th or Picton's division in the campaign of Waterloo. In: USJ, II p.183, 186 and cf. his journal. In: The Royal Scots Museum, Edinburg castle.

A French account claims that the French infantry took the Ohain-road after 4.30 p.m. but this is incorrect. Cf. Simond, E. Le 28me de ligne etc. p.248

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

J.Macveigh The historical records of the 79th Highlanders p.41

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

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

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

Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.122-126

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

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

2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant Koopman (battery Bijleveld). In: NL, ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels,0302 nr.262

Lieutenant Riach (79th regiment) states that his unit was in square for a brief period of time in front of the Ohain-road, but after that that it was in line along the road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.107-110

<sup>33</sup> Sergeant Robertson (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment) claims that by 4 p.m. a unit of French lancers underwent the fire of his battalion, after which it fell back but not without having thrown its lances towards the battalion as a result. This last element is highly improbable as it would have robbed them of their main weapon. Cf. The journal of sergeant Robertson p.156-159

<sup>34</sup> Major general Kempt in his report dated 19th June 1815 to Wellington. In: WSD, Vol.X p.535-537

<sup>35</sup> Sergeant Roberston (92<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: The journal of sergeant Robertson p.156-159

Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.122-126

Ensign C.Mudie (1st Royals Scots). In: Operations of the 5th or Picton's division in the campaign of Waterloo. In: USJ, II p.184

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

The units of Lambert's brigade changed formation and position during the battle; the regular sequence was from left to right 27<sup>th</sup> – 40<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> regiment, but sometimes the 27<sup>th</sup> was to the

right and the 4<sup>th</sup> to the left. Cf. Major Browne (40th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.258-261

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

Sergeant Lawrence (40th regiment). In: Mémoires d'un grenadier Anglais p.210

Captain Drewe (27th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.368-388

36. Captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH, nrs.19 and 66 and in BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.229-234

Lieutenant Heise (battery Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.190-191

According to major general Best the battery had to go back for about an hour at 3 p.m. because of a lack of ammunition. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.278-282

<sup>37</sup> Cf. 2nd lieutenant Koopman (battery Bijleveld). Koopman relates how one of the tow-rope of one of the guns of lieutenant De Vincy broke and how this piece was collected through the heavy ground and in the presence of French cavalry by some volunteers after all. One of them men was a gunner called Glas. In: NL, ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.262

Captain Bijleveld himself, however, claims that his battery was in the firing line all day. Bijleveld in his diary. In: Hoek, W.van den & Hoek, J.W.van den Hoek. De geschiedenis van de rijdende artillerie p.101

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III, nr.21b

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

39. Captain Whinyates (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.187-188

Lieutenant Strangways (battery Whinyates). WL,nrs.708 p.336-339, 341-342

Captain Dansey (battery Whinyates). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.67

Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun) states that the battery suffered severely from French skirmisher-fire and that it was active for about one hour only. In: VPH, nr.65

Majoor Baring (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of light infantry KGL) speaks about successful gunfire against the French columns attacking La Haye Sainte in their second and third attempt. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.159-160

Captain Dansey (battery Whinyates) believes that by the end of the day, part of the battery was active firing away rockets between the crossroads and the farm, in rear of the abatis. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.67

40. Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: VPH,nr.65

<sup>41</sup> Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: VPH, nr.65

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Captain Von Rettberg (3rd battalion, 2nd Nassau regiment) in a report dated 28th November 1835. In: former [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in HHA, Abt.202 nr.1372

<sup>43</sup> Captain Wirths (2<sup>nd</sup> Nassau battalion). In: Aus der Schlacht bei Waterloo p.144

Captain Frensdorff (3<sup>rd</sup> Nassau battalion). Cf. his account. In: private collection.

Captain Von Rettberg (3<sup>rd</sup> Nassau battalion). In: VPH, nr.77

Major Sattler (Nassau regiment). In: VPH, nr.74

Lieutenant Eberhard (2<sup>nd</sup> Oranje Nassau battalion). In: -- p.512

Bernard Saksen Weimar himself. In: NL, ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302 nr.265

Officers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment Nassau. In: VPH, nr.86

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815. Vol.III p.342

Erroneously, baron Vincent claims that the French took Papelotte, La Haye and Ficherfont at 5 p.m. Cf. his account. In: The battle of Waterloo also of Ligny and Quatre Bras etc. by a near observer. London, Booth, 1817 p.214

Gourgaud states that the village of what he calls La Haye fell in French hands at 6 p.m. In: Campagne de dix-huit cent quinze p.81

Houssaye is incorrect in stating that Durutte took both farms at 7.15 p.m. In: 1815.Waterloo p.397

Cf. Several Prussian reports of both the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> corps for corroboration of this (see below).