

Hanoverian issues.

The retreat of the regiment of Cumberland hussars at the battle of Waterloo. ¹

The retreat of the Cumberland hussars, led by lieutenant colonel Von Hacke, from the battlefield of Waterloo did not remain unnoticed by high command.

As both Wellington and Uxbridge had observed how they moved off, it led Uxbridge to dispatch one of his adc's, Seymour, to inquire about the reason for the move and to have the regiment return to its original position or its immediate vicinity.

Seymour himself writes: " My evidence went to the effect that Lord Anglesey, seeing that regiment moving to the rear (about five o'clock), desired me immediately to halt it. On delivering the order to the colonel, he told me that he had no confidence in his men, that they were volunteers, and the horses their own property. All this time the Regiment continued moving to the rear, in spite of my repeating the order to halt, and asking the second in command [maj.O.F.von Meltzing] to save the character of the regiment by taking the command and fronting them. I was unsuccessful, and in the exigence of the moment I laid hold of the bridle of the colonel's horse, and remarked what I thought of his conduct; but all to no purpose.

I then returned to Lord Anglesey, and reported what had passed. I was again ordered to deliver the message to the commanding officer of the regiment, that if they would not resume their position in the line, that he was to form them across the high road out of fire. They did not even obey this order, but went, as was reported, altogether to the rear. " ²

Meanwhile, other officers of the regiment (like adjutant Von Dachenhausen, captain Von Landsberg, major Von Meltzing) urged Von Hacke to halt the regiment, but this was to no avail either.

Not long after Seymour had left, major Dawson – assistant quartermaster general - urged Von Hacke, on behalf of Wellington himself, to have his regiment take up a position in rear of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean.

However, also this instruction fell upon deaf ears and Von Hacke continued his retreat towards the forest of Soignes.

In a third attempt, it was now lieutenant colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, personal aide de camp of the duke, who made Von Hacke a formal report about the regulations of warfare while proposing him to place his regiment at the edge of the forest.

This, Von Hacke also refused to do. In fact he continued his retreat to and through the forest. It was here that also an officer of the staff of the prince of the Orange announced himself, ordering Von Hacke on behalf of the prince to return to the battlefield.

Eventually, after Alten himself had got wounded and was taken from the field, his successor, major general Von Kielmansegge, also sent a messenger to find the Cumberland hussars. He reached them late that night after the battle was long over, and also this meeting did not yield any results.

As they had been led to the rear through several temporary positions, designated by Von Hacke, the Cumberland hussars finally took up a more firm position about 10 kilometers from the battlefield, in front of the gates of Brussels. Despite the fact that it must not have been easy to get through the entanglement of the road and the forest, the regiment had not lost its cohesion. ³

Von Hacke, bringing forward his contusion, absconded and it was the second in command, major Von Meltzing, who now succeeded him.

Right after the campaign, on the 19th of June, the regiment was assigned to the 3rd division, now under the command of major general Von Kielmansegge. On the 23rd of June, however, this measure was cancelled and then the regiment was detached to the division of the army of the

Netherlands led by prince Frederik, for the purpose of observing Le Quesnoy. After that – but before the 27th of June and before any formal verdict was given - the regiment was put at the disposal of the general commissariat of the army and split up in different detachments to escort forage details. These detachments were in their turn attached to brigades; as such the regiment ceased to be a part of the army in the strict military sense of the word.⁴

The regiment of Cumberland hussars was founded in 1813 and had no experience. On the 7th of June, the duke of Cambridge wrote to Wellington about the arrangement of Hanoverian troops. For the Cumberland hussars he pointed out that they were volunteers, having had but a very short time for their drill and field exercise. In the same context he expressed their wish to be brigaded with their own countrymen as they did not speak any English (some officers, however, did). The reason for the duke for asking was that in the field the regiment was attached to the 23rd regiment of (British) light dragoons (while on paper it was brigaded with the Bremen and Verden hussars and the Prince Regent's hussars in the one of colonel Von Estorff).⁵ The request wasn't met however.

Lieutenant colonel Von Hacke regarded his regiment as not suited for the imminent hostilities either and he did everything in its march to the Netherlands to acquire his dispensation. Its members did not have any faith in their commander as well. Its former lieutenant Von Schele wrote in 1855: "Sein Mangel an angeborenen Mut war bis dahin durch moraliasches Ehrgefühl unterdrückt worden. Nach dieser unglücklichen Feuerteufe war aber, wie es sich naher zeigte, die bessere Fassung dahin." And major Von Meltzing characterized Von Hacke as "ein Mann ohne alle Selbständigkeit."⁶

The official reports written shortly after the battle do not mention the regiments intentional retreat. On the 20th of June, lieutenant general Alten wrote to prince Adolphus Frederick, duke of Cambridge and military governor of Hannover: "Von unserer Cavallerie war nur das Regiment Herzog von Cumberland in der Schlacht gegenwärtig; ist aber zum Angriff nicht vorgewesen. Es war einige Zeit dem Canonenfeuer sehr ausgesetzt, wodurch es bedeutend verloren hat."⁷

And though he was aware of the issue, the duke of Wellington wrote to lord Bathurst on the 19th of June: "It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your Lordship that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. [...] there is no officer nor description of troops that did not behave well."⁸

Nevertheless, negative rumours had spread throughout the army about the regiments misconduct.⁹

This led major Von Meltzing to write on the 27th of June to lieutenant general Von der Decken on behalf of the officers of the regiment explaining the situation and requesting an official enquiry about the behaviour of lieutenant colonel Von Hacke.

Events did not unroll though. Therefore, the officers repeated their request on the 21st of July, now to lieutenant general Alten.

Alten, in his turn, wrote to Wellington on the 23rd and to Adolphus Frederick to start a formal enquiry about the conduct of Von Hacke. Meanwhile, the officers did not lose time in getting their point clear, as they also wrote to Adolphus Frederick late July as well. By the 29th, Wellington consented in an enquiry to be carried out.

Meanwhile, lord Uxbridge, in his turn, also described his version about the events to the prince regent and this document was also transmitted to Adolphus Frederick, as well as a report about the issue written by Alten on the 6th of August.

Meanwhile, even though he did not have a full formal report, Alten informed the prince regent about the situation of the regiment on the 18th of June, after he had asked him to do so.

After having received the different communications, Adolphus Frederick immediately took action by placing Von Hacke under house-arrest, while at the same time summoning him to be

ready to return to the army upon the first formal request.

Von Hacke, though recognizing the issue, made some objections but these were rejected as being of a secondary nature.

At the same time, on the 13th of August, based upon all the reports he had, Adolphus Frederick ordered a formal investigation to be carried out on the actions of the commander of the Cumberland hussars during the battle on the 18th of June, and on those of the regiment itself in case this was deemed necessary.

Resulting, the “Königlich Grossbritannische Hannoversche General-Kriegesgericht” formally summoned Von Hacke on the 14th of August for the court martial to be held in Brussels.

In this court martial, which was held on the 14th of October, the charge against Von Hacke was that he had “vor dazu erhaltener Ordre gegen ausdrückliche Dienstbefehle, gegen eine besonders abgegebenes Versprechen und der gemachten Gegen-Vorstellungen mehrere Offiziere ungeachtet” had led the regiment out of the battle of Waterloo as far as Brussels. The charge was based upon the different statements of the different eyewitness involved.

In his defence, Von Hacke mentioned the lack of forage for the regiment, the weakening of the regiment as a result of detachments and casualties [¹⁰], as well as its unsteadiness and confusion during the retreat from the field of battle.

The court, however, rejected Von Hacke’s arguments as being either simply untrue or considered them as an unjust means of shifting his responsibility upon the shoulders of his fellow officers and men.

As a result of the session, lieutenant colonel Von Hacke was eventually cashiered and degraded. In the same verdict, the regiment as a whole was not under any suspicion, but major Von Meltzing was formally reprimanded for not having done enough to prevent the situation from escalating into the retreat as it took place during the battle.¹¹

The formal verdict was published on the 14th of October 1815 and formally announced in January 1816.

As a concluding observation, it is clear that the regiment of Cumberland hussars was wholly unprepared for a battle of the severity of Waterloo. After some hours of anxious waiting their nerves had collapsed. This does not excuse them for their misconduct, but had they been introduced to the experience of battle more gradually and better led they might have gained confidence and in time become good soldiers.¹²

The retreat of the battalions Hildesheim and Peine (brigade Von Vincke) at Waterloo.

By mid-afternoon, the brigade of Von Vincke placed itself in two squares in rear of Lambert’s brigade to the left of the Brussels road. The square to the left consisted of the battalions Gifhorn and Hameln and the one to the right, commanded by count Von Westphalen, was composed of the battalions Peine and Hildesheim.

It was not long after they had stood there that count Von Westphalen was approached by a British adjutant (unknown to the count) who gave him some instructions he was unable to understand as they shared no common language. Above all, the officer was in a hurry. As he rushed away in haste shortly after, the only thing he could utter were the words “retirez vous !” indicating at the same time some direction along the Brussels road.

Von Westphalen could only guess on whose behalf the order was given and what his destination had to be. Being aware though of the fact that colonel Von Vincke had announced him that he was due to receive instructions from a British adjutant, he decided to send his adjutant Courgelon to inform his superior and to comply with the order. It appears that Courgelon was unable to locate colonel Von Vincke.

Von Westphalen then formed the battalions on the road, the one of Hildesheim in front. Its

commander, major Ludewig, would have in vain protested against the order and was therefore accordingly complied with.

Von Vincke, in his turn, witnessed the departure of the battalions and accordingly sent an adjutant out to enquire why Von Westphalen was retiring, but he must have been on foot which took him a very long time to return to the colonel again.

As Von Westphalen continued his retreat from the battlefield while the battle was raging, it was sir George Scovell (assistant quarter master general) who met Von Westphalen and his units in the village of Waterloo.¹³ By then it must have been in the early evening. Here, Scovell discussed with Von Westphalen why he fell back but this did not make him halt. Then Scovell decided to write a formal order which he did from the Bodenghien inn. He wrote:

Headquarters, 18 June 1815

Sir,

I am convinced, it is a mistake the Hanoverian battaillon [sic] retiring. You will therefore halt your men on each side of the road where this shall reach you, and the only way you can repair the harm you are doing, is to stop all stragglers and form them with you in the wood. I promise to take all the responsibility to this order on myself, and to give you timely notice, should the army retreat.

*Yours obedient servant,
G.Scovell, lieutenant colonel
Asst. Quarter Master General*

To the officer commanding the Battaillon [sic] of Germans in retreat.¹⁴

Von Westphalen had already entered the forest of Soignes until some point beyond Waterloo the moment he received the order and now halted his battalions to form them in such a way that stragglers and fugitives could be prevented from going any further to the rear.

Both battalions remained there the rest of the day, as well as during the night of the 18th of June. The next day, Von Westphalen received the order through lieutenant Collmann of major general Kielmansegge (commander of the 3rd division after Alten had got wounded) to attach himself to his brigade.

As Von Westphalen approached Waterloo he was instructed to detach 60 men and some officers for the use of guiding the French prisoners to the rear.

As he had done so, he continued his march towards the battlefield where he rejoined the brigade.¹⁵

Immediately after the campaign, on the 19th of June, both major general Kempt and the divisional order expressed their full approbation to the conduct of the full brigade.¹⁶

The next day, on the 20th of June, colonel Von Vincke himself reported in a factual way to colonel Von Berger, the chief of the general Hanoverian staff, with the request to forward it to lieutenant general Alten: “die Battailons Hildesheim und Peine wurden weiter zurück auf der chaussée beordert um dort Stellungen zu nehmen und die sehr zahlreichen Flüchtlinge aufzuhalten.”¹⁷

It was apparently between the 20th and 30th of June that allegations arose regarding the behaviour of both battalions during the battle of Waterloo as it was in that period of time that both colonel Von Vincke and count Von Westphalen (commander of the battalion Peine) applied in Paris at

British headquarters, represented in the person of sir Edward Barnes (adjutant general), for an formal investigation. The request was bluntly refused.¹⁸

However uncomfortable the issue in itself might have been, both men felt they had acted accordingly to formal instructions. In fact it was on the 1st of July that the count wrote to colonel Von Vincke about what had happened on the afternoon and evening of the 18th of June.

Two days later, Von Vincke forwarded this report to Von Berger, again requesting him to submit it to count Alten. At the same time he took the opportunity to make a plea in defence of major Von Westphalen.

It was also in this period that count Von Westphalen requested lieutenant Collmann of the general Hanoverian staff to write a statement about his role in the defence of the count.

What happened right after this remains unknown, but it was about one month later, on the 5th of August, that the defence of Von Westphalen led the commander of the Hildesheim battalion, major Von Ludewig, to give his version of the events. It was a plea for his non-involvement in the issue.¹⁹

After this, so far, no more documents have come to light which could shed any more light on the issue. It was eventually on the 5th of December, in his farewell to the units, that major general Kempt once more expressed his full satisfaction about the officers and men of the full brigade.²⁰

Scovell's order can basically be regarded as a kind of excuse for the confusion arisen, which was most probably due to some kind of misunderstanding within headquarters on the battlefield. That is also why a *British* adjutant was sent out to Von Westphalen with the order to go back and not a Hanoverian. This is enhanced by the fact that colonel Von Vincke had in fact announced to count Von Westphalen that he would be receiving orders from a British adjutant and not a Hanoverian one.

By stating that Von Westphalen's conduct was the result of a misunderstanding and seeing that the Hanoverian battalions were in good order, Scovell intended to save the officer when his conduct would be enquired into.

Both Von Vincke and the count Von Westphalen made an attempt to communicate the moment the retreat was started, but it cannot be denied – taking into account the short distance between them – that it is surprising that this failed.

Both Kielmansegge and Alten, as Hanoverian commanders, expressed their astonishment about the movement during the battle. Therefore they sent out lieutenant Collmann to enquire about the reason for doing so. The reason that they did not interfere however remains unclear as it becomes clear from Scovell's document that he had not had the chance to carry out the necessary coordination with Hanoverian high command.

The core of the issue laid in the fact that - for some reason - both battalions were most probably supposed to fall back for some distance, but that the execution of this instruction got out of hand by the misunderstanding arising from the hurry, confusion and lack of mutual understanding in language in which it was transmitted.²¹

The medical department of Von Vincke's brigade.

While he made a plea for the count of Westphalen during the first days of July, colonel Von Vincke initiated an investigation on the behaviour of the surgeons and assistant surgeons of his brigade. Apparently, he had received indications of their misconduct.

Accordingly, he issued at Arnonville on the 4th of July the following order:

Jeder der Aerzte der Brigade wird sofort schriftlich berichten:

- a. *Wo er sich während der Bataille am.18.befunden hat;*
- b. *Ob er von jemand den Befehl erhalten habe, zurück wohin zu gehen;*

c. *An welchem Tage er wieder bey der Brigade eingefunden;*

d. *Wodurch er verhindert worden, früher zu erscheinen.*

Sobald diese Berichte eingegangen, wird die vom General-Commando befohlne Untersuchung vorgenommen werden.

Apparently, this call did not yield the results as expected and therefore Von Vincke made a more urgent call for reports at St.Denis on the 12th of July, stating:

Die Herrn Doctores werden ungesäumt ihren Vertheidigungs-Bericht über ihre Abwesenheit von der Brigade seit dem 16.Juny durch den Herrn.Brigade-Arzt einreichen.

This call was repeated as a final ultimatum six days later at St.Denis, as:

Die Herrn Aerzte und Unterwundärzte, die die zweimal geforderte Aufklärung ihrer Abwesenheit am 16., 17., und 18.Juny bis Morgen früh 9 Uhr nicht eingegeben haben, sind von dem Herrn Commandeur als Arrestanten hieher zu schicken.

Resuming the reports he got, Von Vincke must have become aware of the following events.

In the stage that the brigade was on the extreme left flank of the army the service suffered to such a degree under the French gunfire, that brigade- surgeon Lauprecht decided to move the ambulance to a safer place. Until then it had been right in rear of the brigade.

He found a house very near the mill at Mont Saint Jean and the medical post of Best's brigade as well.

As he returned to the brigade he instructed (assistant) surgeons Schroeder, Behrens, Oppermann, Schulz [²²], Jecklin and Bendschneider to establish the ambulance there. By then it was about 12.30 p.m.²³

Assistant surgeon Adler (Giffhorn battalion) remained with the brigade on the battlefield, while Lauprecht himself commuted between the brigade and the ambulance. After the post had been set up, assistant Behrens was sent by Lauprecht to the brigade to inform it of the whereabouts of the ambulance. By then it might have been 1.30 p.m.

As Behrens returned from his mission at the post, however, it had been evacuated. By then it must have been towards 3 p.m. Lauprecht experienced the same as he got there not long after. As both men met, they now returned to the brigade which by now had moved to the centre of the position. From there, Lauprecht made an attempt to locate his horses carrying the medicines but this was in vain. Having their tiny medical post in the immediate rear of the brigade, they experienced heavy gunfire, as a result of which they went back over the *chaussée* to the forest where both men lost sight of each other.

It had not been long after the moment the ambulance had been established that the roar of the first French offensive broke. Its pressure must have been such that the group of medical personnel decided to evacuate their post. In their movement to the rear, the surgeons and their assistants would have halted for some time at the entrance of the forest of Soignes, but soon the group soon gave up its position at the edge of the forest because of the pressure of the huge quantities of fugitives. In the immense crowd, the group eventually got scattered.

Surgeons Thiele and Oppermann continued their trip to Brussels and it was in that stage that Oppermann lost his medicines. The same occurred to surgeon Jecklin.

Behrens returned to Waterloo, but here he found no one of his colleagues and then went back to Waterloo again. Here he took care of wounded men together with surgeons Lauprecht and Adler, whom he had met while en route. By 8 p.m. the small group fell back towards Brussels as well.

In the context of the formal questions asked on the 4th of July, those involved gave different

answers for their conduct (e.g. a lack of instructions, as being dragged along in the general *rétirade*, the presumption that the medical units would have gone back, the feeling what to do best in the given circumstances). In most cases, however, colonel Von Vincke wasn't convinced but how the formal procedures and complaints were eventually finalized remains unclear.²⁴

The arrest of count Von Kielmansegge.

On the 19th of June, lieutenant general Alten wrote in his report for the duke of Wellington about count Von Kielmansegge: "In this position the hostile armies continued for several hours, the enemy bringing up his infantry, and latterly approaching his numerous artillery to within grape shot. [...] The squares by this time had been so much reduced in number by the continued fire of cannon, musketry, and ultimately grape shot of the enemy, that they had hardly men enough left to remain in squares, and therefore were withdrawn from the position by count Kielmansegge; and the remains of the Legion and Hanoverian brigades, and part of the British brigade, reformed on the high road in rear of the village of Mont St.Jean"²⁵

The report reached the duke the same day or the day after. With the impression as given by Alten of Kielmansegge on his mind, he left from Brussels on the early morning of the 20th of June to rejoin his army.

As he caught up with it and as he passed the 3rd division - now under the command of Kielmansegge - between Binche and Bavay on the 21st of June, he ordered the count to be placed under arrest, pending an investigation and court martial. Kielmansegge was probably asked to place himself under arrest, rather than being actually arrested.

It must have struck the count like lightning, as it did to members of his staff. It resulted in two of them applying for a conversation with Wellington and which took place on the 22nd of June near Le Cateau. The officers involved were captain Shaw (AQM) and lieutenant colonel Rooke (assistant adjutant general).

They were able to convince the duke that Alten was mistaken in his criticism of Kielmansegge. Meanwhile, Alten had learned of the affair from Kielmansegge himself and wrote a report on the 22nd of June in which he admitted having unintentionally expressed false information about him. What had happened was that Alten had linked a description of a situation which occurred just before the moment he got wounded himself to a retreat of Kielmansegge sometime later but which was conducted upon a positive reason. At the same time, he made an apology.²⁶

Eventually, both actions made Wellington decide to drop his charges against Kielmansegge and to close the case.²⁷

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¹ This note is mainly based upon the following sources:

-The correspondence as contained in file Hann.42-1762, in the Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hannover.

Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.442-444 and 706 p.185-192

Uxbridge writes: " I have the strongest reason to be excessively dissatisfied with a colonel commanding a young regiment of Hanoverian hussars."

Lieutenant general Alten to Wellington, 23rd of July and 23rd August 1815. In: HL, WP.7.2.21 f.710 and 713

². Sir H.Seymour. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.471-480

According to a report of Uxbridge, Seymour would almost have collared lieutenant colonel Hake to induce him to return. Cf. Alten to the duke of Wellington in a letter dated 23rd August 1815. In: HL, WP.7.2.21

According to lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards), Seymour would actually have collared him, but from where he got this information remains unknown. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.273-276

Sometimes, it is asserted that Uxbridge sent out captain Wildman to return the regiment, but this is incorrect. Wildman brought Von Hacke another order earlier in the battle. Cf. Cotton, E. - Une voix de Waterloo p.

³ According to some, the hussars - reaching the Place Royale at Brussels through the Porte and the rue de Namur , would have spread confusion in the city. Some hussars even would have gone back as far as Malines. Cf. Lady G.Lennox in Swinton's A sketch of the life of Georgiana etc. p.137

Souvenirs de jeunesse inédits du colonel Cruyplants, as communicated by major Eugène Cruyplants to Winand Aerts. In: Pattyn, J.J. - La curieuse histoire des hussards Hanovriens de Cumberland à Waterloo p.21

No such confusion, however becomes apparent from the official documents pertaining to the accusations to Von Hacke. Cf. Aerts, W. & Th.Fleischman – Bruxelles pendant la bataille de Waterloo p.238

Kelly, Chr. A – The memorable battle of Waterloo p.96

⁴ Major Von Meltzing to lieutenant general Von der Decken, 27th of June 1815. In: NHA, Hann.42-1762

Lieutenant Waymouth (2nd Life Guards) saw the regiment in waggon train in Paris, assisting the commissariat. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.273-276

To captain Mercer's unit a corpora and four privates of the regiment were assigned. Cf. Mercer, C. – Journal of the Waterloo campaign Vol.II p.61

⁵ In: HL, WP 1.466

⁶ In: Mastnak, J. & M.A.Tänzer – Diese merckwürdige und mörderische Schlacht p.46

Colonel Von Hacke - in 1815 he was 35 years old - had served in 1804 in the 1st regiment of heavy dragoons KGL as a captain and later (1813) as a major. He became lieutenant colonel on 9th of March 1815. Cf. A.G.A.von Hacke, Geschichte der freiherrlichen Familie von Hacke. 1877 In: Pattyn, J.J. - La curieuse histoire des hussards Hanovriens de Cumberland à Waterloo p.22

⁷ Lieutenant general Alten to the duke of Cambridge in his report dated 20th June 1815. In: Hann.41.XXI, nr.150 p.1-10

⁸ In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III.p.478,480

⁹ For instance, in a letter dated five days after the battle, ensign Lindwurm (4th company, Brunswick 2nd line battalion) wrote: “The regimental commander of the beautiful Hanoverian Cumberland hussars, von Haacke [sic], fled with his men from the battle back to Bruxelles and caused such alarm that the whole baggage train of the army followed in a wild flight.” In: www.1815.ltd.uk

¹⁰ The total casualties of the regiment amount to 56 men (2 officers, 5 subalterns, 49 hussars and 64 horses killed / wounded). Cf. Preterick to the Prince Regent 2nd November 1815. In: NHA, Hann.42.-1762

Siborne comes to 53 casualties, divided as follows:

Killed: 1 officer, 2 nco's and 15 privates

Wounded: 3 nco's and 30 privates

Missing: 2 privates

In: History of the war etc. Vol.II p.503

Amongst the officers, lieutenant colonel Von Hacke, lieutenant Offen and cornet Plate were slightly wounded, while captain Winterstedt got mortally wounded.

Cf. http://www.denkmalprojekt.org/Verlustlisten/waterloo_vl_51.htm

¹¹ File in the HNA.

Kelly, Chr. A – The memorable battle of Waterloo p.96

Lieutenant Von Dachenhausen did not join in to the retreat during the battle and attached himself to the cavalry of the KGL. Cf. Pattyn, J.J. - La curieuse histoire des hussards Hanoviens de Cumberland à Waterloo p.22

¹² Muir, R. - Tactics and the experience of battle in the age of Napoleon p.209-210

¹³ Scovell had been ordered by Wellington during the morning hours to go back to the village of Waterloo to get the road clear of all encumbrances. Cf. Scovell's account. In: PRO, WO 37 - nr.12/84

¹⁴ In: VPH, nr.90

¹⁵ For the above as a total, see:

Report of colonel Von Vincke to colonel Von Berger, dated 20th June 1815. In: VPH, nr.25

Report of colonel Von Vincke, dated 7th January 1825. In: VPH, nr.26

Report of major count Von Westphalen to colonel Von Vincke, dated 1st July 1815. In: VPH, nr.89

Report of lieutenant Collmann (adjutant). In: VPH, nr.91

Report of colonel Von Vincke to colonel Von Berger, dated 3rd July 1815. In: VPH, nr.92

Major Ludewig to Alten, dated 5th of August 1815. In: VPH, nr.93

Account of sir George Scovell. In: PRO, WO 37 - nr.12/84

¹⁶ Cf. report of major general Kempt. In: WSD, Vol.X p.537
For the divisional order, dated 19th June. Cf.VPH, nr.83

¹⁷ In: VPH, nr.25

¹⁸ According to Von Vincke, Barnes would have said “es sei die unumstössliche Absicht des Herzogs von Wellington, dass alle dergleichen Dinge in Vergessenheit begraben werden sollten.” In: VPH, nr.26

¹⁹ In: VPH, nr.93

²⁰ In: VPH, nr.94

²¹ One could wonder how it was possible for Von Westphalen to understand Scovell’s order, being written in English. Faraway of the confusion of battle, it may have been that he sought assistance from the bearer or other people around.

²² Schulz was brigade surgeon of the brigade of Best.

²³. Bendschneider was an assistant surgeon, but from which battalion remains unclear. In the same group was probably also assistant surgeon Bornträger of the Hildesheim battalion. Cf. the statements written by train-assistants Hansen (battalion Peine) and Baymann (battalion Hildesheim).

²⁴. Cf. the reports of the following members of the medical department of Von Vincke’s brigade:
Kolonel Von Vincke (Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.122,124)
Dr. Lauprecht (Brigade arts. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.111-114,123)
Dr. Behrens (Assistent chirurgijn van het bataljon Peine.Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.115,118)
Dr.Thiele (Assistent chirurgijn van het bataljon Hameln.Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.97-98)
Dr.Oppermann (Assistent chirurgijn van het bataljon Hameln.Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.94-96)
Dr.Jecklin (Assistent chirurgijn van het bataljon Peine. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.116-117)
Dr.Schroeder (Assistent chirurgijn van het bataljon Hildesheim. Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.103,105)
Voorts de rapporten over het gedrag van Dr.Lauprecht en de treinassistenten Hansen (bataljon Peine), Branders (Giffhorn) en Baymann (bataljon Hildesheim) (Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.108-110)

Cf. Pflugk Harttung, J.von Hinter der Schlachtlinie von Belle Alliance. In: Historisches Jahrbuch Bd.36 1915 p.815-820

²⁵ In: WSD, Vol.X p.534

²⁶ In: WSD, Vol.X p.559-560

Two days before, Alten had written to the duke submitting his recommendations for promotion of numerous officers, but not for Kielmansegge. In: WSD, Vol.X p.543-544

²⁷ Cf. Glover, M. – A very unfortunate business: the arrest of count Kielmansegge. In: The Waterloo Journal 27 (2005), nr.2 p.22-32