

### **The arrival of Alten's division.**

Alten's division, except for Ompteda's brigade, had left Nivelles around 3 p.m. and this makes a time of arrival at Quatre Bras towards 6 p.m. the most probable. This would mean that the 6000 men covered the 10 kilometers in approximately 3 hours, which means that they had an average speed of more than 3 kilometers per hour.<sup>1</sup>

Excluding the losses suffered, Wellington now had about 28000 men (of which 2000 men cavalry) and 42 guns.

Colin Halkett's brigade was the leading the column of the division; the one of count Kielmansegge was in the rear.

The moment the division approached Quatre Bras the brigades, at least the one of Kielmansegge, deployed from column into lines on both sides of the road with skirmishers on their right to secure the road. Shortly after, however, they reformed into column again.<sup>2</sup>

Then the column proceeded over the Namur-road up to the crossroads, where Colin Halkett's brought its left shoulder forward and advanced to the right of the Brussels road.<sup>3</sup> Kielmansegge's brigade continued further over the Namur road under French gun-fire and eventually took up a position on the road itself, after wheeling right near the 95th regiment opposite Piraumont, which was in French hands. There the men lay down.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after his arrival major general Colin Halkett met Sir Thomas Picton. Colin Halkett writes about this moment: "My order was to move through the wood [the Bois de Bossu] and if possible to fall upon the left of the French army, and further to act as I thought most advantageous.

In proceeding with the view to follow the directions I received, an aide de camp of general Pack came up to me, stating that Pack's brigade had expended nearly the whole of their ammunition, and that if I did not support him he would be obliged almost immediately to abandon his post he held, which was of great advantage to our position."<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, his brigade must have been advancing in column, with the 69th in front.<sup>6</sup> It was this regiment which he now directed to "proceed and form under cover of the farmyard Pack occupied [la Bergerie] and to communicate with the general [Pack] and act according to his orders."<sup>7</sup>

This meant that the 69th took up a position in the low ground not far from La Bergerie, to the east of the Brussels-road.<sup>8</sup> The field here was still covered with high corn.<sup>9</sup> In this position it was not far off from the 42nd / 44th regiment, which units were a bit further to the east, at the same line in the low ground.

In the meantime the other units of the brigade must have filed out to the right in the fields west of the Brussels road, from left to right the 30th, the 73rd and the 33rd regiment.<sup>10</sup>

After that, the battalions advanced in a line of open columns of companies on a quarter distance (<sup>11</sup>), on deployment-distance so as to deploy into line when necessary and covered by the flank-battalion of the 30th regiment, led by lieutenant colonel Vigoureux) [<sup>12</sup>], through the very high corn.<sup>13</sup>

At least the moment the cuirassiers charged (see below), the battalions were in two lines and may have been in a chequered line, with the 30th and the 33rd in front (the 33rd to the right and

the 30th to the left, near the Brussels road), and the 69th and the 73rd in the second line, but I have found no strong proof for that.<sup>14</sup>

As the battalions advanced, there must still have been Brunswickers more to the right in front, along the Bois de Bossu.

Sir Colin Halkett immediately communicated with the officer commanding them and then brought them up under cover in a ditch which ran nearly parallel to the line of the enemy.<sup>15</sup>

The battalion involved was at least probably the Leib-battalion, which had been here just prior to the arrival of Alten's division. It may have been around the same time that another Brunswick battalion, the 2nd battalion of the line, must have advanced from its position near Quatre Bras to the same position as the Advance-guard-battalion was, but further details about the circumstances of this support are missing.<sup>16</sup> Also some Brunswick cavalry may still have been present here.<sup>17</sup>

The Brunswickers must have held a position very near the edge of the Bois de Bossu, right in front of the 33rd regiment.<sup>18</sup>

Colin Halkett now decided to leave his brigade in a position between the Brunswickers on his right-front and Pack's units on his left until further communication could be made with headquarters. This line must have been about 500 meters south of Quatre Bras, thereby having the 69th to the left of the Brussels road and the other battalions between this road and the Bois de Bossu.<sup>19</sup>

It was in this connection that an aide de camp reached Colin Halkett enquiring why he had his brigade not advance any further, but as he had explained his situation he got permission to act as he thought most advantageous. In this, Picton's initial order to cross the Bois de Bossu was cancelled.<sup>20</sup>

Alten's brigade was accompanied by its two foot-batteries, those of Lloyd en Cleeves.

Two guns of Lloyd's battery advanced with the 69th, while the remaining four guns must have advanced further to the rear and still in front of Quatre Bras. Right as the 69th had taken up position to the left of the Brussels road, the section, led by captain Rudyard, was ordered to join these four guns as the battery was meant to advance over the Brussels road to support the Brunswickers who were still near the Bois de Bossu further in front. It was shortly after these two guns headed back for their comrades (who must have been approaching Quatre Bras at that time), that the 69th was charged by the cuirassiers.<sup>21</sup>

Cleeves' battery initially came – by order of colonel Wood - in reserve to the left rear of Quatre Bras in a field broken up by thick hedges, where it lost some men and horses. About half an hour later, however, it was also drawn to the front south of the Namur-road and east of the Brussels-road, thereby taking up a position to the right of captain Von Rettberg's guns. During this march it had some trouble entering the road; at the same time it lost several men from the strong French fire. From here, part of Cleeves's guns were able to give a strong enfilading-fire over the Brussels road.<sup>22</sup>

Shortly after their arrival, the members of the Lüneburg battalion of Kielmansegge, led by lieutenant colonel Von Klencke, crossed the Namur-road and attacked the French troops in and around Piraumont. This attack was that strong that the French evacuated their positions; they

were just about able to bring back a battery which they had placed here. Soon after, the Grubenhagen battalion reinforced the Lüneburgers, while the remaining battalions kept their positions on the Namur-road (lying down).<sup>23</sup>

The Riflemen, at least a part of them, must have advanced further to the left skirting along the northern tip of the Bois Delhütte where they chased away the French, but as they drew too close to the French position and suffered casualties, they held back.<sup>24</sup>

As the battalions of Lüneburg and Grubenhagen moved on beyond Piraumont, a strong swarm of French skirmishers approached from the French centre. As these men were heading for the Namur-road and were harming the Bremen battalion and Roger's battery by their fire, up to a distance of 60 paces, two companies of Hannoverian Jäger were sent out from this road to drive them back. Very soon after they were supported by the 1st and 8th division of the Bremen battalion, under ensigns Brüel and Meyer, and they all drove back the French over a large distance thereby killing a high number of them.<sup>25</sup>

The charge of the French cuirassiers.

Major general Colin Halkett, with an aide de camp, now galloped forward, cleared La Bergerie and from there he could see French cavalry, forming by detachments, move forward under the appearance of going to water their horses.

Halkett, aware of the imminent charge, immediately rode back to his brigade and he hardly arrived there when a French heavy bombardment started on the road. Accordingly, he sent word to colonel Morice of the 69th and major general Pack to be ready to receive them. Morice confirmed this order a short time after.

While in the act of forming square the prince of Orange came up to the regiment and asked what they were about. The reply was the directions they had received from Colin Halkett, on which he said there was no chance of the cavalry appearing, and he ordered them to form column and to deploy into line, which was complied with.<sup>26</sup>

It was at this very moment that the cuirassiers ran through the battalion (see below).

As the leading grenadier-company of the 33rd regiment reached a prominent height between the Brussels road and the Bois de Bossu, it saw the cuirassiers in the distance.<sup>27</sup> The 30th regiment was able to form square, though.<sup>28</sup>

The 73rd regiment also formed square, while having its left a bit thrown back in order to be able to give an effective fire.<sup>29</sup> The Brunswickers must have held their position further to the right, possibly also in square(s) now.

It was against this position that the cuirassiers charged.

The preparations for the French charge.

It must have been towards 6.30 p.m. [<sup>30</sup>] that Ney said to Kellermann:

"Mon cher général, il s'agit du salut de la France, il faut un effort extraordinaire; prenez votre cavalerie, jetez vous au milieu de l'armée Anglaise, écrasez-la, passez-lui sur le ventre etc."<sup>31</sup>

Kellermann pointed out to Ney that his brigade would be far inferior to the enemies strength and

that the remainder of his corps was further to the rear. Ney clearly disagreed and exclaimed: "N'importe! Chargez avec ce que vous avez, écrasez l'armée anglaise, passez lui sur le corps, le salut de la France est dans vos mains; partez donc, je vous fais suivre par toute la cavalerie ici présente."<sup>32</sup>

The units Kellerman committed for the charge were the 8th and 11th regiments of cuirassiers, forming the brigade of Guiton, 791 men strong.<sup>33</sup>

Kellermann then joined this brigade, which stood near Le Balcan. From here he led it slowly over the road up to the farm of Gémioncourt.<sup>34</sup> Here he had the brigade form in columns of squadrons, each squadron on a double distance of its front (that is, a double column per squadron).<sup>35</sup> Kellermann then, together with general Guiton and colonel Garavaque, then took up position in front of the first squadron of the 8th regiment of cuirassiers and gave the order to charge, which soon spread through the whole column.

Kellerman was in a hurry to start the charge, so that the men didn't have the chance to fully realize the situation they were about to face.<sup>36</sup>

The charge.

The cuirassiers probably advanced over the Brussels-road and to the immediate left of it, because of the presence of the farm of Gémioncourt and its enclosures to the right of it.

Being in columns of squadrons, the brigade may not have had a frontage which was more than 100 meters, leaning to the right on the road, with probably the 8th regiment (3 squadrons) to the right and the 11th regiment (2 squadrons) to the left. The 8th regiment, led by Kellermann himself, may have been a bit in front of the 11th.

In advancing, general Kellerman saw a regiment further to his front right and which was for some reason moving from square into line. It was the 69th regiment of Alten's division.

Meanwhile, the cuirassiers of the 11th regiment must have continued their advance and hit the square of the 30th regiment. The light company had just joined the square on its left hand side in time and now the square was surrounded by the horsemen, but the square was able to drive them away with its well-aimed volleys, fired from a short distance.<sup>37</sup>

It is not entirely clear whether the 73rd was actually charged by the cuirassiers, probably not.<sup>38</sup>

As the 11th regiment of cuirassiers dealt with the 30th to the left of the road, it must have been the 8th regiment which continued its advance to its target, the 69th.

Right at that moment the regiment was in an open column; it attempted to form a square upon its centre. The grenadier-company and the companies nrs.1, 2 and 3 were just about to complete the square as the cuirassiers approached. Now, major Lindsay, commander of the 1st company, halted his company plus the grenadier-company and the company nr.2, wheeled them and tried to have them fire. This attempt, however, proved wrong, as it were exactly those companies, to the right hand side of the regiment, which were accordingly run over and cut down by the French horsemen.<sup>39</sup>

The regiment was spread and suffered high casualties. Some, mainly of the left hand side of the regiment, managed to reach the square of the 42nd / 44th [<sup>40</sup>], while some officers – pursued by twenty cuirassiers – fled towards the Namur-road. That day, in all, the regiment lost 152 men: 5 officers and 147 privates.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the courage of major Lindsay, lieutenant Pigot and volunteer Clarke the King's Colour

fell in French hands.<sup>42</sup>

Though there is no direct source available about the situation of the battalion after this blow, but I presume the remains of the battalion were taken back north of the Bois de Bossu (see below).

Right after the charge upon the 69th, the cuirassiers headed for the 42nd.

After the charge of Piré some time before, at least this battalion stood in an irregular mass due to the rapid succession of commanders; the plan was to form each company on the right of its sergeant, but now the cuirassiers approached. Now the battalion formed line on the left of the grenadiers, until the 42nd was ordered to form square, which it did under the eye of Sir Denis Pack himself. The cuirassiers then dashed on two sides of it but were repulsed in the direction of the Bois de Bossu.<sup>43</sup> The 44th would also have been charged at, but this units fired most effectively thereby driving off the French successfully.<sup>44</sup>

The situation of the 33rd regiment during the charge of the cuirassiers is even more mysterious, due to the conflicting accounts of what happened in almost every detail.<sup>45</sup>

Whatever may have happened, the role of the battalion must not have been satisfactory.<sup>46</sup> In taking these accounts together I come to the following conclusion.

After the 33rd had advanced through the fields west of the Brussels road, it took up a position about 300 meters east of the elbow of the Bois de Bossu, on a height. In its right front were some Brunswick units (infantry and cavalry) and in its front was a line of French light French infantry. Very soon after its arrival, French units of infantry moved in its right front towards the Brunswickers. The 33rd gave a volley and marched up to the French in the direction of the Bois de Bosu. The result was that the enemy pulled back precipitely. By now, the 33rd had come into a position about 250 meters from the wood and under the heavy fire of some French guns. At the same time, Guiton's cuirassiers approached further to the east. The battalion suffered heavy casualties from the French gunfire and the attempt to form square was very much impaired; to make matters even worse, rumour spread that the cavalry was in the rear of the battalion and it got into disorder for fear of being cut off. As a result, the battalion fled towards the wood, but here it was more or less restored by Sir Colin Halkett who had taken off its colours and had advanced to the front of it. Here, they even would have given a volley to the French cavalry. Shortly after the cuirassiers had gone and the 33rd was still in the edge of the wood, when it was relieved shortly after by the Foot Guards (see below). Then it pulled out to the north, to a position north of the wood.<sup>47</sup>

The exact share of the Brunswickers here isn't very clear, though there are strong indications that the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the line, just in rear of Quatre Bras, contributed to the defeat of the cuirassiers by their musket-fire.<sup>48 - 49</sup>

While lieutenant Hope Pattison mentions that they were faced with French light infantry in their front, it is ensign Thain who claims they were actually charged by the cuirassiers and that they were succesful in driving them away with their fire.<sup>50</sup>

Having dashed on the 69th, the 42nd /44th and the 30th regiments, the cuirassiers now tried to push through their effort straight on the crossroads of Quatre Bras.

It was here that they were now faced with successful musketry fire of the Lüneburg battalion (brigade Best) which had taken up the position of the 92nd and which unleashed its volley until the French were at about 30 paces distance. The duke of Wellington and Sir Thomas Picton witnessed the success and expressed their satisfaction to the battalion.<sup>51</sup>

By then, the cuirassiers already had lost about 200 men and by now general Kellermann, major general Guiton, colonel Garavaque and numerous others lost their horse. While being exhausted and scattered, the cuirassiers now tried to regroup, but right at that moment another Anglo-Netherlands-German artillery unit arrived on the spot: it was captain Kühlmann's unit. It must have been around 7 p.m.

Kühlmann had gone ahead of his division, the 1st, on the Nivelles-road and arrived at the crossroads just as the cuirassiers approached. He immediately unlimbered two guns (the section of lieutenant Speckmann) on the Brussels-road in front of the farm of Quatre Bras; from here the retreat of the cuirassiers was soon changed in a rout.

Meanwhile, the four other guns of Kühlmann's battery came in position in the rear of the Namur-road and to the left of the same farm of Quatre Bras.<sup>52</sup>

The commanders of the different units of the brigade had them no longer in control.<sup>53</sup> Kellermann himself, having lost his horse, somehow would have saved himself.<sup>54</sup>

In their flight the cuirassiers would have run over units of Foy and only halted near Frasnes.<sup>55</sup>

During the flight of the cuirassiers those also the riders of the ambulances, which were in the rear, were carried along. In their panick they cut the reins of their horses and fled, along with other non-combattants of the baggages and artillery-reserves. The result was that the ambulances got completely desorganised.<sup>56</sup>

In total the brigade of Guiton lost 250 men; Kellermann himself also had got wounded.<sup>57</sup>

It was also not long after the charge of a part of Piré's division on the 42nd / 44th regiment that these units fell back for about 50-60 paces each under cover of two companies of skirmishers.<sup>58</sup>

From then on (about 5 p.m.) no more coherent French actions were carried out on Picton's front. As Bachelu's division had been badly mauled during its first (and only) attack on the British position, the units of this division were only operating as skirmishers.<sup>59</sup> Among them, Piré must have been hovering around looking for opportunities to charge British units whenever they felt the chance to. Their presence must have been annoying to the British though, as was the continuous French fire from skirmishers and light infantry.

Lieutenant Forbes remarks in this connection: " In short, every regiment, from the sudden and peculiar nature of the attack seemed to act independently for its own immediate defence, a measure rendered still more necessary by the enemy's superiority in cavalry, and the regiments being now posted, not at prescribed intervals of alignment, but conformably to the exigency of the moment, by which each of them was exposed to be seperately assailed."<sup>60</sup>

In this situation, depending on the presence of French infantry or cavalry, the battalions switched now and then from line to square or column or the other way around, until the action ended later that evening.<sup>61</sup>

Being confronted with a strong French skirmishing fire as well, the 42nd / 44th regiment had their skirmishers out to answer it. However, they suffered severe casulaties and ran out of

ammunition within a very short period of time. Those of the 44th regiment, led by lieutenant Riddock, were now called back to the battalion but before they reached it, French horsemen cut them off. Riddock, however, was able to form a four-deep line with his men and succeeded in reaching the south-side of the square of the 44th with a bayonet-charge. At the same time, however, the square was faced with French horsemen and therefore wasn't able to take Riddock's men in. For as long as it was needed, Riddock had them lie down in the field in immediate vicinity of the square.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Thomas Picton's horse was hit somewhere during these actions and fell; as Picton himself had got under it, he was now being pulled out by his aide de camp, captain Ch.Gore. Gore was about to give him his own horse when a cannon shot struck between them and the horse broke away. It may have been by this shot that Picton was hit as well. From then on, Picton would have hidden the wound the days after. Picton and Gore were saved as they got under the protection of a square.<sup>63</sup>

At some point of time Piré must have been threatening the 42nd and the 44th regiment again, and now Sir Thomas Picton united the 1st and 28th regiment (each in a column at quarter distance) into one column and led them, accompanied by Sir James Kempt with a cheer towards the French. Having approached the 42nd and the 44th, Picton halted the column to the left of them in a position with very high corn and formed square. Here the square was assailed by Piré, but the French couldn't impress it. In this situation, the 28th must have been inspired by Picton, shouting: "28th, remember Egypt!" The result was that the square must have given an effective volley which repulsed the French cavalry.<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile, the 32nd regiment must have taken up a position to the left rear of the 1st / 28th, probably in front of the Namur-road. It did so in square, due to the threat of the French cavalry; it wasn't charged, however.<sup>65</sup>

Both this battalion, as well as the 79th and Roger's battery, were not actually charged by Piré, who must have been operating more towards the centre of line, against the squares of the 1st/28th and the 42nd/44th.<sup>66</sup>

It must have been before the cuirassiers charged that Piré's division was taken back in rear of the infantry which was in the centre of the front-line; as the cuirassiers charged some time later, Piré followed further to the rear as a support but this musn't have been very succesful as the ranks of the cavalry had been thinned considerably.<sup>67</sup>

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1.Cf. Gomm, W.M. Letters and journals etc. p.354

Also in: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184 and 34.706 p.200-206

Scriba, C.von Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.82

Times according to several eye-witnesses and historians vary between 3 and 8 p.m.

Sergeant Morris (73rd) believes it was 3 p.m. In: Recollections etc. p.67

Between 3 and 4 p.m: major Pratt (30th regiment), In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

5 p.m. is given by:

Captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH-LBA, nr.12

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st/95th regiment). In: Adventures etc.

Captain Barlow (69th regiment). In his letter to his mother dated 7th July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

5.30 p.m. is given by:

Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) mentions 5 p.m. on the one hand and 6 p.m. on the other. Cf. BL, Add.ms.34.703.5 and in: Letters from Portugal etc. p.228

Captain Cleaves mentions between 2 and 3 p.m. In: VPH-LBA, nr.15

2.Bericht über etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

Captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH-LBA, nr.12

Cf. Scriba, C.von Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.82

The sequence of battalions would have been: nr.1 Bremen, nr.2 Verden, nr.3 Yorck, nr.4 Feldjäger, nr.5 Grubenhagen and nr.6 Lüneburg. This would have meant that the deployment from right to left would have been in this way. Cf. Hüsemann, B. – Geschichte des Königlich-Hannoverschen etc. p.72

<sup>3</sup> Colin Halkett himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

Ensign Macready of the 30th regiment arrived at Quatre Bras with his light company slightly later as the remainder of his battalion as his company had been in picket and forgotten.

Initially, he headed for a Nassau unit north of the Bois de Bossu; shortly after, however, Sir G.Berkeley gave indications for the company where to join the battalion on the other side of the wood. The company did so by moving round the north part of the wood. Cf. E.Macready In: United Service Magazine, 1845 I p.389

And in his diary. In: History of the 30th regiment p.321-322

4. Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4

General Hannoverian report. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

Alten in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: The battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny and Quatre Bras etc. Vol.I p.192

There is no indication that the brigade was in rear of Picton's units.

The fact that the brigade split off from the one of C.Halkett is confirmed by major general Colin Halkett himself and ensign Thain of the 33rd regiment. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279 Cf. Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

Gomm mentions Best's brigade behind the left of the division, but here he means Kielmansegge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.144-145

<sup>5</sup> Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

<sup>6</sup> Captain Rudyard (Lloyd's battery). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478

<sup>7</sup> Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.75

8. Butler, W.F. A narrative of the historical etc. p.79

History of the 30th regiment p.314

Captain Barlow (69th regiment). In a letter dated 7th July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

9. Captain Barlow in the same letter. He mentions a height varying between 1.50 to 1.80 meter.

<sup>10</sup> Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.708 p.227-229  
He inverts the 30th and the 69th regiment.

11. Lieutenant Pattison (33rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.509-512

And in his recollections. In:

Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. History of the 30th regiment p.314

13. Lieutenant Pattison (33rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.509-512 and in his recollections. In: Personal recollections p.5

Sergeant Morris (73rd regiment). In: Recollections etc. p.68

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Aerts, W. Etudes etc. plan p.458

The problem is that each eye-witness gives no real details about the positions of their battalion in relation to other battalions.

Lieutenant Lloyd (73rd regiment) confirms the 73rd was in line with the 69th, and near the wood, but gives no further details. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.172-174

Also see: Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.227-229

<sup>15</sup> Colin Halkett infers it was colonel Von Olfermann himself. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

<sup>16</sup> The 2nd battalion of the line shows up here later in the fighting. Cf. Wachholtz, F.von p. Colonel Von Olfermann in his report dated 16th of June. In: VPH-LBA, nr.9  
British eyewitnesses are not always completely clear about the strength of the Brunswickers present here.

<sup>17</sup> Lieutenant Hope Pattison mentions their presence, without specifying their identity. In: Personal recollections etc. p.5

<sup>18</sup> Sir C.Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279  
Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd). In: Personal recollections p.5

<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant Macready (30th regiment) says his battalion was on a knoll about 500-600 yards from Quatre Bras and to the left, which corresponds to my idea. Cf. Ensign Macready (30th). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.227-229

20.Major general Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

<sup>21</sup> Captain Rudyard (Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478  
Lieutenant Wells (Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.259-261  
Captain Von Rettberg describes a situation in which around 6 p.m. a captain of Lloyd's battery with a howitzer tried to link up with his (to his right), which he granted; the remaining guns of the battery would have been lost. I believe that the section may have tried to link up with Von Rettberg very briefly the moment the 69th had crossed the Brussels road, but then soon headed back for the other four guns which were then still moving on the Namur road, west of Quatre Bras. Cf. Von Rettberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.16

22.Captain Von Rettberg. In: VPH-LBA, nr.16  
Captain Rudyard (Lloyd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.473-478  
Gunner F.Jahns of Cleeves' battery. Jahns claims the battery already fired from its first position towards French cavalry; in the march to the battery's second position, right after leaving the crossroads of Quatre Bras, he was wounded in the arm by French gunfire. After having received first aid in a farm closeby, he was led to Genappe the next day, from where he made it to Brussels. From there he went further through Louvain, Tirlemont, St.Trond and Tongeren to Maastricht. Cf. Gunner F.Jahns of Cleeves' battery. In: Usinger, R. Soldaten-Briefe aus dem Feldzuge des Jahres 1815. p.225-230  
Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4  
Lieutenant Heise (Von Rettberg's battery). In: BL, Add.ms.706 p.375-376

Captain Cleeves. In: VPH-LBA, nr.15

He gives a more precise position between the squares of the 68th regiment [sic] and the battalion of Lüneburg. Yet, the 68th was not at Quatre Bras and the position of the other battalion is not exactly known.

<sup>23</sup> Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4

Bericht über etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

Lüneburg journal. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NHA, Hann.48A I, nr.368

Report of Alten to the duke of Cambridge. In: The battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny and Quatre Bras etc. Vol.I p.192

Major Müller (Bremen battalion). In: VPH-LBA, nr.11

Captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH-LBA, nr.12

Hülsemann, B. – Geschichte des Königlich-Hannoverschen Vierten Infanterie-Regiment p.72

<sup>24</sup> The wood as such is not mentioned in the few accounts I have, but from the circumstances it cannot be another one as this one.

Cf. Lieutenant Simmons (1st/ 95th regiment). Account from 1855. In: NAM, nr.6804/2

Lieutenant Pensman Gardner (1st/95th regiment). In: NAM, nr.6902-5 He claims the Riflemen tried to take the wood three times.

Private Edward Costello. In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.286 He mentions the presence of a number of Belgians, but I believe these men may have been Hanoverians. By the time his company moved out from the wood, Costello was wounded.

Bericht über etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

<sup>25</sup> Report major Müller (Bremen battalion). In: VPH-LBA, nr.11

Report captain Von Scriba (Bremen battalion). In: VPH-LBA, nr.12

Cf. Scriba, C.von Das Leichte Bataillon etc. p.82-83

Reille. In his report dated 17th of June. In: SHAT, nr.C15/22

Colonel Trefcon. In: Carnet etc. p.184

Lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.205

Cf. Anonymous. Die Königlich Deutsche Legion und das Hannoversche Corps bei Waterloo p.12

Two more general Hanoverian reports state there was only one company involved. In: VPH-LBA, nrs.4 and 6

According to major Müller, the Jäger were initially driven back themselves, before being supported by the men of the Bremen battalion.

26. Major general Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

Halkett doesn't mention the prince himself, but " an officer high in rank ". Also in: 34.707 p.37-38

Captain Barlow (69th regiment) doesn't want to enter into detail about the identity of the

person either. In his letter dated 7th of July 1815 to his father. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

Also see:

Private J.C.Black (1st regiment). Letter to his father dated 10th July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS10488

W.F.Butler severely criticises the prince of Orange in this matter. In: A narrative of the historical etc. p.79

Aerts confirms it was the prince who gave the order. In: Etudes etc. p.460

27.Ensign Macready (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.72

Lieutenant Hope Pattison. In: Personal recollections p.

<sup>28</sup> Captain Harty (33rd regiment) In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.533-536

Siborne states as that the prince of Orange would have ordered the battalion to enter into line just before the cuirassier charged (as with the 69th) but I have no documents supporting this.

Version. In: History of the war etc. Vol.I p.141

<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant Lloyd (73rd regiment). In: BL,Add.ms.34.708 p.172-174

30.Kellermann states it was between 6 and 7 p.m.In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

Lieutenant Henckens (6th regiment chasseurs à cheval) believes it was 7p.m. In: Mémoires p.229

Erroneously, colonel Heymès says it was 3 p.m. In: Relation etc. In: Documents inédits etc.p.9

31.Kellermann. In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

32. Kellermann. In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

33.Kellermann. In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

Kellerman himself states he had then 600 men available.

Why other units of his corps were not available remains unclear.

The 11th regiment of cuirassiers didn't wear cuirasses.

34.According to captain Bourdon de Vatry the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, while underway to the front, would have cheered to prince Jérôme Bonaparte and on their way back would have shown the colour of the 69th regiment to him. In: Brett-James, A. The hundred days p.64

35.Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.213

Another source states they advanced in a line of squadrons. Cf. History of the 30th regiment p.315

36. Kellermann. Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

Kellermann also wrote to Ney that evening: " .. à l'instant, sans laisser aux troupes le temps de réfléchir, je me suis précipité [...] sur l'infanterie anglo-hanovrienne." In: SHAT, C15 nr.5

37. Ensign Macready, E. In: United Service Magazine, 1845 Part I p.390

The History of the 30th regiment cites from the diary of Macready in which he mentions the presence of cuirassiers and lancers. The square would have been 6 ranks deep. Cf. Ensign Macready in: History of the 30th regiment p.315, 317, 322

The presence of lancers is also claimed by captain Harty (33rd regiment). Harty was with the light troops which acted near and in connection with the 30th. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.533-536

<sup>38</sup> Members of the battalion do not mention a charge at all. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Harris and lieutenant Lloyd. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.171-172 and 34.708 p.172-174

However, sergeant Morris claims the battalion was charged and brought into confusion after which it retired to the Bois de Bossu. Later, the cuirassiers charged the battalion again, after it had advanced again in order to drive away the French infantry in cooperation with the Brunswickers. Cf. Recollections p.68-70

Lieutenant colonel Harris, however, claims the battalion never entered the Bois de Bossu. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.62 and in: Macready, E. On a part of etc. In: United Service Magazine, 1845 part I p.393

39. Lieutenant Pigot (69th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.146-147

Butler. The journal of occurrences concerning the 69th. In: History of the 30th regiment p.318  
According to Kellermann the 69th did fire at 30 paces distance, but this was in vain. In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

Captain Barlow (69th regiment) indicates the fire of other squares, but doesn't mention any volleys of his own regiment and gives the impression the surprise was that strong that it didn't have the chance to fire at all. In his letter dated 7th July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

<sup>40</sup> Butler. The journal of occurrences concerning the 69th. In: History of the 30th regiment p.318

Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment) In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

41. Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Vol.I p.455

Of its 589 men, this was almost 26% of its total strength.

42. Captain Barlow (69th regiment) In his letter dated 7th July 1815. In: NAM, nr.6507.I Although different names can be found of the one who actually took the colour, I feel the version of colonel Tancarville, chief of staff of Kellerman in 1815, is the most authentic one, and he claims it was not the cuirassier Lamie, but actually two cuirassiers of the 8th regiment, called Albisson and Henry. Cf. Note of colonel Tancarville to Soult, dated 16th June. In: SHAT, Succession Tancarville.

In a letter to colonel Tancarville, dated 29th October 1818, colonel Garavaque of the 8th regiment itself claims it was Henry only. In: SHAT, File Garavaque nr.2760 GB/2

Other names mentioned are Voligny (or Valgayer), Hourise (or Nourain)t) and Arbillon. According to Surtees the volunteer Clarke did save the Regimental Colour. This corresponds to the version of Sir Colin Halkett, in which he makes a clear difference between the two colours. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707.14

Cf. Surtees, G. British colours in the Waterloo campaign. In: JSAHR, Vol.43.1965. p.75 The return of the colour to Britain is a strange history. In 1909 a captain called Jeffcock of the Inniskillings in Aray le Rideau, France, saw in a museum two colours which were for sale: a Netherlands one and the one of the 69th regiment which was taken at Quatre Bras.

Though the silk in the heavy embroidery in the middle had gone and the colours had faded, the colour was in a reasonable good condition. The curator of the museum, Mr.M.L.X.de Rocard, was the son of general De Ricard, who was in his turn the grand-nephew of general Donzelot. Both colours had been donated to the museum by the curator.

From a letter from 23rd June 1909, written by the gate-keeper to captain Jeffcock, it becomes clear that general Donzelot had been the owner of four British colours and that he had given two of them to the Musée des Invalides; the other two he had kept in the family. Somehow he must have acquired the colour in question.

Immediately, captain Jeffcock bought the Colour (for 600 francs) and had it restored. In 1909 it was in the hands of captain Jeffcock, Car Colston, Hall, Nottinghamshire. Cf. Leslie, major J.H. The story of a British flag etc. p.1-8

Also see: Surtees, G. British colours in the Waterloo campaign. In: JSAHR, Vol.43.1965. p.75

Sir Colin Halkett denies the capture of the colour, but admits it being missing. In: BL.Add.ms.34.706.75

<sup>43</sup> Sergeant Anton (42nd regiment). In: Fitchett, W.H. Wellington's men p.293

Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: BL Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184

Sergeant McEween (42nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.455-456

McEween describes the horsemen as dragoons wearing cloaks and cuirasses.

<sup>44</sup> Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297 Though Riddock doesn't describe them as cuirassiers, I take it from the time he allocates the charge (6 p.m.) that it may have been the cuirassiers.

45. Ensign Howard doesn't enter into a lot of detail about the battle; his role in the light company must have been very superficial. See his letter dated 8th July 1815. In: A Waterloo shako, In the JSHAR, by B.W. Webb-Carter.

According to Houssaye (and with him, other French historians), the battalion was run down by the cuirassiers but this is not correct. Cf. Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.214

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.707 p.58-59

Its commander, lieutenant colonel W.K. Elphinstone wrote to his father on the 23rd of July 1815: "they behaved very well on the 16th, in my opinion they might have been steadier (but this is between ourselves); we suffered a good deal that day." In: BL, MSS.EUR F.89.8

<sup>47</sup> Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd). In: Personal recollections p.5-9

Ensign Thain (33rd) in his diary. In: Duke of Wellington Regiment Archive.

Private Hemingway. In a letter dated 16th August 1815 to his father. In: Waley, D. A new account of Waterloo etc.

Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.58-59

The rumour that the battalion would have been nearly cut off and intercepted by cavalry, came down to a surgeon of the 33rd as well, who had his post near Quatre Bras. Cf. Assistant surgeon Finlayson (33rd regiment). In: NLS. MS.9236

Ensign Howard (33rd regiment) doesn't enter into any detail about the action of Quatre Bras in his letter dated 8th July 1815. In: Webb Carter, B.W. A Waterloo shako

Captain Harty (33rd regiment) was a member of the light company which formed part of the flank battalion, which consisted of the light companies of the brigade and which acted in the vicinity of and in connection with the 30th and it was with this battalion that it formed square. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.58-59

<sup>48</sup> Colonel Von Olfermann states the 2nd line battalion drove off the cuirassiers several times. Cf. his report dated 16th of June. In: VPH-LBA, nr.9

Ensign A. Kubel (1st company 3rd battalion of the line) states his battalion was in the third line in rear of Quatre Bras and were it not that artillery intervened, his whole battalion would have been killed to the last man. Cf. his letter dated 22nd June 1815. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk)  
Original in: NSA, nr.249 AN190

<sup>49</sup> While lieutenant Hope Pattison mentions that the Brunswickers were faced with French light infantry in their front, it is ensign Thain who claims they were actually charged by the cuirassiers and that they were successful in driving them away with their fire.

Cf. Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd regiment). In: Personal recollections p.5

Ensign Thain (33rd regiment) in his diary. In: Duke of Wellington Regiment Archive.

Houssaye even claims a Brunswick square would have been run down by the cuirassiers, but there is no proof for that. This also applies to his claim that an artillery-crew was sabred. In: 1815. Waterloo p.214

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd regiment). In: Personal recollections p.5  
Ensign Thain (33rd regiment) in his diary. In: Duke of Wellington Regiment Archive.  
According to colonel Von Olfermann the 2nd line battalion drove off the cuirassiers several times. Cf. his report dated 16th of June. In: VPH-LBA, nr.9  
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<sup>51</sup> Notizen etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.4  
Major general Best. In: VPH-LBA, nr.8  
Captain Kühlmann. In: VPH-LBA, nr.14  
Alten in his report to the duke of Cambridge, dated 20th June. In: VPH-LBA, nr.5  
Captain Mercer (battery Mercer) on the 17th of June, confirms the presence of dead cuirassiers on and along the Brussels road and as far as just in front of the farm of Quatre Bras. In: Journal of the Waterloo campaign Vol.I p.263  
Captain Jessop (QMG department) confirms this. In: Recollections of Waterloo, by a staff officer p.8

52.Captain Von Kühlmann. In: VPH-LBA, nr.14 He gives the impression as if the battery was on the field for about one hour until the cavalry charge took place; initially it would have fired on French artillery in front at 1200 paces.

Cf.Notes of captain Chr.Heise.MSS, as used by L.N.Beamish. In: History etc. Vol.II p.335  
Surgeon Ellington (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.67 Ellington had his position about 150 meters from the crossroads, in rear of the Nivelles road; he saw the two guns on the road.

According to private Clay the artillery went around one of the buildings of Quatre Bras and immediately opened fire. Cf. Private Clay (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards, in his recollections. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

Ensign Standen (3rd Foot Guards) claims he saw two Belgian guns on the Brussels road, but these were the ones of Von Kühlmann. In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.328-334

<sup>53</sup> Kellermann. Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Captain Bourdon de Vatry (aide de camp of prince Jérôme). In: Brett James, A. The hundred days p.64

Colonel Heymès. In: Relation etc. In: Documents inédits etc.p.9

They both claim Kellermann got back while hanging, on both sides, to the bits of the horses of two cuirassiers.

This is a common shared version, though Kellermann himself doesn't mention it at all and this is logical as this kind of clinging to a horse will not help you getting away; on the contrary, the horses will never accept this and will prance. Cf. Kellermann. Observations sur

la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719  
Count Flahaut, in a letter dated 1861 to F.Lavalette. In: The first Napoleon etc. p.317

55. Foy claims cuirassiers even fell back beyond Frasnes, panicking and plundering baggages.  
Cf. Foy. Vie militaire p.273

56. Captain Duthilt (brigade Bourgeois, division Allix -1st corps) saw the baggage of his division also carried along on the Brussels road, while he himself was in a position east of the road, heading for the battlefield of Ligny. Cf. Duthilt, capitaine – Les mémoires p.299  
Some of the fugitives would even gone as far back as Marchienne-au-Pont and Charleroi. Cf. Foy. Vie militaire p.273

57. Kellermann had bruised his knee and foot. In his report to Ney, dated 16th of June, 10 p.m.  
In: SHAT, nr.C15, nr.5  
Colonel Garavaque was wounded, as were 12 other officers of the 8th regiment of cuirassiers. The 11th regiment had lost 4 officers (one killed and three wounded). Cf. Martinien, A. Tableaux etc. p.530, 534

58.Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297  
Lieutenant Malcom (42nd regiment). In: BWRA, nr.220  
Riddock claims the whole brigade fell back, but I have no such indications for the other battalions.

<sup>59</sup> Reille. In: Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits p.59 and in his report dated 17th June. In: SHAT, nr.C15/22

60.In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

<sup>61</sup> Cf.Captain Macdonald (1st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6  
Captain Ross-Lewin (32nd regiment). In: With the 32nd etc. p.257-258  
Sergeant Mc.Eween (42nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.455-456  
Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

According to some, the French infantry attacked in columns, covered by light troops, several times. Cf. Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184  
Major Calvert (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.256-258  
Private Vallance (79th regiment). He asserts the 79th charged the French infantry up to the double hedge three times. In: The Waterloo Journal, Vol.21 nr.2 p.15

Lieutenant Kincaid (1st/95th regiment) says the division charged and routed the French infantry twice. Cf. Adventures etc. p.318-319

62.Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

<sup>63</sup> Account captain Ch.Gore. In: Collection S.Schalk, USA. As he mentions the action as being a general one, the battalions of the 5th division being in squares and (after the incident) the advance of the 28th regiment, I take it must have been in the phase of the action that Picton was wounded.

Captain Price, Picton's extra aide camp, maintains Picton had two or three ribs broken, had some serious contusions and internal wounds, probably caused by grapeshot. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.515-516

Others claim he suffered from a wound caused by roundshot and which was formed by a huge bladder, which was filled with coagulated blood on the 18th of June, the day he was killed. Cf.

Siborne, W. History of the war etc. Vol.I p.14

Picton would have mentioned his wound only to an assistant or surgeon, with the strict instruction not to tell anybody about it. Cf. H.B. Robinson. In: BL, Add.ms.705 p.383-385

Curling, H. Recollections of the mess table (1855). P. Cited in a letter of 1971. In: Archive of the Royal Medical Corps. Wellcome Institute. File nr.922

64.Captain Macdonald (1st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

Private J.Black (1st regiment). Letter to his father dated 10th July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS10488

The square was four files deep. Cf. Ensign Mudie (1st Royal Scots).In: Diary of ensign C.Mudie, 3rd Bn.The Royal Scots. Describing the battle of Waterloo and occupation of Paris, 1815. In: The Thistle. April, July and October 1931 p.184

Captain Caddell (32nd). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.282-283

Major Llewellyn (28th) In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.264-265

Gomm, W.M. Letters and journals p.355 According to Gomm, a wing of the Royals joined the 28th to drive off the French cavalry. In: BL, Add.ms.706 p.179-184

By mentioning Egypt, Picton referred to the battle of Ramanieh (21st March 1801), in which the 28th successfully resisted all charges of the cavalry of general Roize. Cf. Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.203

Houssaye links this incident of the 28th with Piré having pursued the British infantry after their charge on Bachelu's division, but this is not right as this pursuit didn't take place. Cf. Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.203

<sup>65</sup> Captain Ross-Lewin (32<sup>nd</sup> regiment). In: Ross-Lewin, H. With the thirty second etc. p.258 He claims the battalion was on the Namur-road.

<sup>66</sup> For the 32nd see:

Captain Ross-Lewin. In: With the 32nd etc. p.258-260

Major Calvert (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.256-258

Captain Crowe (32nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.320-321

For the Royals see:

Ensign Mudie (1st) Diary. In: Diary of ensign C.Mudie, 3rd Bn.The Royal Scots. Describing the battle of Waterloo and occupation of Paris, 1815. In: The Thistle. April, July and October 1931 p.184

Captain Macdonald. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

For the 28th see:

Major Llewellyn. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.264-265

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

For the 79th regiment, lieutenant Forbes explicitly states the battalion did form square now and then but wasn't charged by cavalry. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703.1

Cf. Jameson, R. Historical record of the seventy-ninth regiment etc. p.52

Sergeant Dewar (79th regiment) does the same and explains the situation by the marshy and boggy state of the field where the 79th stood. Cf. his letter to his brother dated 5th August 1815. In: NWMS, M1960.2

Private Vallance, however, does mention charges. In: The Waterloo Journal, Vol.21 nr.2 p.15

For the action of Roger's battery, cf. captain Rogers. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.64

<sup>67</sup> Lieutenant Henckens (6th regiment chasseurs à cheval). Mémoires p.229

Oré, D.C. 1<sup>e</sup> régiment de chasseurs p.222

Kellermann states that, on his return, Piré left from the position where he had stood himself some time before. Cf. Kellermann. In: Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo etc. In: SHAT, Mémoires et reconnaissances, no.719