

## **The situation at the French left wing after the action at Quatre Bras.**

At 10 p.m. general Kellermann wrote his report to Ney. It reads:

*Près Frasnes, le 16 juin 1815, 10 heures du soir*

*Monsieur le Maréchal, J'ai exécuté la charge que vous m'avez ordonné: j'ai rencontré l'infanterie ennemie placé dans un vallon au dessous de ses pièces. À l'instant, sans laisser aux troupes le temps de réfléchir, je me suis précipité, à la tête de l'escadron du 8e cuirassiers avec le général Guiton sur l'infanterie anglo-hanovrienne; malgré le feu le plus vif de front et de flanc, les deux lignes d'infanterie ont été culbutées, le plus grand désordre était dans la ligne ennemie que nous avons traversé deux à trois fois. Le succès le plus complet était assuré, avec les résultats que vous attendiez, si les lanciers nous eussent suivis, mais les cuirassiers, criblés de coups de fusil de tous les cotés, n'ont pu profiter de l'avantage qu'ils avaient obtenu par une des charges les plus résolues et les plus hardies, contre une infanterie qui ne se lasa point intimider et qui fit son feu avec le plus grand sang-froid, comme à l'exercice. Nous avons pris un drapeau du 69e, qui a été enlevé par les cuirassiers Vulgager et Nourain; la brigade ayant fait une perte énorme et ne se voyant pas soutenue, se retira dans le désordre ordinaire en pareille circonstance; mon cheval a été renversé de deux coups de feu et moi sous lui; ce n'est qu'avec peine que je suis parvenu à m'échapper. Le général Guiton, le colonel Garavaque ont été démontés, ainsi que nombre d'officiers et de cuirassiers. J'ai eu le genou et la jambe froissés, mais je n'en serais pas moins demain à cheval. La division Roussel est bivouaquée dans la plaine, près de Frasnes. La division L'Heritier n'a pas rejoint; je ne sais où lui adresser des ordres.*

*Je suis, avec respect, Le comte de Valmy<sup>1</sup>*

Probably it reached Ney between 10.30 and 11 p.m.

That evening Ney wrote to Soult:

*Frasnes, le 16 juin 1815 10 heures du soir*

*Monsieur le maréchal,*

*L'attaque que j'ai dirigée contre les anglais dans la position de Quatre Bras a sûrement été de la plus grande vigueur; un mal-entendu de la part du comte d'Erlon m'a privé de l'espérance d'une belle victoire car au moment les 5e et 9e division du général Reille avaient tout culbuté le 1er corps a marché sur Saint Amand, pour appuyer la gauche de S.M., et ce qu'il y a de fatal, c'est que ce corps ayant retrogradé ensuite pour me rejoindre, n'a pu ainsi être utile à personne. La division du Prince Jérôme a donné avec une grande valeur. S.A.I. a été légèrement blessé. Il n'y a donc eu réellement d'engage que trois divisions d'infanterie et une brigade de cuirassiers et la cavalerie du général Piré. Le comte de Valmy a fait une belle charge. Tout le monde a fait son devoir excepté le 1er corps. L'ennemi a perdu beaucoup de monde; nous avons pris du canon et un drapeau. Nous n'avons réellement perdu qu'environ deux mille hommes tués et quatre mille blessés. J'ai demandé les rapports des généraux comte Reille et d'Erlon et je les enverrai à Votre Excellence. Agréez, Monsieur le Maréchal, l'assurance de ma haute considération,*

*Le maréchal Prince de la Moskowa,*

Ney <sup>2</sup>

Due to a lack of provisions on the left wing, soldiers must have started to plunder. <sup>3</sup>

### **Wellington's positions after the action at Quatre Bras.**

In Picton's division, of Kempt's brigade, the 79th was in advance of the Namur-road and of its original position. <sup>4</sup> The 32nd moved to its right of where it had been fighting, now taking up a bivouac more towards the Brussels road. <sup>5</sup> Of the 28th no information is available. During the evening the 1st battalion of the 95th regiment was relieved in the Bois de Censes by troops of Kielmansegge. By 11 p.m. the Riflemen went back in rear of the farm of Gémioncourt; they piled arms, the men lay down in their ranks, the officers on the inner flanks of their company in a position to take up arms in a battle formation should the alarm be raised. <sup>6</sup>

Of Pack's brigade, the 1st Royals must have been taken back from its position, but where it stood is not known. <sup>7</sup> The 92nd was immediately north of Quatre Bras; near Quatre Bras, in rear of the Namur road, also were the 42nd and 44th.

Von Rettberg's battery spent the night on the position it had during the later stage of the action. <sup>8</sup> The same may have applied to Roger's battery.

Lieutenant general Picton himself must have spent the night near the 1st regiment Royals. <sup>9</sup>

The battalions of Best's brigade had their bivouacs on the positions where they stood when the action closed; only the battalion of Verden was kept in square for the night. <sup>10</sup>

Of the Brunswick troops, the squadron of uhlans was in pickets to the right of the Bois de Bossu. The 1st light battalion was between the Bois de Bossu and the farm of Gémioncourt, south of the stream, while the Leib-battalion and the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the line were in its right rear, in the low ground and up to the edge of the wood. The artillery, hussars, the advance guard battalion, the 3rd battalion of light infantry plus the 1st battalion of the line were close to Quatre Bras, on both sides of the Brussels-road. At the moment the units took up their bivouacs, the 3rd battalion of light infantry, two guns and a detachment of hussars were sent to reinforce the 2nd battalion of light infantry on the extreme left flank. <sup>11</sup>

Of Alten's division, Colin Halkett was ordered in the evening by Sir Edward Barnes to let his brigade remain where it was, and to employ it as he thought best. Resulting from that he posted the main body of his brigade, covered by advance posts, in the hollow ground between the Bois de Bossu and the Brussels road and which lies between the farm of Gémioncourt and this wood. <sup>12</sup> The 30th regiment must have been further left, in and around the farm of Gémioncourt.

[situatie 33<sup>c</sup> – 69<sup>c</sup>]

In and around Piraumont, the Lüneburg and Grubenhagen battalions of the brigade of Kielmansegge were relieved by the battalion of Verden between 9 and 10 p.m. Piraumont itself was occupied by two companies of the battalion of Yorck and the remainder of this battalion was west of it. The battalion of Bremen took a position about 1000 paces in front of its former position on the height just north of the stream of Etang Materne and north-west of Piraumont, next to the battalion of Yorck (to its left), and near the French line. The third company of the battalion of Bremen (led by captain Von Ehler) was placed in picket about 180 paces to the front. Both companies of Feldjäger came in position to the right of the Bremen battalion, towards Gémioncourt. Around 11 p.m. two guns led by a lieutenant Müller [battery Cleeves ?] attached themselves temporarily to the battalion of Bremen but this detachment went to another position around midnight. <sup>13</sup>

Cleeves' battery was still in its position in the centre of the line where it had stood. <sup>14</sup>

Lloyd's battery must have been that evening in a position near Quatre Bras where it had fallen back to before (see above).

Of Cooke's division the 3rd battalion 1st Foot Guards was in the southern part of the Bois de Bossu (having pickets thrown out) and the 2nd battalion was on the road to Nivelles. <sup>15</sup> Byng's brigade had

its light companies in outposts south of the wood, while the brigade itself was in its former position north of the Bois de Bossu. <sup>16</sup> Where Kühlmann's battery had its bivouac is not clear; maybe it joined the division, or it may have (partly) bivouaced in the front-line.

Of Perponcher's brigade of Saksen Weimar the 1st battalion Orange-Nassau as well as the 2nd and 3rd battalion Nassau were in column north of the Bois de Bossu, near the road leading towards Nivelles. <sup>17</sup> The remainder of this brigade, as well as the 7th battalion national militia of Van Bylandt's brigade were in two lines north of the same wood, in rear of the road leading to Nivelles. The 7th battalion line infantry was on the road, near the farm of Quatre Bras itself. <sup>18</sup> In rear of the 7th battalion of national militia were the 5th and the 8th battalion of national militia. Of the last battalion, four companies were initially on the road between Hautain le Val and Quatre Bras, but closer to Quatre Bras. Both remaining companies probably were near the Bois de Bossu. Later, colonel De Jongh, commander of the 8th battalion of national militia, having spoken with lieutenant general De Perponcher at Quatre Bras, moved these four companies more towards Quatre Bras and placed them with platoons in column to the left of the Brunswick troops. This gave them probably a position east or south-east of Quatre Bras. <sup>19</sup> The 27th battalion of chasseurs had, after the order of the prince of Orange, returned to Nivelles to recollect and replenish its weapons and ammunition and it was there that it spent the night. <sup>20</sup> The 3rd company spent the night in the bivouac of the 5th battalion of national militia. <sup>21</sup>

While the section of Winssinger was with the 2nd brigade, both batteries of Stevenart and Bijleveld had their bivouacs north of Quatre Bras. <sup>22</sup>

The brigade of Van Merlen bivouaced north Quatre Bras.

The 1st and 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Nassau arrived around 8 p.m. just about the time the Anglo-Netherlands-German troops took the offensive. Both battalions must have advanced in close columns of divisions and with "vorgezogenen Teten" to the right of the Brussels road. The 3rd battalion arrived around 9.30 p.m., after the action. <sup>23</sup> It took up a position near Quatre Bras, to the right of the Brussels road. <sup>24</sup>

### **Wellington's headquarters.**

At about 9 p.m. Wellington left the battlefield to establish his headquarters at Genappe, in the inn called the Roi d'Espagne. <sup>25</sup>

From here he wrote some orders. The one for Picton reads:

*The troops to continue on the same ground as they occupied at the close of the action this day placing picquets in their front.*

*De Lancey QMG to Lt. Thomas Picton* <sup>26</sup>

And to the prince of Orange he wrote, again through De Lancey:

*Immediate for H.R.H. General the Prince of Orange*

*Genappe, June 16 1815*

*The troops to continue on the same ground as they occupied at the close of the action this day, placing picquets in their front and communicating to their right and left. The 1st brigade and 2nd brigade of Guards to bivouac in rear of 4 Bras having their light*

*companies in their front. The Brunswick battalions and Nassau troops to occupy the wood on the right of the position and placing picquets round the wood and communicating with the cavalry on their right.*

*Wm.de Lancey QMG General*

*H.R.H. the Prince of Orange is requested to communicate this order to the Brunswick and the Nassau troops.*

*W.de Lancey*

General Hill got the following instruction:

*Genappe, 16th June 1815*

*To General Lord Hill, G.C.B.*

*The 2nd division of infantry to move tomorrow morning at daybreak from Nivelles to Quatre Bras. The 4th division of infantry to move at daybreak tomorrow to Nivelles.*

*W.de Lancey*<sup>27</sup>

And to the reserve artillery the next order was issued:

*16th June 1815*

*The reserve artillery to move at daybreak tomorrow morning, the 17th, to Quatre Bras, where it will receive further orders.*<sup>28</sup>

*W.De Lancey*

Major general Sir Lambert got the order which reads:

*To major general Sir J.Lambert, K.C.B.*

*16th June 1815*

*The brigade of infantry, under the command of Major General Sir.J.Lambert, to march from Assche at daybreak tomorrow morning, the 17th ins. , to Genappe, on the Namur road, and to remain there until further orders.*

*W.De Lancey*<sup>29</sup>

It must have been between 11 p.m. and midnight that Wellington went to sleep.<sup>30</sup> Other staff members who spent the night at Genappe were Sir Augustus Frazer (commander of the Royal Horse Artillery), lieutenant colonel Sir J.May (of the staff of the artillery, lieutenant colonel Sir A.Dickson (commander of the train) and lieutenant colonel Hartmann (commander of the KGL artillery).<sup>31</sup> That night, at 11 p.m., count Vincent left headquarters for Brussels.<sup>32</sup>

That night the division of Clinton was at Nivelles. Of Colville's division the brigades of Johnstone and Lyon were probably at Braine le Comte and Mitchell's at Nivelles.

The reserve-artillery could have been in Brussels. Lambert's brigade of the division of Cole was at Assche.

It was 11 p.m. that major general Von Vincke, near Genappe at that time, got the instruction to halt his brigade and to proceed at dawn to Quatre Bras.<sup>33</sup>

It was around 10 p.m. that both the prince of Orange and Constant Rebecque returned to the headquarters of the 1st army corps at Nivelles, where they ate together.<sup>34</sup> Constant Rebecque had his quarters in a house owned by a Mme. Robin. The moment he learned that the equipment of the headquarters were still at Braine le Comte he ordered it to be brought to Nivelles.<sup>35-36</sup>

Adjutant general Van der Wijk returned to Nivelles that night too. He had arrived at Quatre Bras during the morning, but it was during the action that one of his horses legs had got wounded. Major Hulst was sent out looking for his others horses but this was in vain. Meanwhile, Van der Wijk went to Hautain le Val on foot and had taken over another horse. Once he had returned to Quatre Bras, he learned that his others horses had been sent back towards Genappe. Van der Wijk tried to find them there, but this was also in vain. Van der Wijk returned to the field when the action was all over and then left for Nivelles.<sup>37</sup>

At Nivelles the prince of Orange wrote a report to his father at 2 a.m. of the 17th of June. It reads:

*Quartier-général de Nivelles. 17 juin 1815, à 2 heures du matin*

*Le 15, de grand matin, l'armée Prussienne a été attaquée dans sa position. Par suite de cette attaque elle s'est retiré par Charleroi et Gosselies jusque dans les environs de Fleurus. Aussitôt que je fus instruit de la marche de l'ennemi, j'ordonnai les dispositions nécessaires au corps d'armée sous mes ordres. Ce qui s'était passé à l'armée Prussienne fut cause que le 15, à 5 heures du soir, le bataillon Orange-Nassau, qui occupait le village de Frasnes avec une batterie d'artillerie volante, y fut attaqué. Ces troupes restèrent dans leur position sur les hauteurs de ce village, non loin du chemin croisé des Quatre Bras. A 8 heures l'escarmouche cessa sur ce point. Aussitôt que je reçus le rapport de cette action, je donnai l'ordre à la 3e division, ainsi qu'à la cavalerie, et à 2 divisions Anglaises, de marcher sur Nivelles. Je chargeai la 2e division de conserver la position de Quatre Bras. Il n'y eut qu'une partie de la 2e division qui put s'y rendre sur le champ, la brigade commandée par le général-major Van Bijlandt ne pouvant s'éloigner de Nivelles que lorsqu'on se fut assuré de l'arrivée des autres divisions dans cette ville. Le feu des tirailleurs commença sur ce point hier à 5 heures du matin et la fusillade continua des deux cotés, jusqu'à midi, sans aucun résultat. Environ sur les 2 heures l'attaque devint plus sérieuse, principalement de la cavalerie et de l'artillerie. La brigade de cavalerie légère, sous les ordres du général-major Van Merle, ne pouvant arriver vers 4 heures, je n'eus jusqu'à ce moment aucune cavalerie à opposer à l'ennemi. Convaincu de la haute importance dont était la conservation de la position sur les hauteurs devant le carrefour de la chaussée dite les Quatre Bras, j'eus le bonheur de m'y maintenir contre un ennemi qui était, sous tous les rapports, et sans aucune comparaison, très supérieure en nombre. Ayant été attaqué par les deux corps d'armée des généraux d'Erlon et Reille, et ayant réussi à les tenir en échec, le Duc de Wellington eut assez de temps pour réunir une force suffisante pour déjouer les projets de l'ennemi. Cette attaque a eu pour résultat, après un combat vigoureux, qui dura jusqu'à 9 heures du soir, non seulement l'avantage d'arreter l'ennemi, mais encore celui de le repousser jusqu'à une certaine distance. L'armée Prussienne, qui fut également attaquée hier, a conservé sa principale position; et il est hors de doute que Napoléon, avec des forces considérables, n'ait dirigé l'attaque sur toute la ligne. Nos troupes ont bivouqué sur le champ de bataille, où je vais me rendre de suite; car il est très apparent que Napoleon cherchera de nouveau à exécuter les desseins qu'il avait formés hier. Le Duc de Wellington a fait rassembler sur ce point toutes les troupes disponibles. C'est avec la plus grande satisfaction que je puis assurer V.M. que ses troupes ont combattu avec beaucoup de bravoure, particulièrement l'infanterie et l'artillerie. Les circonstances n'ont point encore permis que l'état des différents corps qui constate les pertes que nous avons éprouvés me soit parvenu. J'aurai l'honneur de le mettre sous les yeux de V.M. ausitôt qu'il sera possible.*

*Guillaume, Prince d'Orange*<sup>38</sup>

Not long after writing this report the prince must have left Nivelles.

It was only around 6.30 a.m. that the report was brought to Brussels by lieutenant colonel Wauthier. It formed the basis of the bulletin written out by baron van der Capellen dated 10 a.m.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Anglo-Netherlands-German troops which arrived at Quatre Bras during the night of the 16th of June.**

After the action, numerous units of Wellington's army arrived at the former scene of the action.

Infantry.

The brigade of Von Ompteda of Alten's division had been relieved during the evening at Arquennes by Detmers brigade of Chassés 3rd Netherlands division. The brigade must have left Nivelles around 9 p.m.<sup>40</sup>

Cavalry.

Almost all units of the cavalry which arrived that night at Quatre Bras must have taken up their positions there in columns of squadrons.<sup>41</sup>

The first regiment to arrive at Quatre Bras was the 11th light dragoons of the brigade Vandeleur. It reached Quatre Bras towards 8.30 p.m. The regiment was too late to be involved in the action, but one squadron, under captain Schreiber, was sent out as a picket. The remaining squadrons of the regiment were assigned a position to the left of the Brussels road, in rear of Quatre Bras.<sup>42</sup>

Ponsonby's brigade also arrived just at the moment the action came to an end; it got its position immediately behind Quatre Bras, with the horses in column and the men close at hand.<sup>43</sup>

The brigade of Von Dörnberg, the 23rd regiment of light dragoons in particular, also did arrive at the crossroads soon after the action was over. Around 10 p.m. it established itself west of the Bois de Bossu and south of the road to Namur. Not long after, a reconnaissance was sent out along the edge of the wood to the south. The 1st and 2nd regiment of light dragoons were in their immediate rear and the whole regiment spent the night in this position under cover of a strong picket led by lieutenant Banner.<sup>44</sup>

The moment the Household brigade of Somerset approached the field of action, it took up a position along the road, per regiment in closed column. After an hour however the brigade moved to another position between Genappe and the farm of Quatre Bras, to the east of the Brussels road. In the bivouac, the horses weren't unsaddled in case of alarm.<sup>45</sup>

Not long after the action, the 10th and 18th hussars of Vivian's brigade also arrived at the scene.<sup>46</sup>

Both regiments approached Quatre Bras in a gallop in half squadrons and took their bivouac west of the crossroads, in rear of the Bois de Bossu.<sup>47</sup> The squadron led by major Howard of the 10th regiment hussars was on duty for pickets that night in the vicinity of the farm of Gémioncourt.<sup>48</sup>

Another picket, at the road to Namur opposite the Bois Delhütte was furnished by the 18th regiment hussars.<sup>49</sup> The 1st regiment of KGL hussars arrived at Quatre Bras on the 17th of June.

Of Grant's brigade the 7th regiment of hussars reached Quatre Bras by 10.30 p.m.<sup>50</sup> The 13rd light dragoons, attached to the same brigade, arrived at Quatre Bras at 10 p.m. and took its bivouac in a cornfield, but where is unknown.<sup>51</sup>

The 15th regiment of hussars had left Nivelles at 11 p.m. and reached Quatre Bras by 2 a.m. on the 17th of June.<sup>52</sup> The regiment got a position in open column just next to the brigade of Vivian and was under arms for the whole night.<sup>53</sup> The right squadron was that night on duty as a picket at Hautain-le-Val.<sup>54</sup>

Though the times of arrival are only estimates from different eye-witnesses, the sequence in which the different brigades arrived might have been: Vandeleur, Ponsonby, Von Dörnberg, Vivian, Somerset, Grant (13th light dragoons first, then 7th hussars and – much later – the 15th hussars). Both brigades of Von Arentschildt and Von Estorff didn't reach Quatre Bras at all, as they were not ordered there.

### Royal Horse Artillery

The battery of Webber Smith reached Quatre Bras only on the 17th of June as we will see.

No details are available about the battery of Bull, nor the one of Whinyates.

Captain Gardiner reached that night with his battery a point somewhere between Braine le Comte and Nivelles. After making a short halt, he resumed his march at 11 p.m. to reach the crossroads at about 5 a.m. (<sup>55</sup>) on the 17th of June.<sup>56</sup>

Shortly after the action, Ramsay arrived at Quatre Bras but where it came into position is not known.<sup>57</sup> Captain Mercer approached Quatre Bras at dusk over the Namur road. As all other units which arrived that evening and night, numerous stragglers and wounded were encountered. Mercer gave his men a bivouac north east of the crossroads, in rear of the farm.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Original in: SHAT. C15, nr.5

<sup>2</sup> Fascimilé of original, in: Pollio, A. Waterloo 1815 p.248 He took it from the collection of the grand-grandson of Ney.

Cf. copy in: SHAT. C15, nr.5

Houssaye, H. - 1815 Waterloo p.224

Lachouque, H. Le secret de Waterloo p.153-154.

<sup>3</sup> Notes of Captain Bourdon de Vatry, aide de camp of Jérôme Bonaparte. In: Mémoires de Grouchy Vol.IV p.103

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant Forbes. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

<sup>5</sup> Major Calvert (32nd regiment). In: BL. Add.ms.34.706. p.256-258

He adds Germans took up their ground when they left it; these may have been men of Kielmansegge's brigade.

Captain Ross-Lewin says the brigade was more advanced as in the morning. In: With the 32nd etc. p.260

<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Kincaid (1st/95th regiment). In: Adventures etc. p.321-322

Caldwell, G. and R.Cooper. Rifle green etc. p.41

Captain Leach (1st/95th regiment). In: Rough sketches etc.p.377

<sup>7</sup> captain Macdonald (1st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

<sup>8</sup> Lieutenant Heise (Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

<sup>9</sup> Captain Macdonald (1st regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.3-6

<sup>10</sup> Report of major general Best. In: NHA.Des.41<sup>E</sup> XXI k, nr.3

<sup>11</sup> Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich etc. p.32

Colonel Von Herzberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55

<sup>12</sup> Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

Lieutenant Pratt (33rd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

<sup>13</sup> Lieutenant Bülow of the battalion Bremen, in a letter dated 26 August 1815. In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.206

Major Müller, Beschreibung des Antheils etc. In: NHA, Des 41.E XXI k nr.2

Captain Von Scriba Bericht des Hannoverschen etc. In: NHA, Des.41 E XXI k nr.2

Scriba, C.von Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.83

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

Bericht über etc. In: VPH-LBA, nr.6

<sup>14</sup> Captain Von Rettberg in: Darstellung über den Antheil etc. In: NHA, Des.,41 E.XXI k, nr.2

Also see lieutenant Heise (battery Von Rettberg). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

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

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- <sup>15</sup> Captain Powell (1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148  
According to Constant Rebecque the whole division was in the wood. Cf. his account. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25
- <sup>16</sup> Ensign Standen (2nd battalion, 3rd Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708.121  
Ensign Short (2nd battalion Coldstream Guards) In a letter dated 19th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.7702-5  
Private Clay (2nd battalion / 3rd Foot Guards). In his recollections etc. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.
- <sup>17</sup> Captain Wirths. In: Aus der Schlacht bei Waterloo. In: Nassovia, 1905 p.144  
However, two other sources situate the Nassau regiment of the brigade of Saksen Weimar in the southern edge of the Bois de Bossu. Cf. major general Von Kruse in: Bericht des Generals etc. Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, VII Nassau, Kriegsdepartement Nr. 532 and colonel Sattler, in: Notizen über die Campagne von 1815 etc. Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, VIII Nassau, Kriegsdepartement nr.532  
Prince Bernard van Saksen Weimar himself confirms his whole brigade bivouaced in rear of the Bois de Bossu, i.e. towards Hautain-le-Val. Cf. his diary. In: THW, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A XXIV 30  
For their units this is confirmed by captain Wirths. In: Nassovia, 1905 p.144  
And: Leonhard, J.P. (1st battalion Nassau). In private collection.  
Colonel van Zuylen van Nijeveld states the 1st battalion of Orange Nassau and the regiment Nassau were in rear of the wood in columns, while the remainder of the 2nd brigade was in two lines, having the British units to the or right and the Brunswick ones to their left. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.321
- <sup>18</sup> Colonel Scheltens. Souvenirs d'un grognard Belge p.199
- <sup>19</sup> Papers of colonel De Jongh. In: De Militaire Spectator, 1866
- <sup>20</sup> Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijeveld. In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.321  
Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: VLS nr.II.3.nr.7
- <sup>21</sup> Lieutenant colonel Grunebosch. In: VLS nr.II.3.nr.7
- <sup>22</sup> Major Van Opstall. In: VLS nr.II.4.nr.1
- <sup>23</sup> Auszug aus dem Tagebuch etc. In: KA. Sect. II, Kap.XII, nr.3663  
Houssaye claims these units arrived earlier that evening and took part in the action. In: 1815. Waterloo p.217 (between 6 and 7 p.m.)
- <sup>24</sup> Cf. Von Gagern, lieutenant. In a letter to his mother dated 26 July 1815. In: Ein Unbekannter Brief etc. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter 1956 heft 1 p.18  
Auszug aus dem Tagebuch etc. In: KA Sect. II, Kap.XII, nr.3663
- <sup>25</sup> Cf. FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507-1  
Captain De Ceva, sent on a mission on the 16th of June to the prince of Orange by baron Tindal reported back to Tindal on the 17th of June that he found Wellington's headquarters at Genappe at

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9.30 p.m. and which had just been established there. He had left from Brussels at 7.15 p.m. and had reached Genappe at 9.30 p.m. Cf. his report to Tindal. In: NA, 2.02.01 nr.6585

<sup>26</sup> In: KHA nr.A40 XIII 10

<sup>27</sup> In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.4

WD p.475. The specimen in the KHA states "to the village of "4 Bras" in stead of "to Quatre Bras".

Von Pflugk Harttung erroneously thinks that this order, as well as the one for Lambert and the one for the reserve artillery were written during the morning, the moment Wellington passed through Genappe. In: Vorgeschichte etc. p.123

<sup>28</sup> In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.4

<sup>29</sup> In: HL, MS61 WP 8.2.4

WD p.475

<sup>30</sup> Cf. FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507-1

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Sabine, E. Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer p.541

<sup>32</sup> Cf. letter of count Vincent dated 17th of June, written at Brussels for Schwarzenberg. Vincent left the Duke on the 16th by 11 p.m. Both letters are now in the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna, but have been published by J.von Pflugk Harttung in: Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Feldzuges 1815. Jahrbücher für die Deutsche Armee und Marine Berlin 1906 p. 510-512

<sup>33</sup> Major general Von Vincke. In: NHA. Des.41 E. XXI k nr.2

<sup>34</sup> Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Members of the staff of the artillery like captain Osten and major De la Sarraz returned to general Gunkel at Nivelles around midnight. Cf.letter of captain Osten. In: VLS nr.II no.4.4

<sup>35</sup> Constant Rebecque. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

<sup>36</sup> Major Van Gorkum, who was supposed to remain at the army headquarters at Braine le Comte and to take measures during the day in case he would not get any instructions to do so, however, claims that he got himself at Quatre Bras by 6 p.m. and that he rode to Nivelles after the action at Quatre Bras had ended (possibly around 10 p.m.) to find both the prince of Orange and Constant Rebecque, but that he didn't find either of them.

Resulting, he sent a sergeant of the guides to Braine le Comte to have headquarters move to Nivelles after all. So, in his view the headquarters would have been without any instructions whatsoever during most of the 16th of June and that it only moved towards Nivelles during the night of that day. Cf. his memoirs.

<sup>37</sup> Account of Van der Wijk. In: NA. nr.2.13.13.01 inv.4

I have the impression that Van der Wijk tried to avoid the action at Quatre Bras, while looking for his horse, while a lot of unmanned horses must have been around at the field of action.

<sup>38</sup> Supplementary Despatches p. 497

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In: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.432

In the catalogue of the KHA there is a note that the original has never been found. In the same archive there is a copy in Dutch (nr.A40 VIA.10). This version has a short post-scriptum which reads:

*P.S. Nog heden zal ik de eere hebben aan Uwe Majesteit rapport te doen van het geene bij de armée zal voorvallen.*

The same type of copy can be found in the National Archives, The Hague (nr.2.02.01 nr.6585)

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the bulletin of baron Van der Capellen of the 17th of June, at 10 a.m. In: Aerts, W. & Fleischman, Th. Bruxelles pendant etc. p.143-144

<sup>40</sup> Captain Wheatly (5th battalion of the line KGL). In: The Wheatly diary p.60

<sup>41</sup> Lieutenant Bacon (10th regiment of hussars) In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166  
According to captain Wildman (7th regiment of hussars), aide de camp of Lord Uxbridge, the cavalry arrived around 10 p.m. Cf. letter to his mother dated 19th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.8112-53

<sup>42</sup> Lord Uxbridge. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.5-10  
Captain Schreiber (11th light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.145-146  
Captain Tomkinson (16th light dragoons). In: Diary of a cavalry officer p.281  
Captain Wildman, in a letter to his mother of the 19th of June. In: NAM, nr.8112-53  
Lieutenant Hay (12th regiment light dragoons). In: Reminiscences under Wellington p.165  
Private George Farmer (11th light dragoons). In: Gleig, G.R. The light dragoon p.149  
Surgeon J.Gordon Smith (12th light dragoons). In: The english army in France etc. p.109

<sup>43</sup> Captain Clark Kennedy (Royals Dragoons).In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.3-5  
Memorandum relative to the Inniskilling Dragoons. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.11-15  
Atkinson, History of the Royal Dragoons p.301  
Major Clarke (Scots Greys) mentions a position from 11 p.m. onwards at Beuge, but I haven't been able to trace this place. Cf. his letter of major Clarke to Sir J.Stewart of the 11th July 1815. In: The Cavalry Journal, 1926 Vol.16 p.76  
According to corporal Stevenson his regiment, the Scots Greys, didn't halt until 11.30 p.m. in a clover field near Genappe. Cf. his account in: NWMS, U3 box file one

<sup>44</sup> Lieutenant Banner (23rd regiment of light dragoons). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.301-311  
Captain Grove (23rd regiment of light dragoons), Journal in NAM, nr.  
Surgeon Detmer of the 2nd regiment of light dragoons claims his regiment reached Quatre Bras at 2 a.m. only. In: Schwertfeger, B. Geschichte der Königlich Deutschen Legion 1803-1816 Vol.II p.235

<sup>45</sup> Sergeant major Page (King's Dragoon Guards). Letter cited by M.Mann. In: And they rode on p.16

Also see captain Naylor – diary. In: Regimental Museum 1st Queen's Dragoon Guards  
Captain Elton (King's Dragoon Guards) states his regiment reached the frontline by 11 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 15th July 1815 in [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives. 413/382

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<sup>46</sup> The hussar J.Marshall claims it was 7 p.m. but this is too early. Cf. letter dated 11th July 1815 in: United Service Journal,1831 Part I p.313  
According captain Gurwood of the 10th regiment of hussars, the brigade reached Quatre Bras after Vandeleur's brigade. In: HL, WP 8.3.13

<sup>47</sup> Captain Taylor (10th hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90 and in his letter to mr.Brownrigg, dated 16th July 1815. In: collection A.Lagden.  
Also see his diary. In: Carew, P. Combat and carnaval p.30

Lieutenant colonel Bacon (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.162-166  
Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment hussars) In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108  
Lieutenant Duperier (18th regiment hussars) In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.90-91  
States the regiment took up a position near Tilly !  
Lieutenant colonel Manners (10th regiment hussars) adds that the baggage of his regiment (led by lieutenant Slayter) arrived at Quatre Bras around 2 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.103-108

<sup>48</sup> Major general Vivian. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.50-57  
Captain Taylor (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.80-90  
Lieutenant colonel R.Manners (10th regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34703 p.103-108

<sup>49</sup> Major general Vivian. In: BL, Add.mds.34.707 p.50-57  
Lieutenant colonel Murray (18<sup>th</sup> regiment hussars). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.205-209  
Lieutenant Duperier mentions some skirmishing with the French cavalry. Cf. his letter to mr.Hughes, dated 19th June 1815. In: Hunt, E. Charging against Napoleon p.243

<sup>50</sup> Verner, W. Reminiscences of William Verner. In: Journal of the society for army historical research. 1965. Nr.8, p.40  
Lieutenant J.E.Daniel claims it was by midnight. In: Journal of an officer in the commissariat department etc. p.385

<sup>51</sup> Lieutenant Wm.Turner's letter of 3rd July 1815 to a man called Busby. In: Barrett, C.R.B. History of the XIII Hussars p.277  
Barrett himself claims the regiment to have reached Quatre Bras at 11 p.m. Cf. Barrett, C.R.B. History of the XIIIth hussars p.272

<sup>52</sup> The adjudant diaries of the regiment period 6th May to 14 november 1815. In: NAM, nr. Nr.7207-22-1-14  
Lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple says the regiment arrived at midnight. In: NAM, Nr.7207-22,14-21

<sup>53</sup>.Cf. the two adjudant-diaries cited before over the period 6th may until 14th november 1815 In: NAM, Nr.7207-22-1-14  
Account of lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple. In: NAM, nr.7207-22,14-21

<sup>54</sup> Cf.lieutenant colonel Leighton-Cathcart-Dalrymple. In: NAM, nr.7207-22,14-21  
Captain J.Thackwell (15th regiment hussars), diary. In: Wylly, H.C. The military memoirs etc. p.69

<sup>55</sup> Captain Gardiner in his letter dated July 1815 to lieutenant general sir Th.Graham. In: NLS, MS 3615

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<sup>56</sup> Captain Ingilby (battery Gardiner) WL, nr.706.135  
Second captain Dyneley in his letter of 23rd August 1815 to J.Douglas. In: RAI nr.MD 1051

<sup>57</sup> Lieutenant Sandilands (battery Ramsay). In: RAI, nr.MD 638. Sandilands mentions a time of 9 p.m. Cf. Mercer, C. Journal of the Waterloo campaign. Vol.I p.260

<sup>58</sup> Mercer, C. Journal of the Waterloo campaign Vol. I p.250-258