

The reserve

Division Picton

The 5th British division was at Brussels. Attached to it was the 81st regiment (brigade Lambert, division Cole). According to the concentration orders it had to be ready for immediate departure.¹

The orders to do so arrived between 9 and 10 p.m.²

At what time all units were actually ready for an immediate departure is not known.³ The division was collected at the park of the Place Royale to depart for Waterloo. The troops carried their blankets in stead of greatcoats. Rations for three days were issued.⁴ It must have been around 4 a.m. before the first troops left.⁵

There is no clear idea of where the regiments marched in the column.⁶ Each regiment must have left behind an officer, being responsible for catching up the stragglers.⁷

There are two very vivid accounts of the departure of the division from Brussels.⁸ There is some controversy about the route which was followed in Brussels. According to some the column would have reached the " chaussée de Waterloo " through the Place Royale, the rue Coudenberg (= currently rue de Namur), and the old ramparts to the Porte de Hal.⁹

According to others the troops left Brussels at the end of the rue Coudenberg, that is through the Porte de Namur.¹⁰

In this second route, the distance between the Place Royale and Waterloo is almost 16 kilometers. Around 8.00 – 8.30 a.m. the division halted in the forest of Soignes at the northern side of Waterloo, on both sides of the road.¹¹ At that time, Wellington and his staff passed along.¹² During their halt, the troops rested and made their breakfast, but they didn't get permission to make any fires.¹³

It was here that the battery of Von Rettberg rejoined the division. At 7 a.m. it had got the orders to join the 5th division, which had already left by then.¹⁴

Between 11 and 12 a.m. the division left again.¹⁵ It was not for Quatre Bras, however, that the reserve left: it did so for Genappe.¹⁶ The total distance between from Waterloo to Genappe is 14 kilometers.

This explains why, before approaching the crossroads of Quatre Bras, the division made a short halt around 2 p.m. for about 15 minutes about 1500 meters north of Genappe, before it was ordered to proceed to Quatre Bras.¹⁷

The division must have covered the total distance of about 18 kilometers in about 3.5 hours which is fast, even as it marched over a paved road.

The brigade of Von Vincke had separate orders. That night, this brigade had to collect at Halle. Von Vincke received the according orders and the brigade must have collected in the early morning at Halle. At least the battalion of Gifhorn got there by 3.30 a.m.¹⁸

At 11 a.m. Von Vincke got the instruction from Brussels to move his brigade towards Waterloo.¹⁹

At what time this order was issued is not known, but it could have been issued the same time as the ones for Lord Hill and prince Frederik were, between 6 and 7 a.m.

The brigade left after 12 a.m. and despite the distance Hal-Waterloo (in a straight line) being only 12 kilometers, it arrived here only by 6 p.m.²⁰ The roads between these places must have been in an extremely bad state.²¹

The brigade halted at Waterloo for about two to three hours⁽²²⁾; a distant cannonade could be heard but the brigade remained without orders, until Von Vincke decided to advance further south over the Brussels road. Finally the brigade arrived at Genappe at 11 p.m. and there it got the instruction to establish bivouacs.²³

*The division Cole*²⁴

Of this division the brigade Best and the 81st regiment (of the brigade Lambert) were at Brussels. Best must have been marching with Pictons division.

On the evening of the 15th of June, at 11 p.m., Best got the order to bring his brigade into readiness for immediate departure. When Best was involved informing his regiments of these measures, he got the order to place his brigade on the Place Royale at Brussels. It was at 1 a.m. that the brigade assembled and was placed column filed off to the right. The baggage and ammunition of Best followed the brigade in its track.²⁵

Of Lambert's brigade, the 81st regiment was kept as a garrison at Brussels. The remainder of the brigade was at Ghent on the night of the 15th of June.

Lambert's brigade is not mentioned in the concentration-orders, but in them a contraction has taken place between those for Von Vincke and those for Lambert, which read "to be in readiness at daylight tomorrow morning to move towards Bruxelles and to halt on the high road between Alost and Assche for further orders." (see below)

In fact, this march was carried out by Lambert's brigade: on the early morning of the 16th of June the brigade moved by forced marches from Ghent to Assche.²⁶ The brigade reached Assche somewhere in the afternoon and there it spent the night.²⁷

The battery of Braun of the division Picton had its positions at Wondelgem and Mariakerke (both north of Ghent). At 8 a.m. while exercising⁽²⁸⁾, it got the order to join the brigade of Lambert.

As a result, all troops were sent to their quarters and finally the battery marched off at noon.

The battery would find the brigade of Lambert on the road Ghent – Brussels. The reason was that 1st lieutenant Von Schulzen, being attached to the battery, was sent forward on this road.

At 9 p.m. that evening the battery met the brigade at Assche. Here the battery took up its bivouac.²⁹

The brigade Von Kruse.

By dawn of the 16th of June, this brigade had to collect on the road Louvain – Brussels and to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice.

According to Von Kruse himself he got these first orders by 11 p.m.³⁰ At 1.30 a.m. Von Kruse got the order while being at Woluwe, where his headquarters were established, to have his regiment in readiness at 7 a.m. near the Porte de Louvain and to wait there for further orders.

The main body of the 1st and 2nd battalion had a tough job to get here in time. The 2nd battalion had left its bivouac at 4 a.m.³¹ There, at the Porte de Louvain, both battalions waited in vain for the 3rd battalion. Then they left, while marching round the town to reach the chaussée leading to Charleroi.³²

Both battalions made a halt to rest in the forest of Soignes and later on again at Mont Saint Jean in order to have the stragglers come up (³³). At that time the action at Quatre Bras could be heard. This was the time the troops resumed their march under the command of colonel Von Steuben; major general Von Kruse himself and his adjutant were riding ahead. Now, the regiment marched further, filed off to the right and formed in sections. However, due to the presence of the wounded, stragglers and the numerous bagages on the road, the march of the Nassau troops was delayed.³⁴ On top of that, both battalions took up a position for about one quarter of an hour along the road just north of Quatre Bras due to a misunderstanding; colonel Von Steuben had mixed up this position with another one, which was more to the south. Shortly after, the march was resumed and both battalions reached the battlefield just before the end of the action. The 3rd battalion must have arrived even later.³⁵

The Brunswick contingent.

During the night of the 15th of June, the Brunswick contingent had to collect on the road between Brussels and Vilvoorde. The most remote units were as far as 15 kilometers from this point.

The duke of Brunswick must have received these orders around 11 p.m, through the Hanoverian lieutenant Von Dincklage.³⁶ Marching orders were immediately sent by the duke to the respective units directly (so not through the brigadiers) before he left for the ball of Richmond.³⁷ As a result, the 1st battalion line (at 2 a.m.), the Leibbattalion (at 5 a.m.) and that still later the 2nd and 3rd light battalion reached Laeken.³⁸

Meanwhile, the duke received the order to bring his forces to Waterloo and halt them there, pending further orders (see above).³⁹ At 7 a.m. the units left Brussels from the bridge of the canal of Willebroek.⁴⁰

The duke of Brunswick joined these troops, but before doing so he instructed several ensigns to give the approaching other units the order to move towards Waterloo as well; the cavalry didn't have to wait for the infantry then to come up, but proceed there immediately; this also applied to the 1st and 3rd light battalions in relation to the last line battalion to come up.

The first Brunswick troops to arrive at Quatre Bras must barely have taken any rest at all. While leaving at 7 a.m. and arriving at about 3.45 p.m. these troops must have had an average speed of about 4.5 kilometers per hour.⁴¹ This means they must have arrived at Waterloo around 11 a.m.⁴²

The majority of the corps continued its march to Genappe, where the troops halted and rested near the road, as they were ordered to do (see above).

It was also here that the duke of Brunswick joined them again, after having ridden ahead with the duke of Wellington up to Quatre Bras.⁴³ This was around noon.⁴⁴

It was also here that the 2nd Brunswick battalion line infantry and the Brunswick cavalry joined.⁴⁵

No march orders were issued yet, but reconnaissances were sent out in all directions.⁴⁶

At 2 p.m. the troops resumed their march, in fast pace, immediately following the division of Picton, of which the battery of Von Rettberg formed the rearguard.⁴⁷ Again, the duke went ahead of his troops. Now, the Brunswick battalions and squadrons halted at La Baraque (400 meters north of Quatre Bras), loaded their muskets and were spoken to by their commanders. Then, the duke returned to his troops and led them towards the battlefield, singing.

Resulting, the Brunswickers left Brussels in two groups: the first composed of six battalions and the cavalry, and much later the second group followed, consisting of the 1st and 3rd battalion of light infantry and both batteries. These units must have been ordered to leave Brussels together, after waiting for the artillery to arrive.⁴⁸ The actual order would have read:

*“Das 1.leichte Bataillon, das 3.leichte Bataillon und die beiden Batterien sollen, wenn sie zusammen sind, ihren Marsch durch Brüssel fortsetzen.”*⁴⁹

The artillery left its bivouac at Assche around 8 a.m. (⁵⁰) and reached Laeken around 11 a.m. but with difficulty. The distance between Assche and Laeken is about 15 kilometers. Whether the infantry waited at Laeken that long is not sure, but probably it did.⁵¹ In case the troops left at 11 a.m. then it took them 8 hours to get to Quatre Bras.⁵²

The reserve artillery

The reserve artillery comprised the horse batteries of Ross and Beane and the foot batteries of Hutchesson, Morisson and Ilbert.

According to Wellington's orders of 7 p.m. these batteries were supposed to be in readiness to move at the crack of dawn.

The only thing we know about this artillery is that it would have spent the night of the 16th of June at Brussels.⁵³

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1. According to major Forbes (79th regiment) the division received these orders at 10 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2 and 34.706 p.314

2. Lieutenant Hope (92th regiment). In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.220.

Cadell, Ch. Narrative of the campaigns etc. p.232

According to major Forbes (79th regiment) it was 10 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2 and 34.706 p.314

Lieutenant Malcolm (42nd regiment) believes it was between 11 p.m. and midnight. In: BWRA, nr.220

For the battalion of Münden it was 9 p.m. Cf. Lieutenant colonel G.von Berckefeldt. In: Geschichte des Königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Bataillons Münden p.214

Lieutenant Maule of the battery Rogers, based at Forêt (about 4 kilometers south of the centre of Brussels) states in his journal that his unit received its first orders by 11 p.m. In:

www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 1953/110

³ Pack's brigade, at least the 92nd regiment, was by assembled between 11 p.m. and midnight. For 11 p.m. cf Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256

For midnight, cf: Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.222

According to sergeant Costello of the 1st/95th regiment the bugles sounded and the drums rolled by 11 p.m. In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.283

For this time, also see the account of an anonymous officer in the 95th. In: The battle of Waterloo, or a faithful and interesting history etc. p.93

A private from the 42nd states his battalion turned out at midnight. In: The battle of Waterloo, or a faithful and interesting history etc. p.99

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

Private D.vallence (79th regiment). Originally in: The 79th News. From: The Waterloo Journal Vol.21 nr.2

Major Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.314

Major Winchester (92th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

Lieutenant Simmons (95th regiment) mentions a ration for two days. His battalion would have been collected in column on quarter distance. In: NAM, nr.6804/2

Sergeant Robertson (92th regiment) claims rations were given for four days. In: Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.153

5. E.Heeley (assistant of lieutenant colonel Scovell). In journal. In: NAM, 8409/98

Cadell, Ch. Narrative of the campaigns etc. p.232

Sergeant Dewar (79th regiment). In a letter to his brother written on the 5th of August 1815. In: NWMS, M1960.2

An officer of the staff of colonel Delancey. In: Recollections of Waterloo p.4

Major Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2 and 34.706 p.314

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

1st lieutenant J.Pensman Gairdner (95th regiment). Diary. In: NAM, nr.6902/5

Lieutenant H.Martin (2nd battalion 44th regiment). In his letter to his father, dated 29th June 1815. In: Essex Regiment Museum, Chelmsford.

Private J. (1st regiment). Letter to his father dated 10th July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS 10488

FitzRoy Somerset. In: NAM, nr.6507/1

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

Lieutenant Martin (44th regiment), letter dated 29th June 1815. In: East Essex Museum.

Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment) mentions it was at daybreak. Cf. The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.143

Private D.Vallence (79th regiment). Originally in: The 79th News. From: The Waterloo Journal Vol.21 nr.2

An anonymous subaltern officer of the 92nd regiment, in: United Service Journal II 1841 p.172

Lieutenant Kincaid (95th regiment) talks about 3 a.m. In: Fitchett, W.H. Wellington's men p.118

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) says the troops left at 3.30 a.m. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.222.

Lieutenant Simmons (1st battalion 95th regiment) says it was daybreak. In: NAM, nr.6804-2
Also see: Simmons, G. A British rifle man etc. p.362-363. In a letter to his parents he speaks of 4 a.m. In: A British rifle man etc. p.366

According to lieutenant Kerr Ross (92th regiment) it was between 4 and 5 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256

Sir W.Gomm says it was 5 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184
and in: Letters & journals, p.352

Captain J.Leach states the division was collected by daybreak. In: Leach, J. Rough sketches etc. p.374.

Colonel de Lancey's wife says the troops were collected in the park around 3 a.m. In: Ward, B.R. (ed.) A week at Waterloo in 1815 etc. p.45

Lieutenant McKenzie (42nd regiment). In: BWRA, nr.414

Account of an anonymous officer of the 32nd regiment. In: Swiney, G. Historical records of the 32nd (Cornwall) light infantry p.116

An officer of the 92nd and a private from the 42nd state their battalions left by 1 and 2 a.m. respectively In: The battle of Waterloo, or a faithful and interesting history etc. p.99

6. In following the way the troops took up their positions at Quatre Bras, it can be assumed that Kempt formed the vanguard, followed by Pack. According to major general Best, however, his brigade followed Kempt. In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI nr.152 p.75-81
According to Caldwell and Cooper the 1st battalion / 95th regiment followed the vanguard. Cf. Caldwell and Cooper, Rifle green at Waterloo p.34

Lieutenant Maule of the battery Rogers states in his journal his unit marched off between 1

and 2 a.m. to Brussels, where it got the order to await the arrival of the head of the column of the 5th division; the battery halted at the porte de Namur where it joined into the column, between the 95th (in front) and the 28th regiment. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 1953/110

7.1st lieutenant Pensman Gairdner (95th regiment) was one of them. Cf. his diary. In: NAM, nr.6902-5

8.Jackson, B. Notes and reminiscences p.14-15
Eaton, Ch. Waterloo days. Narrative of a residence etc. p.20-23
According to Eaton the last troops had left town at 7 a.m.

9.Aerts, W. Etudes etc. p.334
The trace of the ramparts is now being indicated by the Boulevard Waterloo.

10.Lieutenant Simmons (95th regiment). In: NAM, nr.6804-2
And in: A British rifle man p.363
A British officer of the staff. In: Recollections of Waterloo p.4
Also in:
Cadell, Ch. Narrative of the campaigns etc. p.232
Robertson, sergeant. The journal etc. p.143
Jackson, B. Notes and reminiscences p.15
Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.222
The column would have reached the chaussée de Waterloo through the Etang d'Ixelles and the Abbaye de la Cambre. I think this is the most probable route.

11.Captain Von Rettberg. In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI.nr.151 p.159-163
Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment). In: Bruce Lowe, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.153
Major Forbes (79th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p. 314
Lieutenant Maule of the battery Rogers. Cf. Journal. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 1953/110
Captain J.Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment). In: Rough sketches etc. p.375.
Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184
Lieutenant Malcolm (42nd regiment). In: BWRA, nr.220
Sergeant Costello (1st/95th regiment) In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.284
Major Winchester (92nd regiment) speaks about the "upon the skirts of it [the wood] opposite to the village of Waterloo". In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247
Also in: ensign Oppermann (battalion Münden), in a letter to his parents dated 23 June 1815.
In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.203
Lieutenant Simmons (1st battalion 95th regiment) mentions a position " to the left of the road, under the trees ". In: NAM, nr.6804-2
According to lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment)it was at 9 a.m. In: NL, Add.ms.34.706

p.252-258

P.J.Tellier, in 1815 inhabitant of Waterloo, mentions at 7 a.m. the passage of Scottish troops
In: LMB, archive French Period, part IV.box 32

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) claims the regiment passed through the village between 8 and 9 a.m. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.223

Private J.Gunn (42nd regiment) claims the regiment marched through Waterloo in closed column. In: Memoirs of private J.Gunn. In: JSAHR, Vol.49 p.115.

12.Lieutenant Kincaid (95th regiment). In: Fitchett, W.E. Wellington's men p.118

Major Winchester (92nd regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.242-247

Major Forbes (79th regiment).In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.314

Lieutenant Simmons (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: NAM, nr.6804-2 and in: A British rifle man etc. p.363

Sergeant Costello (1st/95th regiment). In: The adventures of a soldier etc. p.284

Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment). In: Bruce Low, E. With Napoleon at Waterloo p.153

Kincaid says Wellington asked to keep the road free from any baggages.

For 9 a.m., also in: lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment). In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.223

13.Lieutenant Kincaid (95th regiment). In: Fitchett, W. Wellington's men p.118

Lieutenant Simmons (95th regiment). In: NAM, nr.6804-2

Also in: The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.143

Cadell, Ch. Narrative of the campaigns etc. p.232. If we may believe major Forbes and general Best this breakfast hadn't been finished, when the troops got orders to march again.

In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.1-2 and 34.706 p.314

In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI. nr.152 p.75-81

14.Captain Von Rettberg. In: NHA, Hann.41 XXI.nr.151 p.159-163

According to lieutenant L.Heise the battery was attached to the 5th division during the night of the 15th of June. Cf. Heise. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

15.Sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment). The journal of sergeant D.Robertson p.143

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

Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) say it was 11 a.m. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.223

According to lieutenant Kincaid (95th regiment) the order to leave again came at noon. The bagages had to be left behind. In: Fitchett, W. Wellington's men p.119

According to lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment.WL, nr.706.81) the division arrived at 11 a.m. and left again at 11.45 a.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

According to captain J.Leach (1st battalion 95th regiment) the halt took two hours. In: Rough sketches etc. p.375.

Lieutenant G.Simmons (1st battalion, 95th regiment) the halt at least took one hour. In: Simmons, G. A British rifle man etc. p.363

Lieutenant colonel Gomm. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.179-184 His diary in: Letters and jour-

nals etc. p.352

Private Black (1st regiment) says the halt took two hours. In: Letter to his father dated 10th July 1815. In: NLS, nr.MS10488

The versions of FitzRoy Somerset and Gomm give 1 p.m. In:

Account of FitzRoy Somerset in the NAM, nr.6507-1

Gomm, W.M. Letters and journals etc. p.352

General Best says his troops had to leave after one hour rest, and this may very well have been the case presuming his troops formed the rearguard. In: NHA, Hann.41. XXI, nr152 p.75-81

The time can be explained by the fact that Wellington had sent his order out by 9.30 a.m. and it would take the messenger about 1.5 hours to reach Waterloo from Genappe (14 km).

16. Wellington himself in his letter written to Blücher at 10.30 a.m.

Colonel von Herzberg. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.11 The same order, to go to Genappe, also applied to the Brunswick units.

¹⁷ Lieutenant Hope (92nd regiment) says the halted took place at 1 p.m. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.223

An (anonymous) officers states the division passed through Genappe at 2 p.m. Letter cited in: Swiney, G. Historical records of the 32nd (Cornwall) light infantry p.124

For this time, also see the account of an anonymous officer in the 95th. In: The battle of Waterloo, or a faithful and interesting history etc. p.93

¹⁸ Diary of the battalion. In: NHH, Hann.48a, I nr.299

A musician of the battalion, E.Ch.Schacht, mentions the alarm having aroused the battalion by 4 a.m. In: Letter to his father, dated 25 August 1815. In: Private collection H.Dohrendorf. Cited by: Weinhold, G. Erinnerungen an Waterloo p.92

19.Report of Von Vincke of 20 June 1815. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI. nr.151 p.89-93

20.Report of Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.89-93

According to the diary of the battalion of Gifhorn, the battalion left around 10.30 .a.m. In: NHH, Hann.48a, I nr.299

21.Report of Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.89-93

²² From 1 till 3 p.m. according to the diary of the battalion Gifhorn. In: NHH, Hann.48a, I nr.299

A private of the battalion, E.Ch.Schacht, claims it was from 2 till 5.30 p.m. In: Letter to his father, dated 25 August 1815. In: Private collection H.Dohrendorf. Cited by: Weinhold, G.

Erinnerungen an Waterloo p.92

23. Report of Von Vincke. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.89-93

Also see the official Brunswick report. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von La Belle Alliance nr.1
In this scenario, the brigade would have covered 14 kilometers in 2.5 hours, which is not very likely. Either it got at Genappe later, or left Waterloo earlier.

²⁴ Lieutenant general sir Lowry Cole was not present during the campaign as he was getting married to lady F.Harris. Cf. captain Bowles (Foot Guards) to lord Fitzharris. In: A series of letters of the first earl of Malmesbury p.439

25. Report of major Best. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.75-81

Lieutenant colonel Von Berckefeldt (adjutant in the Münden battalion in 1815) claims the orders came for immediate departure came in at 1 a.m. In: Geschichte des Königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Bataillons Münden p.214

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

Major general Lambert. claims the brigade left Ghent on the 17th but this is in error as then the brigade would have marched then 65 kilometers in one day. In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.63-65
Sir H.Smith, brigade major of the brigade, indicates the suddenness with which the brigade left from Ghent; it moved within one hour. See: Smith, Sir H. The autobiography of Sir H.Smith p.266

Lieutenant Wray (40th regiment) states his regiment even left in half an hour's notice, to a village on "the other side of Brussels" [Assche]. Cf. his diary as cited in: Smythies, R.H.R. Historical records of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) regiment etc. p.187

The historical records of the 40th regiment claim the regiment left on the 16th of June at 6 a.m. In: Raymond Smythies, R.H. Historical records of the 40th etc. p.179

27. Smith, Sir H. The autobiography of Sir H.Smith p.266

The distance between Ghent and Assche is 38 kilometers. From the report of captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun) it can be seen that the brigade was at Assche at 9 p.m. at least. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.152-155

Sir H.Smith says one could hear at Assche the canonnade of the action at Quatre Bras.

28. Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In reading his account it can be seen that the battery assembled each day at 6 a.m. in full order at the park of Wondelgem. In: NHA, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.152-155

²⁹ Captain W.Braun, commander. In: NHA. Hann.Des.41 E.XXI k nr.2, 149-151

30. Diary 1st regiment of Nassau. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von La Belle Alliance nr.71

Lieutenant Von Gagern adds his unit received orders to march at 23.30 p.m. Cf. Gagern,

H.von in a letter to his mother dated 26 July 1815. In: Ein Unbekannter Brief etc. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter 1956 heft 1 p.17

This means that the order was not sent out before 10 p.m.

³¹ 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.17

32. Diary 1st regiment of Nassau. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von La Belle Alliance nr.71

33. According to F.de Bas the brigade of Von Kruse was at Mont Saint Jean at noon. See: Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.I.p.470

³⁴ 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.17

³⁵ Cf. Kloetzer, W. Ein unbekannter waterloo-Brief Heinrich von Gagerns. In: Nassauische heimatblätter. 1956 Heft.1 p.17

36. Report of colonel Von Olfermann, of the night of the 16th of June. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von. Belle Alliance nr.9

According to Von Wachholtz it was around 10 p.m. Cf. Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.19

Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick general staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.11

Surgeon Drude of the 1st light battalion says his unit got them around 00.30 a.m. Cf. Drude, F. Diary, in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, Rep.92 Gneisenau, A.Abt.Paket 3

³⁷ Cf. Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.20

According to colonel Von Herzberg this was at 11 p.m. Cf. Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick general staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.11

³⁸ At 5 a.m. the 1st light battalion left for Laeken. Cf. Drude, F. Diary, in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, Rep.92 Gneisenau, A.Abt.Paket 3

The fact that the Leib-battalion reached the chaussée at Laeken by 5 a.m. is confirmed by its corporal Külbel. In: Die letzte Augenblicke etc. p.4

For the 2nd battalion of the line, the drums would have sounded at 3 a.m. Cf. ensign Lindwurm, letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, nr.249 AN 190

³⁹ Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick general staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.11

40. The vanguard battalion must have been here then too.

The fact that the troops had not been properly assembled by 6 a.m. is confirmed by Von Wachholtz. In his view this was due to the distance and the distribution of a ration of tobacco. Cf. Wachholtz, F.von *Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps* etc. p.20-21

1st lieutenant Pensman Gairdner (95th regiment) says he saw Brunswick troops leaving Brussels at 7 a.m. This must have been later. In: NAM, 6902-5

According to E.Heeley, assistant of lieutenant colonel Scovell, the Brunswickers passed through the city at 6 a.m. This is too early. In: NAM, nr.8409-98

An anonymous Brunswick private, A.Möreke (unit unknown) claims his unit left Brussels at midnight, but here is meant the time the unit went to the assembly point. Cf. his letter of 22nd July 1815., In: Traupe, K. *La bataille de Waterloo* etc. In: *Bulletin of the SBEN*, 1991 nr.13 p.22

7 a.m. is confirmed by corporal Külbel (Leibbattalion) In: *Die letzte Augenblicke* etc. p.4

41. This is very fast compared to the march of Von Vincke.

42. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion, 95th regiment) mentions the arrival of the Brunswick troops at Waterloo. For this arrival also see sergeant Robertson (92nd regiment) and captain J. Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: Fitchett, W. *Wellington's men* p.119

Bruce Low, E. (ed.) *With Napoleon at Waterloo* p.153

Leach, J. *Rough sketches* etc. p.375

F.Gheude, a civilian at Brussels, incorrectly claims the 3000 Brunswickers passed through Brussels at 11.30 a.m.; this is an error. In: *Archives Nationales, Brussels. Papiers Dansaert*, nr.22

43. Gilson. *Genappe à travers les ages* p.123

Cf. Wachholtz, F.von *Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps* etc. p.21-22

44. Gilson, J. *Genappe à travers les ages* p.123 Gilson relates how the duke would have ordered a barrel of liquor for his troops from a local called Mattagne, but later, on learning that the duke had died and the troops had gone back, how this man would have opened the barrel to throw it away the liquor over the street at Genappe. In: *Genappe à travers les ages* p.124

⁴⁵ Cf. Wachholtz, F.von *Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps* etc. p.23

Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.11

⁴⁶ Von Wachholtz in: *Geschichte des herzoglich* etc. p.23

47. Report of captain Von Rettberg (Hann.41 XXI, nr.151 p.159-163

Also in: J.Gilson. Genappe à travers les ages p.123

Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706.11

Cf. Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.24

⁴⁸ Surgeon Drude, 1st light battalion. Cf. Drude, F. Diary, in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, Rep.92 Gneisenau, A.Abt.Paket 3

⁴⁹ In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von Vorgeschichte etc. p.93; his source of this order remains unknown.

50. Cf. surgeon W.Schütte, battery Heinemann. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von Belle Alliance. Berichte etc. nr.95

Chief gunner Hullemann (foot battery). In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in NSA, nr.249 AN190

⁵¹ Cf. surgeon Drude, 1st light battalion. Cf. Drude, F. Diary. In: GSA, Rep.92 Gneisenau, A.Abt.Paket 3 According to Drude the battalion waited till 1 p.m.

⁵² At least the foot battery was delayed by a powder-waggon which had broken down. Cf. account of chief gunner Hullemann (foot battery). In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in NSA, nr.249 AN190

53. Bas, F.de La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.I p.470 His source is unknown.