

The retreat from Quatre Bras.

Though the retreat of Wellington's army from Quatre Bras has been described so many times, the exact sequence of its units pulling towards Mont Saint Jean often remains unclear.

This might be caused by the simple fact that in some cases the sources remain silent, while in others they are unclear or even contradictory.

Taking all those available together and in the attempt to reconcile them in a way which seems to me to be the most probable one, I come to the following picture: the first division to leave the field was the one of Perponcher, possibly accompanied by the brigade of Van Merlen.¹ After that, the brigade of Von Kruse pulled off, while the majority of the Brunswickers followed in their wake. After them, the division of Cooke started its retreat from Quatre Bras, while the one of Picton did so right after. The last complete division to leave the field of Quatre Bras was the one of Alten, which was covered by a rearguard which was composed of different units of (light) infantry, cavalry and horse artillery.

The division of Perponcher.

It was towards 9 a.m. that De Perponcher received orders to break up and it must have been somewhere between 9 and 10 a.m. that his division left its bivouacs.²⁻³ As the division had left, it pulled in its detachments near La Baraque and continued its way through the fields (except for the cavalry and the artillery) [⁴] towards Genappe.⁵

Here, however, the division faced a serious congestion of the road by carts coming from both north and south. As a result, the division was led to the left, towards a ford which afforded a crossing over the Dyle; this was most probably one at Vieux Genappe.⁶ As the units of Perponcher had completed this manoeuvre, they rejoined the chaussée immediately north of Genappe.⁷

From there they continued their way towards the ridge of Mont Saint Jean which they reached before the rain had reached it. There is no clue when this did do so, but from the distances and the detour involved it might be inferred that the 2nd division of the army of the Netherlands got there perhaps 2.30 p.m.⁸

It may have been that the cavalry brigade of Van Merlen moved with the division of De Perponcher, but there is no absolute proof that. The only source available informs us that the brigade stood behind the ridge of Mont saint Jean before 5 p.m.⁹

That morning, the horses of the prince of Orange were sent to l'Espinette, five kilometers north of Waterloo. The heavy luggage of the general headquarters of the army of the Netherlands were supposed to leave from Nivelles for Ixelles, but when Constant Rebecque got there later that morning it appeared that they hadn't moved due to the heavy road and the presence of British provisions, he then ordered them to fall back upon Waterloo instead.¹⁰

The Nassau regiment of Von Kruse.

Von Kruse's regiment started its retreat towards 10 a.m. and also this unit waded through the Dyle; this is an indication that it followed in the wake of De Perponcher's division.¹¹ Before the

regiment left though, two companies, led by captain Von Waldschmidt, were detached to the extreme west edge of the Bois de Bossu to attach themselves to the Brunswick skirmishers there. As they felt they couldn't add anything material there and as the French at some point of time had already pushed forward, they were obliged to retire on a small road west of the main road. This delay caused them to arrive much later as the remainder of the regiment, i.e. 5 p.m.¹²

The Brunswick contingent.

The Brunswickers left the field probably between 10 and 11 a.m. except for the 2nd and 3rd battalion of light infantry, plus the advance guard battalion (in the Bois de Bossu) – these units formed part of the extreme rearguard of the army. The contingent also passed Genappe on its side, so by that time the main road within the village still must have been blocked. The units reached the ridge of Mont Saint Jean before the rain started to fall there. As this might have been around 4 p.m. the time of arrival of the Brunswickers must have been before that time.¹³

The division of Cooke.

The units which departed from the former field of battle at Quatre Bras after the Brunswickers were probably those of the 1st British division. This must have been around 11 a.m.¹⁴ It was this division which passed through Genappe, so apparently by the time Cooke's division reached Genappe, the main road must have been open again. Also this division reached the ridge at Mont Saint Jean before the rain started to fall there.¹⁵

The opening of the chaussée was the result of the endeavours of the grenadier company of the 5th battalion of line infantry KGL and sir Basil Jackson of the Royal Staff Corps. They succeeded in opening the road in Genappe which was filled there with waggons with stores, ammunition tumbrils provision waggons and wounded men.

Despite the fact that the baggage of the divisions of De Perponcher, Cooke and Alten had been either sent to Waterloo before or had been sent from Nivelles there, it may have been those of the Brunswickers and Picton which had come up, this in combination with those falling back towards the north and causing a confusion at Genappe.¹⁶

The division of Picton and the brigades of Von Vincke and Best.

Taking into account that members of this division confirm that the rain started to fall after the troops had passed Genappe, it is most probable that Picton's division followed the one of Cooke, even though the hours given for the departure are stated as having been before 11 a.m.¹⁷

This is confirmed by the hours given for arrival near Mont Saint Jean, which was most probably between 6 and 7 p.m.¹⁸

Before it did so, however, the division must have halted for some time immediately north of Genappe the enemy approached the village. For how long it stood there is unclear as statements are contradictory but taking the combination of the time the division left and the one it reached the ridge of Mont Saint Jean, it must have been a considerable halt.¹⁹

The brigade of Von Vincke had been ordered on the evening of the 16th of June to advance the next morning at daybreak from its bivouac towards Quatre Bras. After it had done so, it was yet to fall back again with the division of Picton.²⁰

As both the brigades of Von Vincke and Best had got up to a point near Plancenoit, they were placed near the chaussée to cover the retreat of the division of Alten. As soon as the rearguard of the central column had reached both brigades, they fell back slowly towards La Haye Sainte, first the 5th brigade and then the 4th brigade. While the 5th brigade was able to clear the passage at the crossing of the chaussée and the Ohain-road, the 4th (Best) was obliged to halt there because of the congestion of troops. Meanwhile, the rearguard kept falling back as well and while its cavalry and artillery used the road, infantry units passed through the fields west of the farm of La Haye Sainte. Just then, there must have been a moment of confusion north of the farm due to the congestion, but right then pioneers were engaged to clear passages through the hedges and soon the situation was over. Shortly after, the French deployed skirmishers and opened a bombardment. Then it was between 7 and 7.30 p.m.²¹

The division of Alten

Of the different divisions, the one of Alten was the last one to leave the field of Quatre Bras.²² By then it must have been between 12 and 1 o'clock.²³ Before their departure, the brigades were so arranged that they kept in échelons on the line of retreat, each brigade forming on ground favourable for repelling an attack, and so that each brigade should retire in succession; thus the enemy constantly found, as he advanced, brigade after brigade regularly formed for action.²⁴

The division did not take the main road to Genappe, but the small roads which lead through Bézy and Ways le Hutte towards Genappe.²⁵

This did not apply to the battery of Cleèves, however: this unit would have fallen back over the main road through Genappe.²⁶

In all probability, the division left from its position near the Bois des Censes along the road which runs south-west of the farms of Haute Cense and Basse Cense.²⁷ This road runs along a small lake called Etang de Hall, from where the road led towards Le dernier Patard. It must have been about 300 meters in front of this point that the division turned towards Bézy, passing along Taignemont.²⁸ At about 300 meters north of Bézy the road bends to the right towards Wais la Hutte; it was here that the division crossed the Dyle.

At Ways, the division continued its way towards Glabais, but it halted on a field to the north-east of Genappe. The main reason for this halt would have been to get a supply of rations, but these did not reach the division due to a lack of carts.²⁹

It was before the storm broke out (2 p.m.) that Alten's division reached this point immediately north-east of Genappe.³⁰ There it must have remained till towards 4 p.m. the moment the French emerged from Genappe.³¹

North of Genappe, Alten's division followed field roads just east of the main road to Brussels, as far as the farm of Le Caillou. It was here that the division entered the main road for some distance when it filed off to the left at the ridge of Mont Saint Jean.^{32 - 33} It was in the early evening that it arrived there, probably around 7 p.m.³⁴

The extreme rearguard.

The line of outposts covering the army was composed of units of Alten's division, the 1st battalion of the 95th regiment on the left wing, detachments of the brigade of Kempt in the left part of the centre, the Brunswick Advance guard battalion in front of the Bois de Bossu and the 2nd and 3rd Brunswick battalion of light infantry in front of Piraumont, while those of light companies of the Coldstream Guards and the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards were on the right wing.³⁵

After Alten's division had left, the infantry outposts of the army were slowly pulled back behind the cavalry, in rear of the Namur road. From there, they fell back slowly upon Genappe.³⁶

While the cavalry got engaged with the French, these units guarded the entrances of the village, but as the French pushed the British-German cavalry back, they fell back through the village towards the heights on its other side and continued their way from there. At least the 2nd battalion of light infantry KGL and the 1st battalion of the 95th British regiment fell back through the fields in squares because of the presence of French cavalry.³⁷ They reached the position of Mont Saint Jean probably towards 7.30 p.m.³⁸

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¹ Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt incorrectly claims the division marched off in rear of the 3rd British division (Alten). In: Historisch verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.II p.324

2. Bernard van Saksen Weimar claims the order, brought by an aide de camp of the prince of Orange, instructed him to march off in column per division, at sections intervals. Cf. his letter dated 29th August 1841. In: VLS, nr.II.3.nr.5

According to major Sattler, the 2nd regiment Nassau light infantry got its orders for the retreat towards 10 a.m. Cf. his report in the HHA, Abt.202, Inv.nr.1015 p.338

3. Cf. general major Van Bijlandt. In: VLS, nr.II.3.nr.6

Prince Bernard van Saksen Weimar believes it was 9 a.m. that his brigade left. Cf. his diary. In: ThHStAW, Grossherzogliches Hausarchiv A, XXIV 30, p.194

Major Von Sattler confirms he got orders to march at 10 a.m. Cf. Report of major Sattler, in HHA, Abt.202, inv.nr.1015 p.338

The anonymous fusilier of the 7th battalion of national militia states it was 11 a.m. In: SA, Herinneringen uit mijn tienjarige militaire loopbaan

Barre (5th battalion of national militia, rank unknown) claims he left at 6 a.m. In: VLS, II.3.nr.10

Lieutenant Eberhard (2nd battalion Orange-Nassau) claims he left towards the afternoon. In: Eberhard, C.F. Nassauische Erinnerungen an Waterloo. In: Der Uhrturm. Heft 27, juli 1940 p.552

It was at 4 a.m. that the fifth and the sixth company of the 8th battalion of national militia rejoined the battalion near the crossroads of Quatre Bras. Cf colonel De Jongh in his papers. In: Militaire Spectator, 1866

Captain A.G.van Bronkhorst (7th battalion of national militia) claims his battalion lost a few men due to French gunfire during the retreat, but it remains unclear under which kind of circumstances. Cf. his letter dated 9th July 1815. In: Ons leger, 1983 Jg.67 p.32-38

Captain Osten of the general staff of the artillery of the army of the Netherlands reports that he left for Waterloo on orders of general Gunkel in order to prepare the quarters for the staff. At Waterloo, Osten met an officer who led some reserve caisson asking Osten where he was supposed to go. Osten had to ask Gunkel, who appeared to be in Brussels. Osten, then left for Brussels and was there both on the 17th and 18th of June. Cf. Captain Osten's report. In: VLS, nr.II, no.4.4

Both De Bas and Starklof believe the 2nd division left at 10 a.m.

In: Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.II p.8
Starklof, R. Das Leben etc. p.195

4. Cf. general major Van Bijlandt in a letter dated 31st May 1841. In: VLS, nr.II.3.nr.6

5. Starklof, R. Das Leben etc. p.195

⁶ This would be a passage along the farm Cour des Moines, and from there towards the farm of Courte Botte at the Brussels road.

7.Cf. Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. In: Historische verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.326

The assertion, however, is contradicted by colonel De Jongh (8th battalion of national militia); he claims his battalion marched right through Genappe and a temporary immediately north of it. He also claims a departure from there by 2 p.m.Cf. his papers. In: Miitaire Spectator of 1866

8.The fact that the division reached the ridge at Mont Saint Jean before the rain started to fall is confirmed by:

Private Rentenaar (7th battalion of national militia). Account in private collection of Mr.Borst, Tuitjehorn.

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijvelt. He claims a time of arrival at 1 p.m. In: Historische verhaal etc. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.326

Letter of prince Bernard van Saksen Weimar dated 29th August 1841. In: VLS, nr.II.3.nr.5

P.Leonhard (1st battalion 2nd regiment Nassau - brigade Saksen Weimar) erroneously claims his battalion left at 7 a.m. and that it was caught in the rain while going through Genappe. In: Manuscript. In: private collection.

Private Holighaus of the 1st battalion Orange-Nassau claims his unit got in the position of Waterloo by 4 p.m. In: www.wuderhallderzeit.de

9.Cf. report of colonel Hoyneck van Papendrecht. In: In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.424

10. Journal of Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

11. Cf. diary of colonel Von Kruse. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.197

He adds that the rereat took place in the best order and deepest silence.

FitzRoy Somerset confirms that the Nassau troops followed those of the army of the Netherlands. Cf. his account. In: NAM, Book of manuscript copies of Waterloo letters. Nr.6507-1

¹² Cf. lieutenant H.von Gagern, of the 2nd battalion 1st regiment Nassau. In: Ein unbekannter Waterloo-Brief. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter 1956 Heft 1 p.19-20

¹³ Cf. Wachholtz, F.von Geschichte des herzoglich Braunschweigischen Armee-Corps etc. p.36

Major Von Wachholtz in his report dated 16th September 1841. In: www.1815.ltd.uk
Original in: NSA, VI HS.18 nr.8 In this report Von Wachholtz adds that both battalions were accompanied by two guns.

According to surgeon Schütte (battery Heinemann) the retreat started at 10 a.m. Cf. his letter to his parents, dated 2nd July 1815. In: Pflugk Harttung, J. von – Belle Alliance p.236

Corporal Külbel, of the Leib battalion, says his unit left at 9 a.m. to arrive at Mont Saint Jean by 9 p.m. He also claims his battalion formed part of the rearguard. In: Die letzten Augenblicke unsers Durchlauchtigsten Herzogs etc. p.8

Yet, from the same battalion, ensign Cappel states his retreat started by midday. In: www.1815.ltd.uk – Original in: NSA, nr.276 N15

The claim that the rain started to fall at Mont Saint Jean at 4 p.m. comes from captain J.Daniel of the 7th regiment of hussars. In: Journal of an officer etc. p.390

Chief gunner Hullemann (foot battery) states his unit reached Mont Saint Jean by 6 p.m. and before the rain burst. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in NSA, nr.249 AN190

According ensign Lindwurm his unit, 2nd battalion of the line, reached Mont Saint Jean at 8 p.m., shortly before the rain began to fall. Cf. his letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, nr.249 AN 190

Of the hussars, the 2nd and 4th company were used to transport the wounded to Brussels. As they had done so, they returned to their comrades, now in the position of Mont Saint Jean. Cf. letter of ensign Lindwurm (2nd Brunswick line battalion), dated 23rd June 1815. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, nr.249 AN 190

¹⁴ Cf. lieutenant colonel Rooke in his letter dated 19th June 1815 to his father. In: Gloucestershire Record Office, nr. D1833/Z5

15. Cf. captain Powell (1st Foot Guards). In: BL, Add.ms.34.704 p.143-148

Private Clay (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). In his recollections etc. In: www.1815.ltd.uk
Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

16. Cf. Sir B.Jackson. In: Notes and reminiscences of a staff officer. p.32-33

The Wheatley diary; a journal and sketchbook kept during the Peninsular war and the Waterloo campaign p.60-61

Captain Jessop (QMG department) claims he also assisted in opening the road at Genappe. In: Recollections of Waterloo, by a staff officer p.10

Colonel Van Zuylen van Nijevelt confirms that the baggages came from both sides. Cf. his report. In: Bas, F.de & Tserclaes de Wommersom. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.326

Earlier that morning ,Wellington had ordered that the spare musket ammunition was to be immediately parked behind Genappe, as well as the reserve artiller; the wagons of the reserve artillerywere to be parked in the Foret de Soignes.

Sir Augustus Frazer also confirms that he had sent the ammunition waggons of the Royal

Horse Artillery, which had arrived during the night of the 16th of June at Quatre Bras, to a position in front of forest of Soignes that night or early that morning. Cf. his letter dated 17th of June, 7.30 a.m. In: Letters etc. p.541

17. Cf. lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment). He claims his regiment left at 9 a.m. and that it formed the rearguard of the division and, as such, often was to form front. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

Major general Best states his received the orders for the retreat by 10 a.m. and that he started it accordingly. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Belle Alliance etc. p.25

Lieutenant Kerr Ross (92nd regiment) mentions a position to a time between 10 and 11 a.m. when his battalion moved off. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.252-256

In another publication he gives 10 a.m. In: With the thirty sccond etc. p.263

This hour is confirmed by sergeant Roberston (92nd regiment). In: With Napoleon at Waterloo etc. p.157

Lieutenant Heise of the battery Von Rettberg states his unit left the field at 9 a.m. Cf. Lieutenant Heise. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.375-376

Lieutenant Maule (battery Rogers) claims a departure of about 11 a.m. and confirms that the storm broke as he had passed Genappe. Cf. his journal in www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives 1953/110.

¹⁸ Captain Kincaid (95th regiment) gives 6 p.m. In: Adventures in the Rifle brigade p.328

Lieutenant Simmons (95th regiment) claims his battalion arrived when it was dark, but this is improbable. Cf. his letter dated 15th August 1855. In: NAM, Two bound volumes of manuscript documents relating to the history of the Rifle Brigade nr.6804/2.

Captain J.Leach (95th regiment) confirms his battalion reached the ridge of Mont Saint Jean about 2 to 3 hours before darkness fell. In: Rough sketches etc. p.382.

Lieutenant Riddock (44th regiment.WL, nr.706.81) explicitly mentions a time between 6 and 7 p.m. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.293-297

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment) also claims his regiment came in at dusk In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

Lieutenant Winchester (92nd regiment) adds that his battalion reached the ridge the moment the enemy reached the opposite one. In another account his claim is that the battalion got there in the afternoon. In: BL, Add.ms. 34.706 p.242-247 and 34.703 p.335-338

Major general Best confirms his unit arrived near Mont Saint Jean at 7 p.m. In: Pflugk Harttung, J. von - Belle Alliance p.82

¹⁹ According to major general Best the halt took a little more as an hour, till about 3 p.m. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.25

Hope, luitenant J. In: Letters from Portugal etc. p.240

Lieutenant Forbes (79th regiment) says his battalion halted for about half an hour. In: BL, Add.ms.34.703 p.1-2

20. Cf. report of Von Vincke himself dated 20th June 1815. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.91

At least the battalion of Gifhorn should have left for Quatre Bras by 3 a.m. Cf. Diary of the battalion. In: NHH, Hann.48a, I nr.299

According to a musician of the battalion, E.Ch.Schacht, it left at 5 a.m. to get there by 5.30 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

²¹ Adjudant Von Berckefeldt (battalion Münden). Geschichte des Königlich Hannoverschen Landwehr Bataillons Münden p.221-222

As the French deployed, Best deployed his brigade near the farm of La Haye Sainte and sent one company of the battalion of Osterode to the farm, while the three others were kept in reserve.

22. According to Gore the division had posts as far as the cabaret Le Paradis, in Thyle. In: Explanatory notes etc. p.72

23. Cf. Report of captain Cleeves, who states it was noon. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.41

Sergeant Morris (73rd regiment) believes it was 11 a.m. In: Recollections etc. p.72

Major Simmons (95th regiment) gives the same hour. In: A British rifle man etc. p.364

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd regiment) says his battalion got under arms at 11 a.m. In: Personal recollections of the Waterloo campaign p.15

According to ensign Macready the orders for the retreat arrived at 10 a.m. Cf. his diary. In: History of the 30th regiment p.323

²⁴ Shaw Kennedy, J. – Notes on the battle of Waterloo p.18

25. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von Ein hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.277
Scriba, C.von Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.83

Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax. Luitenant Pattison: "on reaching a woody covert, our right shoulders were brought forward and, diving into a by road, we passed the defiles and bridge of Genappe." In: Personal recollections of the Waterloo campaign p.15

Major Müller (battalion Bremen). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.32

Captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. plan

Captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.36
Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment). In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

Sergeant Morris (73rd regiment). In: Recollections etc. p.72

The general report on Hanoverian and KGL units claims the Brunswickers also passed over this smaller road. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.13

According to Siborne the measure of having Alten march this way was taken to facilitate the passage of troops at Genappe, while sir Colin Halkett believes his division was led into the wrong road by the Quarter Master General's staff.

In: History of the war etc. Vol.I p.253

In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

26. Cf. Sir Colin Halkett. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.276-279

Captain Cleeves himself, erroneously, claims the whole of the division passed through Genappe and that he followed it in its wake. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.41

²⁷ Ensign Macready mentions a move towards a village; this must have been the houses of Sart-Dames-Avelines which were scattered along the Namur-road. From there, the regiment moved left towards the Bois de Censes where Macready saw some hussars. These must have been pickets from Vivian. Cf. his diary. In: History of the 30th regiment p.324

²⁸ According to the biography of Chr.von Ompteda, the division halted at Bezy for about one hour to cover the passage of the central column through Genappe. Cf. Ompteda, L.Fr. von Ein hannoversch-englischer Offizier vor hundert Jahren etc. p.278

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

He claims the commissariat had already fled by that time.

On the early morning, general Alten had put out a request to his commissariat to find provisions for his men, liquor in particular. The assistant of the department, A.Dallas, sent out two officers accordingly, but provisions seem to have been delivered insufficiently. Dallas himself had gone to Brussels that day and stayed there, for unknown reasons. In: Incidents in the life etc. p.126-129

Captain Von Brandis, aide de camp of colonel Von Ompteda, says nothing about the lack of supplies, but confirms the fact that the division halted to take a rest and that it tried (in vain) to make some fires (due to the rain). Cf.Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) Von. In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc. p.285 Also see: Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

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

Ensign W.Thain (33rd regiment). In his diary, in: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax., Brandis, captain (aide de camp of Von Ompteda) Von. In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen Deutscher Officiere etc. p.285

Both captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen) and lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment) indicate that the storm started at 4 p.m. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.36

BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

31. Cf. Plan of the battalion Bremen, as coming from captain Von Scriba. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc.

Captain von Scriba. In: Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.86

Of the battalion Bremen (brigade Kielmansegge) the 3rd and 4th company then rejoined; initially the 1st and 2nd company had come along with the division first. According to captain Von Scriba the division halted for about 1.5 hour (from 2.30 till 4 p.m.). Cf. Scriba, C.von Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.86

General Alten confirms the halt of several hours just north of Genappe in his report to the duke of Cambridge. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc.p.71

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (33rd regiment) mentions a halt of "considerable time" to get refreshments, which didn't show up. He also indicates that at that moment the enemy was near. In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.509-512

Private Hemingway puts the halt at 4 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 16th August 1815. In: NAM, nr.8406/156

According to lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment) his unit reached Genappe by 3.30 p.m. and was supposed to rest there; men were making their preparations, when the enemy attacked the rearguard of the army. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

Sergeant Morris (73rd regiment) has the halt take about 30 minutes, from noon onwards. In: Recollections etc. p.72

In the mind of ensign Macready the storm started by 3 or 4 p.m. Cf. his diary. In: History of the 30th regiment p.324

Lieutenant Biedermann of the 2nd battalion of light infantry KGL claims the troops took up a position in a bushy field near Genappe, awaiting the French. Because of the heat and the fatigue of the troops, a lot men fell asleep. In: Von Malta bis Waterloo p.178

Captain Baring (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL) was part of the rearguard and states his battalion, after a brief halt, left from Genappe by 2 p.m. In: Erzählung der Theilnahme des 2ten leichten Bataillons der Königlich Deutschen Legion an der Schlacht von Waterloo p.71

32. Cf. Sketch of captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc.

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

33. According to captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen) the battalion reached the main road by 5 p.m., but it must have been later. In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc.p.36
Private Hemingway (33rd regiment) claims his battalion marched for the last 3 kilometers (the distance between Le Caillou and the ridge of Mont Saint Jean) in line. Cf. his letter dated 16th August 1815. In: NAM, nr.8406/156

An anonymous informer of lieutenant Gawler confirms that the brigade of sir Colin Halkett covered almost the whole stretch east of the main road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p. 389-399

In sergeant Morris' (73rd regiment) memory the units would have rejoined the main road just north of Genappe. In: Recollections etc. p.73

The distance between the division Alten and the main road was such that at least the 30th regiment could see a regiment of British heavy cavalry drew up on this road in rear of the Life Guards. Cf. ensign Macready in his diary. In: History of the 30th regiment p.325

34.The eyewitness accounts vary between 6 and 8 p.m. Cf.

Brandis, captain Von (aide de camp of Von Ompteda). In: Dehnel, H. Erinnerungen deutscher Officiere etc. p.285 (after 6 p.m.)

Major Baring (7.30 p.m.) In: Erzählung der Theilnahme des 2ten leichten Bataillons der Königlich Deutschen Legion an der Schlacht von Waterloo p.72

Lieutenant Hope Pattison (2nd battalion 33th regiment)(between 7.30 and 8 p.m.). In: Recollections etc. p.16

Captain Cleeves. In: NHH, Des.41 E, XXI k nr.2

Captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen) (6.30 p.m.). In: NHH, Des.41 E, XXI k nr.2

Journal of the 5th line battalion KGL (7 p.m.) In: NHH,Des.38 D, A.1. nr.7

Journal of the 8th line battalion KGL. (8 p.m.) NHH, Des.38 D.A.1 nr.7

Lieutenant Pratt (2nd battalion 30th regiment) gives 7.30 or 8 p.m. In: BL. Add.Ms. 34.705.28

Ensign Macready gives 8 p.m. Cf.his diary cited in: History of the 30th regiment p.325

35. One of the units of Alten was the 2nd battalion of KGL light infantry. Near it would have been Brunswick horsemen in pickets. Cf. Major Baring. In: Erzählung der Theilnahme etc. Hannoversches Militärisches Journal, 1831 p.69-90.

Also see: Cf. Biedermann, E. lieutenant (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL) Von Malta bis Waterloo p.178

According to lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment) the mutual outposts were very near, but there was no skirmishing. Sir Colin Halkett would have visited the outposts and given them instructions what to do in case of a French attack, as he expected that Wellington would make a stand at Quatre Bras. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.88-94

Colonel Von Herzberg, of the Brunswick staff. In: BL, Add.ms.34.706 p.23-55
Schneidawind, F. Der letzte Feldzug etc. p.83

Captain Kincaid (95th regiment) confirms the fact that colonel Barnard was ordered to remain with the 95th as long as possible to cover the cavalry. He also indicates that the battalion left the moment all other infantry had already done so. In: *Adventures in the Rifle brigade* p.328
Cf. Captain J.Leach (1st battalion, 95th regiment). In: *Rough sketches etc.* p.381
Lieutenant Simmons (1st battalion, 95th regiment). Simmons informs us that he led a detachment which relieved a picket of a company of the 69th regiment. The detachment was placed by Simmons in an orchard behind a hedge and a wall; it was supposed not to fire. This must have been in the vicinity of Piraumont.
Cf. his letter dated 15th August 1855. In: NAM, Two bound volumes of manuscript documents relating to the history of the Rifle Brigade nr.6804/2
Also see: Major Baring. In: *Erzählung der Teilnahme etc. Hannoversches Militärisches Journal*, 1831 p.69-90

According to colonel MacKinnon there were 2 light companies of Byng's brigade involved as outposts. In: *Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards Vol.II* p.213
This is being confirmed by private Clay of one of these companies: he states that his company halted near Genappe for some time. Cf. Private Clay (2nd battalion 3rd Foot Guards). In his recollections etc. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

Ensign Standen (3rd Foot Guards) confirms the presence of the light companies in the rear guard of the army. Cf. his letter dated 27th June 1815 to his mother. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

36. Cf. Captain Kincaid (95th regiment). In: *Adventures etc.* p.328
According to Baring, (2nd battalion of light infantry KGL) his men fell back the moment Alten's division had completely moved off. In: *Erzählung der Teilnahme des 2ten leichten Bataillons der Königlich Deutschen Legion an der Schlacht von Waterloo* p.72
Lieutenant Simmons (95th regiment) speaks of a heavy terrain, which is an indication that at least his unit fell back through the fields adjoining the chaussée. Cf. his letter dated 15th August 1855. In: NAM, Two bound volumes of manuscript documents relating to the history of the Rifle Brigade, nr.6804/2
The Brunswick units from the left wing fell back along the farm of Haute Cense. Cf. report of major Von Wachholtz, dated 16th September 1841. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in: NSA, VI HS.18 nr.8

³⁷ Major Baring In: *Erzählung der Teilnahme des 2ten leichten Bataillons der Königlich Deutschen Legion an der Schlacht von Waterloo* p.72

38. Cf. Lieutenant Kincaid (1st battalion 95th regiment), In: *Adventures etc.* p.328
Captain J.Leach (of the same battalion). In: *Rough sketches etc.* p.381
The arrival of Alten's division and the extreme rearguard should be seen in connection to the

moment the artillery bombardment of the French (and the allied reply) should be set, and that was most probably towards 7.30 p.m. Cf. my chapter on the French advance towards the heights of La Belle Alliance.

Of the witnesses mentioned above regarding the division of Alten, lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment) and the journal of the 5th battalion of the line confirm that French gunfire inflicted the ranks during or shortly after the taking up of the position by the division. Also see: Report of lieutenant colonel Müller of the battalion Bremen (Kielmansegge). In: Pflugk Harttung, J.von – Belle Alliance etc. p.127

Ensign Standen (3rd Foot Guards) puts the arrival of his company at Mont Saint Jean by 6 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 27th June 1815 to his mother. In: www.1815.ltd.uk Original in Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.