

The retreat of Wellington's army from other points than Quatre Bras.

Introduction.

From the times of departure and arrival it can be concluded that those forces which pulled back over the road which leads from Nivelles towards Mont Saint Jean most probably did so in the following sequence: the division of Chassé, the division of Collaert (except for the brigade of Van Merlen) and the division of Clinton, to which was attached the brigade of Mitchell (4th British division), which followed in its wake.¹

The army of the Netherlands.

After Wellington had issued his preparatory orders for the retreat from Quatre Bras around 8 a.m., Constant Rebecque left from there for Nivelles to carry those for Chassé and Collaert. He was then most probably accompanied by major Van Gorkum.

After they had got at Nivelles, they probably handed these orders to both these divisions by 10 or 10.30 a.m.

At the same time, they were instructed to take care that general headquarters of the army of the Netherlands was to retire from Braine le Comte through Nivelles safely towards Espinette, between Waterloo and Brussels. For that reason they had to establish Trip's brigade of heavy cavalry, as well as a battery of horse artillery south of Nivelles, on the road towards Roelux.

It must have been towards 12.30 or 1 p.m. that Constant Rebecque, now accompanied by both major Van Gorkum and captain Heinecken, left from Nivelles for Quatre Bras.² However, it was at Thisnes that they were informed that Wellington was evacuating the crossroads. They then continued their way through Fontenet and Vieux Genappe to Genappe, which they reached just before the confrontation with the French cavalry would take place.³

Of Chassé's division, the brigade of d'Aubremé had a position north of Nivelles; three companies of 12th battalion of the line were in advanced posts, while the brigade of colonel Detmers was at Arquennes.

In the very early hours of the 17th of June, Chassé ordered Detmers to place the 19th battalion of national militia on the road Petit Reux les Nivelles - Nivelles; this order was carried out at daybreak.⁴

At 11 a.m., Chassé got the order from Constant Rebecque at Nivelles to assemble his division and march to the position of Mont Saint Jean. At 9 a.m. Constant Rebecque himself had ridden to Nivelles to move up the 3rd division as well as the cavalry of the army of the Netherlands.⁵

Shortly after, colonel Detmers got the instruction to collect his brigade and link up with the other brigade of the 3rd division of the Netherlands, of d'Aubremé.⁶ This was accordingly done north of Nivelles, on the road leading to Lillois, as the brigade of d'Aubremé was north of the town.⁷ The departure of the division as well as its march must have been extremely difficult because of the presence of all kinds of units and baggage of Alten's division, the heat and the presence of numerous wounded which had come from the field of Quatre Bras.⁸

The road which connected Nivelles to Mont Saint Jean (over 11.5 kilometers) started at the Porte de Bruxelles, led along the Cense Petit Bateurs (to the left), the Cense de La Poste (to the left), the Cabaret Bethleem (to the left), l'Espinette (to the left), along the hamlets of Witterzé (to the left) and Lillois (to the left), the Bois de Neuve Cour (to the right), the Chateau de Mon Plaisir (to the right), the Chateau de Goumont (to the right) towards Mont Saint Jean. In all probability, the stretch of the road between Nivelles and Witterzé was lined with trees.

The march was slow and heavy, due to the heat and the dust. The result was a high number of

stragglers, but the officers did their best to have them join the column.⁹ The division of Chassé most probably arrived near Braine l'Alleud between 3 and 4 p.m.¹⁰

It was Constant Rebecque who gave Collaert his instructions around 11 a.m. These were to go back to the position of Mont Saint Jean through Nivelles, while leaving one squadron at Nivelles in order to protect the retreat of the baggages. The cavalry must have left not long after.¹¹

It must have been around daybreak that the 4th regiment of light dragoons had already sent out two squadrons, to which were attached two guns and one battalion of infantry, to keep open the entrance to Nivelles but from its position in front of it, it hadn't been able to observe this entrance.¹²

Before Collaert reached Nivelles, reports dropped in about French cavalry approaching from Hautain le Val. Accordingly, Collaert ordered quartermaster Van Uchelen and the 1st squadron of the 4th regiment of light dragoons to put themselves east of Nivelles to cover the retreat. At the same time, Collaert moved his remaining forces through Nivelles towards Mont Saint Jean. Eventually, the French didn't pose any threat as they moved to the south, but the one squadron reunited with the other regiments later that evening. Before it did so, however, it was charged by some French hussars on and near the Nivelles road probably somewhere around the farm of Mon Plaisir. In this confrontation, 1st lieutenant Van Uchelen was taken prisoner and led to Charleroi.¹³

Clinton's division.

From about 1.30 a.m. onwards, the division of Clinton had its bivouacs between Braine le Comte and Henripont (which is east of the Bois de la Houssière).

At Braine le Comte general Clinton found the order for his division to march through to Nivelles. Due to the scattered state of the division, the extreme bad condition of the roads, the fatigue of the troops and the crowded roads (baggage and other troops), it was at dawn that the vanguard of the 2nd division left from his positions between Braine le Comte and Henripont for Nivelles.¹⁴ The troops were drenched by the heavy rain which had fallen during the night.¹⁵

It must have been around 7 a.m. on the 17th of June that they reached Nivelles.¹⁶ It was here that Clinton found the order to proceed immediately towards Quatre Bras, and he complied with it right away, but the order was countermanded by the order to halt, which at least part of the division did at about 4500 meters east of Nivelles.¹⁷ By then it must have been 9 a.m. The troops started to make a meal, when they were ordered to go back to Nivelles, and from there to move towards Mont Saint Jean. By that time, it was probably late in the morning.

It is ensign Leeke who gives a vivid account of the march of his battalion, the 1st battalion of the 52nd regiment towards the position of Mont saint Jean.¹⁸

It was around 7 a.m. that the battalion had reached a bivouac in an orchard near Nivelles and used a breakfast.¹⁹ The march was resumed around noon over the road leading towards Waterloo.

Shortly after its departure, the battalion met several units of British cavalry and artillery, which went through the fields along the road. The road itself was used by the infantry. Despite this situation the march was slow due to the fatigue of the troops.²⁰

About halfway Nivelles and the position of Mont Saint Jean, the battalion (and probably the whole division) halted for more than two hours in a field about 200 meters to the left of the road. Meanwhile, carts full of wounded were on the move over the road towards Brussels.

Despite the halt, the division suffered from a high number of stragglers; accordingly, five

officers were sent out to get them back.

It was near Lillois, that in the distance - on the road leading to Brussels - near Maison du Roi and Rossomme, French troops could be seen. This was the vanguard of Napoleon's troops heading forward over the Brussels road.

The 1st battalion of the 52nd regiment now halted and got the instruction to load its muskets, while being in open column of companies. Now, French cavalry patrols approached up to 200 meters, but the troops continued their march unmolested. By then, it must have been around 6 p.m.

North of Goumont, the first unit(s) turned right on the lane leading to the complex. However, shortly after they returned and resumed their march towards the position of Mont Saint Jean.

There is no clear reason for this situation, but the most probable one is a miscommunication about the destination.

Adam's brigade was preceded by those of Hew Halkett and Duplat. These units probably arrived in the position between 5 and 6 p.m.²¹ Adam's brigade must have joined them probably around 7 p.m.²²

Colville's division.

Of Colville's division the brigade of Mitchell was on the night of the 16th of June between Braine le Comte and Nivelles, and the remainder of the division was near and in Braine le Comte.

General Colville rode to Nivelles and it was here that he learned from Lord Hill that the army was supposed to fall back towards the position of Mont Saint Jean.²³

While the other two brigades (those of Lyon and Johnstone) had marched to and halted at and around Braine le Comte, the brigade of Mitchell had to march off at 10 a.m. From now on it was temporarily attached to the 2nd division.²⁴

While the other two brigades were kept at Braine le Comte until the morning of the 18th of June, Mitchell led his brigade in a cumbersome march, as the dusty road was crowded with troops and bagages of all kinds and the sun was burning hot. Just once a halt was held for about one hour in a corn field.²⁵

Prince Frederik's forces.

According to general headquarters orders, prince Frederik of Orange had to move his troops (the 1st division and the Indian brigade) on the evening of the 17th of June from Enghien to a position south of Halle, while having two battalions at Braine le Chateau. Even before he got these orders, the prince was informed from Braine-le-Comte, on behalf of Lord Hill, by Sir Charles Broke (assistant-quartermaster of the staff) about the events of the 16th of June. He wrote:

Immediate

H.R.H. Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, Enghien

Braine-le-Comte, June 17 1815

Sir,

I have the honour to inform Your Royal Highness that the following is the latest movements ordered by the Duke of Wellington for the 2nd corps.

2nd Division to 4 Bras thro' Nivelles.

4th Division to continue its movement thro' Braine-le-Comte on Nivelles.

Lord Hill is now at Nivelles. There is no further instruction respecting Your R'Highnesses Corps.

I understand that the enemy attacked yesterday our troops, which however kept their ground.

Bonaparte is said to have been there.

I have the honour to be your Royal Highness humble serv.

*Charles Broke*²⁶

The order to take up positions south of Halle must have reached the prince in the afternoon. Accordingly, his quarter-master general, the count of St.Aldegonde, gave the orders to the 1st division and the Indian brigade. He also informed his adjudant general, colonel Van Roye van Wichem, of the orders he had issued in the following letter:

Hoofdkwartier te Enghien, den 17 Juny 1815

Op last van Zijne K.H.heb ik de eer Uwe Ed. Gestr. kennis te geven dat het armée corps zig om vijf uren hedenmiddag op marsch zal begeven om de positie van Halle te bezetten.

*Uw Ed.Gestr.gelieve dien ten gevolge order te geven dat de fourgons en het voerwezen tot het hoofdkwartier behoorende om 4 uren zig op marsch begeven, ten einde agterwaards van die stad na de zijde van Brussel te parkeereren. Het artill. reserve park volgt dezelfde directie op hetzelfde uur.*²⁷

The orders for lieutenant general Anthing were:

Hoofdkwartier te Enghien den 17 Juny 1815

Ingevolge de bevelen van Z.K.H. zal zig de brigade door Uwe Excell.gecommandeerd wordend heden namiddag om 4 en 4 1/2 uur in beweging zetten zodanig dat zij voor vijf uren door de stad Enghien getrokken zijn en het hoofd der colonne kunne formeeren. De batterij artill [sic] zal aan het hoofd der brigade marscheren, die de weg na Halle volgen zal, tot op een half uur

afstands van deze stad, alwaar zij zal bivouaqueren op het plateau agterwaards Lembecq tusschen de beide straatwegen van Enghien en Braine le Comte, het front na Lembecq gerigt. Alle wagens met levensmiddelen, fourgons en de ambulance zullen om 3 uren afmarscheren langs den zelfden weg door Enghien op Halle, en een parq formeeren ter rechterzijde van den weg na Brussel een vierendeel uurs agterwaards Halle.

Uwe Excelll.gelieve de strengste bevelen te geven dat alles de colonne volge, en geene traineurs terugblijven.

De bestemming der brigade is om de eerste divisie als reserve en soutien te dienen. Deze divisie zal heden avond de stellingen van Saintes, Tubise en Braine le Chateau voorwaarts Halle bezetten.

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And the orders for the 1st division were:

Hoofdkwartier Enghien 17 Junij 1815

Alle bagagien zonder onderscheid alsmede de wagens met de vivres voor morgen, zullen oogenblikkelijk zich buiten Enghien op de route of steenweg naar Halle vergaderen, dezelve zullen zich in colonne van een wagenfront bijzijden de steenweg op de grandweg plaatsen, en hunnen weg aldaar gezamenlijk voortzetten op Halle alwaar deze voertuygen achter de stad rechts van deze steenweg op Brussel onwijd de bagages van de Indiaansche brigade zullen parqueeren.

De heer onderinspecteur Van Haeften wordt met deze beweging belast en zal aan deze voertuygen de directie hierboven voorgeschreven geven, en bij dezelve blijven.

De ambulance alleen zullen zich op het marsch gereed maken, en de divisie volgen waartoe de heer Krabacher nader order zal ontvangen.

Appèl zal hedenmiddag niet geslagen worden wijl de divisie nog hedenmiddag zal moeten marcheeren, de order tot dit slaan der watermarsch zal nader bepaald worden.

Indien de artillerie overcompletee fourages boven het getal van eenop de paarden moeten mede genomen worden, zal insgelijks achterwaarts Halle in het park worden gezonden.

De luitenant-generaal,

*Gen.Stedman*²⁹

The other order for Stedman was:

Hoofdkwartier te Enghien, den 17 Juny 1815

Volgens de dispositien van Z.K.H. zal de 1e divisie zig om 5 uren heden middag van Enghien op marsch begeven, zoodra de Indiaansche brigade, welke het hoofd der colonne uitmaken zal, door Enghien zal gedefileerd hebben.

De artill [sic] zal aan het hoofd der colonne marscheren langs den weg na Halle, tot omtrent op de hoogte van Ramelo agterwaards van Saintes alwaar zij parqueeren zal.

De troupen tot de divisie behorende zullen ook langs den straatweg na Halle marscheren tot op de nabijheid van Saintes, alwaar de brigades volgens onderstaande dispositie hunne stelling nemen zullen.

De tweede brigade, door goede gidsen geleid, zal oogenblikkelijk van Saintes na Tubise

marscheren; dat dorp zal door een bataillon, 't welk zijne voorposten en piquet op den weg na Braine le Comte uitzetten zal, militairement bezet worden.

Twee bataillons zullen en bivouacq op de hoogtes geplaatst worden en zig stellen [?] hunnen linkervleugel aanleunen aan het bosch van Lembecq. Eenige compagnien zullen gedetacheerd en geplaatst worden als voorposten bij de brug van Tubise, en te Glabbecq en bij de andere overtogten der beek welke door deeze plaatsen heen loopt, en welke is [..] door een detachement moeten geeclairceerd worden.

Twee bataillons zullen Braine le Chateau bezetten zoo als ook[.] en zig in communicatie stellen met de troupes welke Wautierbraine bezet houden. Het punt van Braine-le-Chateau is van het uiterste gewigt als liggende op den weg van Bruxelles na Halle. Het moet militairement bezet en door alle hindernissen [sic], welke het terrein aanbied zig ten nutte te maken, verdedigd worden zooals ook door het afmaken [?] der bruggen in geval van retraite...

Ingeval van retraite zullen zig de bataillons bij Braine le Chateau geplaatst terugtrekken door Plasman of Le Flament en Schemberg op Hallel, het terrain egter lang genoeg verdedigende om aan de bataillons op hunnen regtervleugel geplaatst tijd te geven zig over Vogerbergh op Romin en Hallel in gelijke rigting met die welke bij Braine le Chateau geplaatst zijn te kunnen terugtrekken.

De capitain [...] van het geniecorps zal te Tubise bij de aankomst der brigade zig bevinden en aan dezelve de nodige ophelderingen omtrent de positie geven. De eerste brigade zal haar bivouac neder.slaan op de hoogte een weynig agterwaards Saintes met den linkervleugel na Tubise.

De dorpen en gehugten Bierghe, St.Renelde, Ophain en de overtogten over de beek zullen door detachementen bezet worden, zooals ook door genoegzaame piquetten om de aannadering der ... om de groote weg van Enghien te kunnen observeren.

Uwe Excell. gelieve de verdeeling der detachementen te reguleeren, alsmede het detail der positie. De hoogtens tusschen Saintes en Tubise zeer gunstig zijnde voor de artillerie en om kragtdadig verdedigd te kunnen worden, zullen het nog des te meer van de Indiaansche brigade welke en reserve op de hoogten agterwaards Lembecq zal geplaatst worden.

Het voerwezen en de equipagien der divisie zullen zig om 4 uren in marsch zetten en zig begeven op Halle, de stad doortrekken en in een parcq vereenigd worden een vierendeel uurs agterwaards de stad op de weg na Brussel. Het hoofdkwartier van Z.K.H. zal in Hallel zijn.

*Uwe Excell. zal gelieven deszelfs uiterste zorg aan te wenden opdat alles de colonne volge en geen traineurs agterwaards blijven.*³⁰

It was around 5 p.m. that the units left their positions following the road Enghien - Petit Enghien - Bierghes and Saintes; the Indian brigade formed the advance guard, having the artillery and the 1st division in their rear.³¹

There is no information available about the exact whereabouts of the reserve-park of the army of the Netherlands, but on the 17th of June all trains and baggage were sent to Halle and Brussels.³²

Of the reserve-artillery, it was the battery of captain Dubois which left on the early morning of the 17th from Nivelles for Ixelles. Dubois had the instruction to keep close to the large reserve-artillery park, but he failed to do so. He only managed to find it at 10 p.m. near Ixelles, near the road leading from Brussels to Namur. Here general Gunkel, the commander of the artillery on the staff, was present.

After a halt of several hours the battery was ordered that night to follow the park and take up a position on the road between Brussels and Vilvoorde and to await further orders there. Having

arrived there, the troop got the instruction to leave for Mechelen which it did. It got there around 8 a.m.

Here it was joined by the park, but soon after (around 1 p.m.) both units got the order of Gunkel to return to Brussels. However, this was virtually impossible as the road was completely blocked by all kinds of vehicles, people and materials which came from Brussel and the battlefield

Meanwhile, the battery of Kempfer had arrived north of Brussels too and now the decision was taken to proceed to Mechelen. All units arrived there during the night.³³

The company of sappers, led by captain Esau and that morning still in position on the market-square of Braine le Comte, got the instruction to escort the baggage and the train.

For doing so, the company was split in two. One part was to escort the front of the column, the other one to escort the rear. Here some members of the military police assisted too. To get to Nivelles took a long time due to the bad state of the roads; on top of that, the column had to halt in front of this town as a lot of units had to pass to the front. As soon as the column had finally entered Nivelles it had to wait for another two hours again to let some units pass along, until it was sent towards Waterloo as well. By then it was 1 p.m.³⁴

Lambert's brigade.

On the evening of the 16th of June, the brigade of Lambert had been ordered to leave from Assche towards Genappe.

The brigade proceeded to Brussels on the morning of the 17th of June. In all probability the brigade must have left around 8 a.m., at least that is what the battery of Braun did.³⁵

While being on the march general Lambert received further orders to go to Halle. In doing so, Lambert got new instructions during the afternoon to halt at Espinette (six kilometers north of Waterloo, in the forest of Soignes). It was here that the brigade (including the battery of captain Braun) bivouaced during the afternoon, evening and night of the 17th of June.³⁶

The cavalry of Von Estorff.

The brigade of Von Estorff (two regiments) was at Lens. It was only during the night that it left, through Enghien, for the position of Halle. Colonel Von Estorff must have received his orders very late.³⁷ It arrived there during the early hours of the 18th of June.³⁸

The 3rd regiment of hussars.

This regiment (brigade Von Arentschildt) had arrived at Nivelles at 10 a.m., having had a very tough march. After taking a brief halt there, they resumed their march to reach their goal, near Waterloo, at 3 p.m.

After a couple of hours the regiment must have been ordered by Lord Uxbridge to go to Brussels. Having faced a lot of problems (of what type is unknown) the regiment finally reached the capital late that evening.³⁹

In his instructions dating from the morning of the 17th of June, Wellington had issued the instruction that all baggage which was on the road between Braine le Comte and Nivelles had to return to Braine le Comte, in order not to hinder the troops marching on the roads from Nivelles

to Mont Saint Jean and from Enghien to Halle. From Braine le Comte, this baggage had to go back as far as Halle and Brussels.

The divisions of Perponcher and Cooke had sent their baggage on the 16th to Waterloo and Brussels, and one can assume that those of Alten had halted at Nivelles. Those of Picton and the Brunswickers must have halted in the forest of Soignes.

There is almost no information available about the British reserve-artillery. According to the orders of the evening of the 16th of June it was supposed to move towards Quatre Bras, but by orders of the morning of the 17th of June it had to be moved to a position in rear of Genappe, while parking its carts in the forest of Soignes. Of Ross' battery it is known that it marched from its bivouac near Vilvoorde all night, and then through Brussels to the south over the road leading from the capital to Charleroi when it received through major Drummond at dawn the instruction to proceed to Quatre Bras. Some time later in the day it received the second order and it was near Genappe that Ross bumped into the army which fell back towards Mont Saint Jean and that's what he did then as well.⁴⁰

Revised:

6th

December

2008

¹ However, it is captain Rochell (19th battalion of militia, division of Chassé) who claims the presence of a British division in front of his. Cf. Captain Rochell. Account in family archive.

² Constant Rebecque himself states it was after 10 a.m. Cf. Journal of Constant Rebecque In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

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

Cf. Major Van Gorkum. In his diary and memoirs, p.69-75. In: private collection

Van Gorkum, having ridden from Nivelles to Quatre Bras on the very early morning of the 17th of June, claims he had a conversation with the Duke of Wellington there. By that time, Wellington had been informed about the situation of the Prussian army and had taken the decision to draw back towards the position of Mont Saint Jean. Accordingly, Van Gorkum was instructed to inform the prince of Orange of this decision and of his intention to establish his headquarters at Waterloo. At the same time, he was instructed to take care that general headquarters of the army of the Netherlands were to retire from Braine le Comte through Nivelles safely towards Brussels. For that reason he had to establish Trip's brigade of heavy cavalry, as well as a battery of horse artillery south of Nivelles, on the road towards Roeulx. While returning to Nivelles, Van Gorkum would have met the prince of Orange and Constant Rebecque near Hautain-le-Val and, while the prince proceeded to Quatre Bras, Van Gorkum and Constant Rebecque proceeded to Nivelles to prepare the march of the headquarters and the forces covering it.

His and Constant's versions of the events do not run parallel; in the main line, I have chosen for the of Constant as it seems as if Van Gorkum wants to draw too much credit to himself for missions he did not really accomplish on his own. Apart from that, I do not believe that the prince got that late at Quatre Bras.

It was near the Brussels road that Van Gorkum got separated from both Constant and Heinecken as Van Gorkum's horse refused to leap over a ditch, initially.

4.Reports of lieutenant colonel Van Delen and colonel Detmers.

In: Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III.p.360, 372

Account of captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia). In: private collection. In his mind, the battalion took up its arms at 2 a.m., to leave at 3 a.m., have a brief march and a position in an orchard.

5.Cf. Lieutenant colonel Van Delen. In: Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III.p.360

Constant Rebecque In his journal. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

6.According to Detmers it was towards afternoon. The division must have left towards noon. In: Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.372
For the 19th battalion of national militia, captain Rochell claims it left around 10 a.m. Cf.

Account of colonel Detmers. Cf. Account of captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia), in private collection.

2nd lieutenant Holle of the 6th battalion of national militia gives the impression as if the brigade spent the night in (or near) Nivelles. Cf. 2nd lieutenant Holle in his letter to his parents dated 10th July 1815. In: Stadsarchief Dordrecht. Family-archive Blussé. 68-28 nr.21

⁷ Cf. Diary of lieutenant Koch (17th battalion of national militia). In: Infantry Museum Harskamp, the Netherlands.

8.Cf. Lieutenant colonel Van Delen. In: Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.372

1st lieutenant Bentinck (battery Lux). In: VLS, II.4 nr.11

Account of captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia). In private collection.

Sergeant Van de Wetering (4th battalion of national militia).

According to 2nd lieutenant Roorda van Eysinga of the 19th battalion of national militia, this battalion must have plundered the area due to the lack of supplies. The battalion would also have been delayed in its departure, but finally it would have re-connected to its division north of Nivelles. Cf. Roorda van Eysinga, P.P. In: De recensent der recensenten. 1831 nr.6 and 7 p.233.

9.Captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia). Captain Bentinck of the battery of Lux confirms the slowness of the march as well as the presence of numerous other units on the road. Cf. Letter in: VLS, II.no.4.11

10. Private A.H.Munter (4th battalion of national militia) states it was 3 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 22nd July 1815). NIMH

According to captain Rochell (19th battalion of national militia) at the moment of arrival at Braine l'Alleud a storm broke; this was most probably around 4 p.m.. Cf.account in family archive. Also see the account of lieutenant Koch , 17th battalion of national militia. In: Infanterie Museum Harskamp.

J.H.Fruyt van Hertog claims it was 6 p.m. Cf. Fruyt van Hertog, J.H. Geschiedenis van het 7e regiment etc. p.

For this time, also see 2nd lieutenant Holle in an account dated 1856. In: Stadsarchief Dordrecht. Family-archive Blussé. 68-28 nr.26

11. Account of lieutenant colonel Hoyneck van Papendrecht (chief of staff of the cavalry). In: Bas, F.de and T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 etc. Vol.III p.424

Christemeijer claims the men rode in a full trot towards Mont Saint Jean, while leaving caissons and baggage-carts at Nivelles, so that supplies were completely lacking that night. Cf. Christemeijer, J.B. Geschiedverhaal etc. p.11-12.

Diary of lieutenant colonel Renno. In: Groninger Museum, Groningen. Collection of Offerhaus Foundation.

Lieutenant colonel Van Heerdt, chief of staff of Ghigny, however claims the brigade left at around 10 a.m. Cf. His account in VLS, nr.II.5.1

¹² Diary of lieutenant colonel Renno. In: Groninger Museum, Groningen. Collection of Offerhaus Foundation.

13. Lieutenant colonel Hoyneck van Papendrecht.

In: Bas, F.de and T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.III p.424
Squadron sergeant-major Fundter (4th regiment of light dragoons). In: Geschiedenis van het
4^e regiment lichte dragonders p.13

Diary of lieutenant colonel Renno. In: Groninger Museum, Groningen. Collection Offerhaus
Foundation. Renno, however, mentions only leaving some men and not a complete squadron.

Dellevoet, A. The Dutch-Belgian cavalry at Waterloo p.130-131

14. Cf. Leeke, W. History of Lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.11

Journal of the 3rd line battalion KGL (brigade Duplat). In: NHH, 38D. nr.816 p.22-25

Lieutenant Hart (1st battalion, 52nd regiment) says it was 1.30 a.m. Cf. letter dated 20th June
1815. In: NAM, nr.8111/84

J.Hamilton (member of the 2nd line battalion KGL, brigade Du Plat) claims it was 7 a.m.
Cf. his letter dated 21st July 1815. In: NAM, Manuscripts, transcripts and printed
documents, letters, notebooks and printed pamphlets relating to the battle and battlefield of
Waterloo, nr.7905/5.

The 3rd battalion of the 95th regiment left at 3 a.m. Cf. colonel Ross (3rd battalion of the 95th
regiment). In: Knight, corporal. The British battalion etc. p.17

The 1st battalion of the 52nd regiment moved off, after a brief Hallet, from Braine le Comte to
Nivelles at 2 a.m. There it Halleted from 7 till 11 a.m. and then started its (slow) march towards
the position Mont Saint Jean. Cf. G.C. Moore Smith. The life of John Colborne p.215

15. Cf. Leeke, W. History of Lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.11

J.Hamilton (member of the 2nd line-battalion KGL, brigade Du Plat). Cf. his letter dated 21st
July 1815. In: NAM, Manuscripts, transcripts and printed documents, letters, notebooks and
printed pamphlets relating to the battle and battlefield of Waterloo, nr.7905/5.

¹⁶ Clinton himself claims it was at 5 a.m. that he reached Nivelles, but this is impossible as
the distance between Braine le Comte and Henripont is about 3 kilometers, which would need
about three hours for the infantry to cover. Cf. Sir H. Clinton's letter dated 23rd June 1815. In:
NLS, MS 3615 f.39

In the total trajectory I have taken five hours for the units to cover the distance of 20 km between
Ath and Enghien (over a good road), about 5 hours for the distance between Enghien and
Braine le Comte and the same for the one between this place and Nivelles (both distances
being about 13 kilometers).

Assistant commissary-general Tupper Carey of the commissariat department, and attached to
the division Clinton, had left from Enghien later as his division did as he had to make
arrangements for the supplies for the division, but eventually overtook it and reached Nivelles
during the night. In: Reminiscences of a commissariat officer p.726

¹⁷ Cf. Sir H. Clinton's letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: NLS, MS 3615 f.38

Journal of the 1st line battalion KGL. In: NHH, Hann.38D. nr.236 p.27-28

Journal of the 3rd line battalion KGL In: NHH, Hann.38D. nr.816 p.22-25

It is very well possible that Adam's brigade did not get to the point that it moved off towards
Quatre Bras, as there is no mentioning of it (see below).

18. Leeke, W. The history of Lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.11-13

19. Cf. Leeke, W. History of Lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.12

The brigade must have done so, as also a member of the 1st battalion of the 71st regiment did so; also the luggage of the brigade was sent to Brussels. Cf. Journal of a soldier of the 71st regiment

Private E.Gill (1st battalion, 52nd regiment) talks of a break between 3 and 9 a.m. Cf. Gill, E. A narrative of the life etc. p.106

20. According to Leeke a battalion of the army of the Netherlands crossed the road, while heading for Genappe. It is still a puzzle which battalion this could have been. Cf. Leeke, W. History of Lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.12

21. Journal of the 1st line battalion KGL. In: NHH, Hann.38D.nr.236 p.27-28

Report of lieutenant Von Müller (2nd line battalion KGL). In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI.nr.152 p.51-53

Journal of the 4th line battalion KGL. In: NHH, Hann.38D.nr.236 p.118-119

Captain Scheuch (battalion Bremervörde, brigade H.Halkett). In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI nr.151 p.65-68

Major Hammerstein (battalion Salzgitter, brigade H.Halkett) In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.60-64

J. Hamilton (member of the 2nd line battalion KGL) states it was 6 p.m. Cf. his letter dated 21st July 1815. In: NAM, Manuscripts, transcripts and printed documents, letters, notebooks and printed pamphlets relating to the battle and battlefield of Waterloo, nr.7905/5.

Lieutenant Lyra of the Osnabrück battalion (brigade H.Halkett) believes it was about 4 p.m. In: NHH, Hann.41 XXI nr.157

22. Lieutenant Hart (1st battalion, 52nd regiment). Cf. his letter dated 20th June 1815. In: NAM, nr.8111/84

Ensign Leeke believes it was about 7.30 p.m. Cf. Leeke, W. History of Lord Seaton's regiment Vol.I p.14

Private E.Gill (1st battalion 52nd regiment) claims in his mostly unreliable journal that it was then 3 p.m. Cf. Gill, E. A narrative of the life etc. p.106

²³ Cf. Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Letter of Colville to his brother dated 19th June 1815.
Cf. Colville, J. – Portrait of a general p.200

²⁴ Cf. Colville papers, C41283/TD 97/1 In Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Letter of Colville to his brother dated 19th June 1815.

A private of the 91st regiment (brigade Johnstone, division Colville), Andrew Jordan, confirms that he marched on the 17th of June from Audenarde towards a large village [Braine le Comte] at four leagues distant and that he spent the night there. In: Biographical memoirs of Andrew Jordan, formerly a Waterloo soldier p.102

25. Letter of private Wheeler, 1st battalion 51st regiment. In: The letters of private Wheeler p.168-169

Cf. For years of a soldier's life. In: USM, 1844, II p.408

Wheeler mentions the some Belgian heavy cavalry, passing by in a trot at Nivelles. These may

have been men of Trip's brigade, as they left Nivelles around 11 a.m. and Mitchell left about one hour earlier.

Captain Daniel (7th hussars) saw the 14th regiment of the brigade of Mitchell pass through Nivelles around 3 p.m. In: Journal of an officer etc. p.389

G.Th.Albemarle, an ensign of the 3rd battalion of the 14th regiment, claims his brigade (Mitchell) left at 3 p.m. in stead of 10 a.m. Cf. Albemarle, G.Th. Fifty years of my life Vol.II p.16 Albemarle also mentions the presence of Belgian cavalry, delaying the battalion for about two hours.

26.In: KHA, nr.A37 VIIb nr.4

27.Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.6 item nr.39

28.Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.6 item nr.40

29.Cf. orderbook of the 1st division. In; NA, 2.13.52 nr.1 item nr.153

30.Cf. Generale correspondentie van de graaf van St.Aldegonde In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.6 item nr.41

31. Journal of the count of St.Aldegonde. In: NA, 2.13.14.02 nr.7
Dagboek der operatiën en bewegingen etc. p.10

32.Bas, F.de en T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol. p.

33.1st lieutenant Sierevelt (Dubois' troop). In: VLS, no.II, 4.10 It is not clear under whose order Dubois was acting. There is some evidence that Gunkel wasn't with the artillery for the first couple of hours, though Van der Wijk claims the opposite. Cf.Account of adjudant general Van der Wijk. NA, nr.2.13.13.01 nr.4

Van der Wijk met Gunkel and the battery at Waterloo. Van der Wijk, at Nivelles, isn't very specific about the reasons why he went back towards Waterloo and Brussels.

On the one side he claims he received orders from the prince of Orange (through colonel du Caylar, major Van Hooff and major Ampt), but he doesn't specify what kind of orders these were.

On the other hand he claims he wanted to go to the prince of Orange, but that he got the information that the prince was very busy and that the general headquarters were moving to Waterloo and from there to a village just south Brussels.

Then Van der Wijk left Nivelles at 10 a.m. He arrived at Waterloo at 1 p.m. where he met Gunkel.

34.Cf. Notes of 1st lieutenant Klijnsma of this company. While being just out of Nivelles, the storm began. By then it must have been around 2 p.m. This may have meant that the company had arrived it around 10 a.m. Cf. Klijnsma, S.F. De nagelaten aantekeningen van Sent Foppe Klijnsma. In: De Beweging, 1910 I-249 and II-1. The company would have arrived in Waterloo in the late afternoon. In: VLS, nr.II.no.4.16

35.Account of captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.152-155

36.Smith, Sir H. The autobiography etc. p.266

He mentions Epinay in stead of Espinette, but his description is the same (i.e. to the Brussels side of the forest).

Lieutenant Drewe (27th regiment). BL, Add.ms.34.706. nr.113

Captain d'Huvelé (battery Braun). In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI.nr.151 p.152-155

Captain Braun. In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI, nr.151 p.149-151.

Sergeant Lawrence (40th regiment) doesn't mention any name of a bivouac. Cf. Mémoires d'un grenadier anglais p.207

The Regimental history sees some contradictory information in the marches of the brigade. While some state that the brigade was ordered to Assche first, the "MS.Record of services" would state that the brigade left Ghent on the 16th and then went through Brussels without Halleting, to reach the battlefield on the morning of the 18th. Cf. Regimental history p.253

37.Report of major Von der Busche (Bremen & Verden hussars).In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.25

Journal of the count of St.Aldegonde. In: NA, nr.2.13.14.02 nr.7

38.Report of colonel Von Estorff. In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.36-37

Report of major Von den Busche (Bremen & Verden hussars). In: NHH, Hann.41.XXI, nr.152 p.25

39.Journal of the regiment. In: NHH, Hann.38D.nr.233 p.198-202

Account of captain Friedrichs (3rd hussars). In: Kannicht, J. Und alles wegen Napoleon p.63

⁴⁰ Cf. Ross, H.D. Memoir of field-marsHalle sir H.D.Ross p.60