



# **The Impact of Royal Military College-Trained Officers on the Battle of Waterloo**

## **Part One: Wellington's Staff**

**By Dr Anthony Morton**

Sandhurst Occasional Papers  
No 32

Central Library  
Royal Military Academy Sandhurst  
2020

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## **SANDHURST OCCASIONAL PAPER NO 32**

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Sandhurst

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ISBN: 978-1-907628-28-3

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THE IMPACT OF ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE-TRAINED OFFICERS ON  
THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO:

PART ONE-WELLINGTON'S STAFF

By Dr Anthony Morton

*'Sir John Byng...urged me so strongly to take if but for a day the duty of quartermaster general....an arduous undertaking for anyone from the ranks with no knowledge....'*

Lt Col James Hamilton Stanhope, Campaign Journal Paris 1815

*'..the Military College, in my day, was an admirable school of discipline, as well as education generally, and I have always felt thankful for the training I there received.'*

Lt Col Basil Jackson, *With Wellington's Staff at Waterloo* 1877

## INTRODUCTION

The year 2015 saw the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, possibly the most famous battle in British military history and certainly one whose result was of supreme political importance for both Britain and the rest of Europe. The twenty-three years of conflict that became known as the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars began on 1 February 1793 when Revolutionary France declared war on Britain. Eventually drawing in all of Europe's major powers and many minor ones, and from 1812 even the United States, the wars ended with the final defeat of Napoleon, Emperor of France on the field of Waterloo in Belgium on 18 June 1815 and his subsequent life-long imprisonment on the Island of Saint Helena in the Atlantic Ocean.

Waterloo, a victory achieved by an Anglo-Dutch-German army under the command of British Field Marshal Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington and a Prussian army under Field Marshal Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher, Prince of Wahlstadt, was clearly the climax of the Napoleonic Wars. But it was also arguably the high point in the early history of one of the most famous military institutions to originate from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that is still in existence today, the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, known before 1947 as the Royal Military College (RMC).

The Royal Military College was the brainchild of Lieutenant Colonel John Le Marchant (later to become the first Lieutenant Governor of the College and a Major General) and was created as a direct result of early British military failures against the armies of Revolutionary France. Its Senior Department for the training of staff officers was established at High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire by Royal Warrant on 24 June 1801, and a year later its Junior Department for the training of gentleman cadets for a first commission was established in temporary quarters at Great Marlow in the same county by a further Royal Warrant on 4 May 1802.

Despite opposition from some quarters,<sup>1</sup> the Royal Military College grew both in size and popularity until by 1811 there were far more applications for the Junior Department than there were cadet vacancies. Its reputation for producing well-trained professional officers was confirmed by a letter published in the June 1811 issue of the Royal Military Chronicle that stated the Royal Military College was '*rapidly effecting a very desirable change...., not only by the numerous accomplished officers they produce, but in the desire of knowledge which has thereby been disseminated through the Army*'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1813, shortly before the Senior Department moved to Farnham in Surrey and a year after the Junior Department moved to its permanent accommodation at Sandhurst on the Surrey/Berkshire border, Queen

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<sup>1</sup> See Tomkinson pp. 218-221 for a slightly bizarre diatribe complaining about the short-comings of young subaltern officers in the British Army such as lack of foreign language skills, especially French, while at the same time criticizing the Royal Military College for not teaching cadets such relevant skills despite the fact that French and German were clearly taught at the College. See Morton 2019 for a summary of the college curriculum in the early years of the RMC.

<sup>2</sup> Royal Military Chronicle Vol II p. 135. Cf Thoumine p. 145.

Charlotte presented the College with its first set of Regimental Colours. The Royal Military College was—and the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst is—the only military training establishment in the history of the British Army to be so honoured, a fact indicative of the high regard in which the College was held.

Yet despite the contribution of the many hundreds of RMC-trained officers who served in the British Army during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the victory at Waterloo that brought those wars to an end soon meant that both government and public interest in the College, and indeed in the army in general, waned. The Treasury was keen to reap what today would be called the ‘peace dividend’ and a succession of defence cuts by the government caused the College to enter a period of slow decline in the following decades. It would not be until the mistakes of the Crimean War made clear the need for large numbers of educated, professionally trained officers that the Royal Military College was once again seen as an institution of national importance.<sup>3</sup>

## THE RMC AND THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN 1815

### PART ONE

The Royal Military College trained 168 (just over 12%) of the approximately 1,395 British staff, cavalry and infantry officers<sup>4</sup> who served in the Waterloo campaign, also known as the Hundred Days or War of the Seventh Coalition.<sup>5</sup> Twenty-two officers had studied at the Senior Department and/or its predecessor the Staff School, while the rest were former cadets of the Junior Department (see appendix 1 table A). Another four officers who took part in the campaign were former College staff including instructors and administrative personnel.

Twenty-nine RMC-trained officers and one former instructor of the RMC held staff appointments in Wellington’s army and made up about nineteen per cent of his staff officers in total, while the remaining 139 RMC-trained officers and three former College members of staff served with their regiments.

The rest of this paper will survey the twenty-nine RMC-trained staff officers and one former instructor who helped manage and organise Wellington’s army during the Waterloo campaign as well as intervening at crisis points on the field of battle (a subsequent paper will cover the 139 RMC-trained regimental officers who led their regiments into battle at Waterloo). Included in part one is a summary of the parts played in the campaign and battle of Waterloo by the officers concerned. Part two of this paper contains more detailed notes on the individual officers preceded in each case by a summary of their pre-1815 military career in *italics*.

### RMC-TRAINED STAFF OFFICERS

About half of the RMC-trained staff officers serving with Wellington’s army in 1815 were former cadets who had trained in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College while the remainder were former (or in some cases current) students from its Senior Department. This even split is not that surprising given that at this early stage in the development of the Royal Military College elements of the courses taught by each department were quite similar in content. (It is worth noting that eleven former cadets who fought with their regiments at Waterloo had held staff appointments prior to 1815 and eight former students trained as staff officers served as regimental officers in the campaign.)<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Shepperd pp 41ff.

<sup>4</sup> This figure includes the officers of the British 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade stationed at Hal as part of the force deployed there by Wellington to guard the road to Brussels and act as a rear guard in case he was defeated at Waterloo. In the event this force was not required and thus saw no action. Seven of the 6<sup>th</sup> Brigade’s officers had trained at the Royal Military College.

<sup>5</sup> Strictly speaking the War of the Seventh Coalition also included the Neapolitan War and several other minor campaigns.

<sup>6</sup> See Morton, ‘The Impact of Royal Military College officers on Waterloo: Part Two-Regimental Officers (forthcoming).

Both departments taught French and German including the study of military authors such as Frederick the Great. Both departments also taught military topography, military formations and the organisation and movement of armies. For obvious reasons some elements of the cadet training course were entirely absent from that offered by the Senior Department: Drill and weapons training for example were superfluous to students who were serving officers and could be expected to be competent in basic military skills before being admitted to the staff course.

It is interesting to note that no less than thirteen of the twenty-nine officers were from the Guards (see appendix 1 table B), to be precise twelve from the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards and Coldstream Guards and one from the Royal Horse Guards. Most of these officers (nine) were former cadets from the Junior Department. This might seem curious as for individuals who could afford the lifestyle of a Guards officer the lure of a potential free first commission from the Royal Military College was probably not as great as it would be to young men from less privileged backgrounds.

Yet while it is true that the College had a degree of social cachet in its early years, in part due to Royal patronage and national popularity born of the success of former cadets serving in the Peninsular War (many of whom would go on to serve at Waterloo), that might have attracted sons of the upper classes, it is also probable that a desire for a professional military education was a factor in their choice to become a cadet.

At least five Guardsmen reached the required standard to be considered for a commission from the Royal Military College (the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction) and three of those five performed highly enough at their studies to receive a college recommendation for a free commission. Overall at least ten of the fifteen staff officers who had been cadets in the Junior Department reached the required standard for a commission of which seven excelled at their studies resulting in a college recommendation.

Twenty-six of the twenty-nine RMC-trained staff officers present at Waterloo were veterans of the Peninsula war and most of them had held at least one (often multiple) staff appointments prior to 1815. Many of these officers would have a significant impact on the outcome of the Waterloo Campaign. Whether acting as ADCs or Brigade Majors, serving in the Adjutant General's Department or Quartermaster General's Department, or performing other staff duties, their staff work and/or personal intervention at crucial points in the campaign and battle, played a significant role in Wellington's hard-won victory.

## ADCs

Fifteen of the 71 ADCs and Brigade Majors on the staff of Wellington's army had formerly trained at the Royal Military College.

The primary task of ADCs (*aides de camp*), who were temporarily detached from their regiments for this role was to act as messengers for the General to which they were attached and ensure that his orders were accurately transmitted to his subordinates.<sup>7</sup> ADCs were obviously vital to a general's ability to command his army and although an official allowance was authorised for food etc to maintain one, two or three ADCs depending on a general's rank, many generals appointed extra ADCs that had to be funded out of the general's personal finances.<sup>8</sup> In addition every infantry division was authorized an ADC as were each of its brigades.<sup>9</sup>

Because of their role ADCs were the most important link in the chain of communication. They had to be familiar with and understand their General's battle plans and interpret his orders correctly when communicating them to his subordinate commanders. It goes without saying that officers selected for such

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<sup>7</sup> See Adkin p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> Haythornthwaite 1997 p. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 49.



duties had to have the complete trust and confidence of their General and it is interesting to note that Wellington himself selected two RMC-trained officers to be on his personal staff, former cadets Lieutenant Colonel John Fremantle and Captain Lord Arthur Hill.

The role of ADC was one of the most dangerous in an army (at Waterloo twenty-six of the fifty-seven ADCs on Wellington's Staff were killed or wounded-a casualty rate of nearly fifty per cent) as they had to ride across the chaos of the battlefield looking for the units or formations that were the intended recipients of their general's orders, often at great personal risk. One of the most dramatic and famous examples of this at Waterloo is the case of the RMC-trained ADC cadet Captain Henry Dumaesq.

Former cadet Captain Dumaesq was ADC to Major General Byng (in command of 2<sup>nd</sup> British Infantry Brigade). Despite being shot through the lungs as he traversed the battlefield, Dumaesq managed to carry vital information to Wellington concerning the morale and state of ammunition supplies of the garrison of the fortified chateau and farm of Hougomont before falling from his horse severely wounded. Wellington later stated that had the strongpoint, that had anchored the right flank of the Anglo-Allied army and suffered numerous French attacks during the battle, fallen he would have lost the battle.

Alongside their normal duties, ADCs were also sometimes expected to temporarily take command of reserves when bringing them up to the front. This required a good grasp of the local topography and skill in the movement of large bodies of troops, both subjects that were taught in some depth at the Royal Military College. Two examples of RMC-trained ADCs performing this role at Waterloo are the actions of former cadets Captain Orlando Bridgeman and Major Chatham Churchill.

At Waterloo at about 3.00pm Captain Orlando Bridgeman, ADC to Lieutenant General Lord Rowland Hill (in command of 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps), brought up infantry reserves to support the garrison of Hougomont during the fifth of seven major French attacks against the strongpoint during the day. Towards the end of the battle of Waterloo, at about 8.00 pm Major Churchill, the other RMC-trained ADC on Lieutenant General Hill's staff brought up vital cavalry reserves to plug a gap in Wellington's line during the attack of the Imperial Guard, Napoleon's last chance of snatching victory.

An example of an RMC-trained ADC performing the same role in relation to Britain's Prussian allies is that of former cadet Lieutenant Colonel John Fremantle, one of Wellington's ADCs. The arrival of Blucher's Prussian army late in the afternoon of 18 June was of course a crucial factor in Wellington's victory at Waterloo, and at about 4.30pm elements of the Prussian army began an attack on the village of Plancenoit on and behind Napoleon's right flank, drawing much-needed French troops away from Wellington's front.

At about 6.00 pm Lieutenant Colonel Fremantle went looking for and found other Prussian reinforcements which he guided over difficult terrain towards the hamlet of Smohain, shoring up Wellington's severely weakened left flank and enabling the latter to concentrate his surviving forces on the centre of the Mont St Jean ridge in preparation for Napoleon's final attack. Fremantle later also had to intervene to stop a Prussian artillery battery accidentally firing on British troops.

One RMC-trained ADC who sadly died at the moment of victory at Waterloo was former student Captain Newton Chambers, ADC to Lieutenant General Picton (in command of 5<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Division). As the French army began to collapse in the evening Chambers led an infantry column to recapture of the farm of La Haie Sainte, an important strongpoint just forward of the centre of Wellington's line that had held off multiple French attempts to take it only to fall when the defenders ran out of ammunition. Chambers was shot dead while accepting the surrender of a French officer.

Each brigade was authorized one brigade major.<sup>10</sup> The duties of a brigade major were similar to that of an ADC except that the former appointment was permanently attached to his brigade and unlike an ADC did not move with his General when the latter was posted elsewhere. The brigade major had to attend daily meetings with the adjutant general of his division and relay orders back to the General commanding the brigade and its constituent units, as well as providing a report of the strength of the battalions within the brigade so that divisional headquarters had accurate information on the condition of the brigade.<sup>11</sup>

Two of the fourteen brigade majors serving in Wellington's army were RMC-trained staff officers, former student Major Charles Smyth (9<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Brigade) and former cadet Captain James Gunthorpe (1<sup>st</sup> British Infantry Brigade).

## THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

The Adjutant General's Department was the organisation mainly responsible for the equipment and discipline of the Army.<sup>12</sup> At Waterloo the Department consisted of ten Deputy Assistant Adjutants General, two of whom had trained at the Royal Military College, above which were eleven Assistant Adjutants General and the Deputy Adjutant General, all of whom were responsible to the Adjutant General, Major General Sir Edward Barnes.<sup>13</sup> Some of these officers were attached to the various corps and divisional headquarters of Wellington's army (every infantry division was authorized one Assistant Adjutant General<sup>14</sup>) while others were attached to army headquarters along with the Adjutant General.

During the Waterloo campaign officers of the department were also sometimes used to transmit orders to troops and even on occasion rally fleeing units, as illustrated by former student Captain Esme Erskine at the battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June, two days prior to Waterloo. During the battle Erskine helped rally Belgian cavalry who had been routed by their French counterparts, thus helping to stabilise the situation.

The other RMC-trained officer serving with the Adjutant General's Department, former cadet Captain William Curzon, supplied an outstanding example of professionalism on the field of Waterloo when although dying from serious injuries continued to provide tactical advice and encouragement to a fellow staff officer trying to organise Nassau infantry battalions into square formation in the face of attacking French cavalry.

## THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

The Quartermaster General's Department was headed by the Quartermaster General, under whom were the Assistant Quartermasters General who were themselves supported by Deputy Assistant Quartermasters General. Staff duties carried out by the Quartermaster General's Department included marches<sup>15</sup>, allocating quarters to troops, conveyance of troops (all subjects covered by the curriculum of the Royal Military College) and, under Wellington the gathering and evaluation of intelligence. In fact, it was thanks to the proposal for creating of a General Staff structure by the founder of the Royal Military College, Major General Le Marchant that the Quartermaster General's Department grew from being an organisation purely concerned with supplying routes to units moving about the country to becoming the nerve centre of the Army.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Haythornthwaite 2016 pp. 7-8.

<sup>12</sup> Haythornthwaite 1997 p. 64.

<sup>13</sup> Dalton p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 49.

<sup>15</sup> See Jackson, p. 17 for a first-hand description of the practicalities of writing orders for the movement of the various divisions of an army.

<sup>16</sup> Thoumine pp. 102ff.

(The recently acquired role of intelligence gathering by the Quartermaster General's Department in addition to its more prosaic duties was epitomised in the Waterloo campaign by former student Lieutenant Colonel Colquhoun Grant, who had distinguished himself as an intelligence officer in the Peninsula War. The renewed outbreak of war in 1815 caused him to be recalled to the Quartermaster General's Department while still studying at the Royal Military College. Once again Grant was appointed as intelligence officer by Wellington.)

Apart from ten Permanent Assistant Quartermasters General, who were the only full-time staff officers in the British Army<sup>17</sup> and eight of whom were not present with Wellington's army, the rest of the Quartermaster General's staff had to be temporarily detached from their regiments and were generally (but not always) taken from units serving in the campaign in question. Of the seventeen Assistant Quartermasters General serving in the Waterloo campaign four (including the Quartermaster General) were 'permanent' staff, including, significantly, two RMC-trained officers (both former students from the Senior Department).

During the Waterloo campaign the Quartermaster General had under his direct command twenty-nine officers consisting of seventeen Assistant Quartermasters General and twelve Deputy Assistant Quartermasters General. As in the case of the Adjutant General's Department some of these officers were attached to the various corps and divisional headquarters of Wellington's army-each infantry division was authorized one Assistant Quartermaster General and one Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General<sup>18</sup>-while others were attached to army headquarters together with the Quartermaster General.

Including the (acting) Quartermaster General himself twelve (40%) of the thirty officers serving with or attached to the Quartermaster General's Department during the Waterloo campaign had either attended the Royal Military College as cadets or students or, in one case had been an instructor of cadets. Not surprisingly most of these officers had studied at the Senior Department since that provided specific training for staff appointments. In common with other staff appointments the battlefield role of officers of the Quartermaster General's Department could include temporarily taking command of individual units or formations in a crisis.

The most distinguished RMC-trained officer of the Quartermaster General's Department during the Waterloo campaign was the head of the department, the (acting) Quartermaster General himself, former student Colonel William De Lancey. Colonel De Lancey had excelled at his studies in the Senior Department and upon graduation had been made one of the few permanent staff officers of the Quartermaster General's Department.

De Lancey was primarily responsible for organising the movements and deployment of Wellington's army, having to issue numerous movement orders (based on Wellington's instructions) at very short notice to the various scattered British and allied forces prior to the battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June and then to organise the withdrawal of the entire army from Quatre Bras to the ridge of Mont St Jean at Waterloo in bad weather, over difficult terrain and narrow roads in the face of pursuing French cavalry.

De Lancey was greatly helped by fellow former student Captain James Shaw, the only surviving staff officer from the Quartermaster General's Department attached to the 3<sup>rd</sup> British Infantry Division after the battle of Quatre Bras. On 17 June Captain Shaw, having carried out a thorough reconnaissance of the area led his division along an alternate route to Waterloo leaving more room for the rest of the army to withdraw through and over the narrow defile and bridge at the village of Genappe.

Another RMC-trained staff officer of the Quartermaster General's Department who made a valuable contribution to the orderly and safe movement of Wellington's army through Genappe was Lieutenant Basil Jackson, who had excelled in his studies when a cadet in the Junior Department. Two days after carrying out

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<sup>17</sup> Haythornthwaite 1997 p. 64.

<sup>18</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 49.

his normal duties of helping to copy and distribute De Lancey's movement orders on 15 June, Lieutenant Jackson intervened in the bottleneck at Genappe on 17 June. On his own initiative (and single-handedly) Jackson acted as a military policeman, clearing the route and restoring order to the withdrawing army.

All three RMC-trained officers helped successfully manage that most difficult and dangerous of manoeuvres, the orderly and safe withdrawal of large bodies of men, horse and guns in the face of determined pursuit by the enemy. On the following day on the field of Waterloo both De Lancey and Shaw again made critical contributions to Wellington's victory.

It is a given that both the choice of battlefield and the deployment of his army on that battlefield were key factors in Wellington's victory at Waterloo, and it was De Lancey who carried out the deployment of the Anglo-allied army accurately in accordance with Wellington's orders, taking full advantage of the defensive qualities of the terrain and using wooden stakes to mark out the precise area required for each battalion, regiment and battery.

Another key factor once the fighting began was the innovative deployment by Shaw of the infantry battalions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division, once they had adopted square formation, in a chequerboard pattern that not only enabled each unit to provide supporting fire for its neighbour but also enabled the attacking French cavalry under Marshal Ney to be enfiladed, ensuring both the survival of Wellington's right flank and also the destruction of the bulk of the elite French cavalry corps.

Shaw also spotted a serious gap in Wellington's battered centre after the fall of La Haie Sainte around 6.15pm and having relayed this information to the Duke brought up all available allied troops he could find to plug the gap and prevent a late French breakthrough.

Finally mention must also be made of an excellent piece of staff work carried out by Jackson the year before in 1814 that would prove to be vital to the outcome of the battle of Waterloo. Jackson had been instructed to survey the road network of Belgium which he did extremely thoroughly. His report was later passed to the Prussian high command and its information enabled the Prussian Army defeated at Ligny on the same day as the battle of Quatre Bras to successfully withdraw along viable routes to Wavre on 17 June where it was close enough to be able to provide crucial support to Wellington the following day at Waterloo.

## OTHER STAFF DUTIES

Former student Lieutenant Colonel Henry Hardinge was given a particularly important staff appointment as Wellington's liaison officer attached to the Prussian Army during the Waterloo campaign, his duty being to keep Wellington in touch at all times with the plans and movements of the Prussian army. Hardinge was another RMC-trained officer who had excelled at his studies while a student in the Senior Department, having reached the 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction which meant that he had reached the highest level of competence in the French language available at the Royal Military College, as well as having learned German through the study of Prussian military manuals.

Hardinge's role in keeping Wellington apprised of his ally's intentions and maintaining communications between the two commanders was obviously vital allied success. Both Wellington and Blücher thought very highly of Hardinge's skills as a liaison officer as can be seen by the awards he received from both Generals after the battle of Waterloo and their personal attitudes towards him.

## AFTERMATH

Four RMC-trained staff officers were killed or died of their wounds during the Waterloo campaign and a further eight were wounded, many severely. These twelve casualties amounted to 23% of the total number of staff officer casualties sustained by the British army, several percentage points higher than the proportion of RMC-trained officers to their counterparts without a formal military education on Wellington's staff at the

beginning of the campaign. Nine RMC-trained staff officers received one of more awards for their service at Waterloo (see appendix 2).

No less than one third of the twenty-five former cadets and students on Wellington's staff that survived Waterloo would reach general officer rank or hold important state office. One would go on to hold multiple colonial governorships, three would become major generals, another three would achieve the rank of lieutenant general, one would become a full general and one would reach the highest possible military rank of field marshal.

## **PART TWO**

**FORMER STUDENTS, GENTLEMEN CADETS AND STAFF OF THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE  
WHO SERVED AS STAFF OFFICERS IN WELLINGTON'S ARMY WITH A SUMMARY OF THEIR  
MILITARY CAREERS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN**

### **Abbreviations**

**(w)=wounded during the Waterloo campaign**

**(sw)=severely wounded during the Waterloo campaign**

**(mw)=mortally wounded during the Waterloo campaign**

**(k)=killed during the Waterloo campaign**

**Regimental titles are the official versions in force in 1815.**

**Commission/Promotion dates are those given in the London Gazette.**

## ADCs AND BRIGADE MAJORS

### Headquarters, Commander-in-Chief Allied Army of the Netherlands

#### **Lieutenant Colonel John William Fremantle, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards**

(Alternative spelling: Freemantle)

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1803-1805

ADC to the Duke of Wellington 1815

*Only son of Colonel Stephen Fremantle, 39<sup>th</sup> (East Middlesex) Foot.<sup>19</sup> Formally admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (1<sup>st</sup> Establishment) on 17/5/1802<sup>20</sup> but apparently only actually joined the College in 1803 after leaving Harrow School.<sup>21</sup> Left the RMC on 23/5/1805 after completing the 3<sup>rd</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>22</sup> Studied at Lunenburg in Germany 1805.<sup>23</sup> Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 17/10/1805, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards.<sup>24</sup> Served in Hanover 1806; South America 1807 (as Extra ADC to General Whitelock where he volunteered to serve with the Rifle Corps and was taken prisoner<sup>25</sup>); the Peninsula January 1809-February 1810 (private secretary and Extra ADC to Lieutenant General Sir John Francis Cradock January-April 1809),<sup>26</sup> and again October 1810-June 1813 (Adjutant 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards 18/11/1809, officially ADC to Duke of Wellington November 1809-1812 but remained as Adjutant until late 1812<sup>27</sup>). Lieutenant and Captain 4/8/1810, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards.<sup>28</sup> ADC to Duke of Wellington October 1812<sup>29</sup>-November 1818.<sup>30</sup> Served in the Peninsula August 1813-February 1814 (Mentioned in Despatches for bringing Wellington's despatch announcing victory at the Battle of Vitoria, the captured Colours of the French 100<sup>th</sup> Ligne and Marshal Jourdain's baton to England after the battle).<sup>31</sup> Brevet Major 3/7/1813, Coldstream Guards.<sup>32</sup> Brought Wellington's despatches to England after at the Battle of Orthes and as a result promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel 21/3/1814, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards.<sup>33</sup>*

John Fremantle was one of two of the Duke of Wellington's ADCs<sup>34</sup> to have been educated at the Royal Military College and was in fact the third cadet to join the Junior Department when it opened in 1802. He obtained a commission in the Coldstream Guards without purchase five months after having left the College and continued his studies in Germany. Fremantle later served in Germany with the Hanover Expedition in 1805 and in South America in 1807 (where he was taken prisoner) as ADC to Lieutenant General John Whitelocke.

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<sup>19</sup> Glover 2012 p. 1, 4.

<sup>20</sup> RMC JDR 15/11/1803.

<sup>21</sup> Glover 2012 pp. 4-5.

<sup>22</sup> MSB RMC 21/10/1805 p. 317.

<sup>23</sup> Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 23; Glover 2012 p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> LG 19/10/1805; AL 1/1/1806; Glover 2012 p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/292.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/292.pdf) (accessed 24/10/2017); Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> Glover 2012 pp. xiii, 49fn.

<sup>28</sup> LG 31/7/1810; Glover 2012 pp. 62-64.

<sup>29</sup> Glover 2012 p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> Glover 2012 pp. 297-298.

<sup>31</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/292.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/292.pdf) (accessed 24/10/2017); See Glover 2012 pp. 142ff.

<sup>32</sup> LG 3/7/1813

<sup>33</sup> LG 22/3/1814. See also [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/292.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/292.pdf) (accessed 24/10/2017); Glover 2012 p. 172.

<sup>34</sup> Dalton p. 1.

Fremantle served in the Peninsula from 1809 to the end of the war in 1814, during which time he held a succession of staff appointments and was twice mentioned in despatches by Wellington, whose ADC he became in 1812 and who, following the battle of Vitoria gave Fremantle the honour of bringing back to England the captured regimental colours of the French 100<sup>th</sup> Line Regiment and Marshal Jourdain's baton along with Wellington's despatch announcing victory.

Fremantle remained on Wellington's personal staff throughout the Waterloo campaign and after. At the battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June 1815 he narrowly escaped becoming a casualty when he had his horse shot from under him.<sup>35</sup> Two days later at Waterloo Fremantle made possibly his most important contribution to victory when, looking for the lead elements of the much-anticipated Prussian Army at about 6.00pm, he found Steinmetz's 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade (the vanguard of Ziethen's 1<sup>st</sup> Corps).

Fremantle spoke to two Prussian generals at the head of the column (probably Steinmetz and Ziethen<sup>36</sup>) and informed them of Wellington's request for 3000 Prussian reinforcements to replace allied losses on the Duke's left flank. The Prussian response was it was not possible to detach forces from the main army (probably because this would mean Prussian troops fighting under foreign command) but that the entire Prussian army would soon be arriving to help their ally.<sup>37</sup>

This was not quite the response either Fremantle or Wellington had been expecting, but having found the Prussians Fremantle was at least able to provide guidance to the belated Prussian advance along the most suitable route through difficult terrain towards the hamlet of Smohain, in order to relieve the pressure on Wellington's weakened left flank as he withdrew troops to his centre to face Napoleon's final assault against the British and allied forces defending the ridge of Mont St Jean.<sup>38</sup>

Less momentous an achievement but just as important to those involved was Fremantle's intervention to stop a poorly-sited battery of Prussian artillery causing casualties on allied forces (the 2<sup>nd</sup> Netherlands Division).<sup>39</sup>

Fremantle later remarked on the high casualty rate amongst Wellington's staff officers (*'Havoc has been made among our staff'*<sup>40</sup>) at Waterloo and was one of many British participants at the battle who commented on the personal bravery of the Duke of Wellington, who (unlike Napoleon) constantly risked his life as he moved between regiments in the frontline, providing encouragement, giving orders and even sometimes briefly taking personal command of a unit in an emergency.<sup>41</sup>

Fremantle was made a Companion of the Military Order of the Bath and a Knight of the (Bavarian) Order of Maximilian Joseph for his services during the Peninsula and Waterloo campaigns.<sup>42</sup> He remained ADC to the Duke of Wellington until 1818 after which he served in Jamaica as Deputy Adjutant General from 1819 to 1821. Fremantle was again appointed ADC to Wellington when the latter became Commander-in-Chief of the Army in 1827. In 1830 Fremantle was promoted to Brevet Colonel and appointed ADC to King William IV.<sup>43</sup> In 1837 he became ADC to Queen Victoria.<sup>44</sup> Fremantle was promoted to Major General in 1841 and retired in 1843. He died in 1845.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> TWA VI p. 205.

<sup>36</sup> Fremantle said he spoke to Steinmetz and Bülow but the latter seems unlikely, as commanding the Prussian IV Corps he was currently involved in the attack on Plancenoit and far away from the lead elements of I Corps.

<sup>37</sup> Hussey Vol 2 pp. 203-204.

<sup>38</sup> Glover 2012 p. 212.

<sup>39</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 182.

<sup>40</sup> TWA VI p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> TWA VI pp. 1-2, 205

<sup>42</sup> Booth pp. 252, 257. See Glover 2012 pp. 214, 217 for link between Fremantle's award of the CB and his service at Orthès.

<sup>43</sup> LG 23/7/1830.

<sup>44</sup> AL 1937.

<sup>45</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 264.



**Captain Lord Arthur Moyses William Hill (half pay), 10<sup>th</sup> (or The Prince of Wales's Own Royal) Regiment of Light Dragoons (Hussars)**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1808-1809

Extra ADC to the Duke of Wellington 1815

*Second son of Arthur Hill, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Downshire, Earl of Hillsborough.<sup>46</sup> Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (3<sup>rd</sup> Establishment/B Company) on 2/7/1805 aged 13 years and seven months.<sup>47</sup> Left the RMC on 31/1/1808 after having reached the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>48</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the RMC, Cornet without purchase 1/8/1809, 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant by purchase 21/7/1810 (vice Jennenys retired), 24<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>50</sup> Lieutenant 28/7/1810 (vice Cavendish exchanged), 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>51</sup> Served in the Peninsula February-September 1813. Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his service at the Battle of Vitoria.<sup>52</sup> Captain of a Troop without purchase 25/8/1813, 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>53</sup>*

A member of the aristocracy, Arthur Hill spent two and half years as a cadet in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College Hill. He was successful in completing the 4th Class of Instruction, the required standard to be recommended for a commission. He commissioned into the 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons in 1809 (the regiment had been designated as Hussars in 1806<sup>54</sup>). Hill subsequently served in the Peninsula with his regiment in 1813 and fought in the battle of Vitoria on 21 July, after which he was promoted to Captain and put in command of a cavalry troop.

Hill later obtained a staff appointment and in 1815 was one of two RMC-trained officers on Wellington's personal staff. Unlike Fremantle (see above), who was one of Wellington's five authorised ADCs, Hill was one of the Duke's 'extra' ADCs<sup>55</sup> provided for out of the Duke's personal finances. Interestingly Hill provides indirect confirmation that Wellington's cavalry commander Lord Uxbridge went against the Duke's direct instructions not to engage pursuing French cavalry during the withdrawal of the Anglo-allied army from Quatre Bras to Waterloo on 17 June, adding to the reputation British cavalry had for rashness and impetuosity.

According to Lieutenant Ingilby, an officer of the Royal Horse Artillery, Hill, who as one of Wellington's trusted ADCs would obviously be aware of the Duke's intentions told him (Ingilby) that Uxbridge had been ordered not to risk the allied cavalry corps unsupported in a fight with pursuing French cavalry,<sup>56</sup> who with infantry and artillery support might be able to isolate and destroy their opponents. Wellington instead wanted Uxbridge to use some of his troops as a cavalry screen to protect the rear of the rest of the Anglo-allied army as it withdrew to Waterloo.<sup>57</sup> In the event Uxbridge disobeyed orders and fought a cavalry action at Genappe in which both the British cavalry and their French counterparts suffered significant casualties, one British regiment refused to charge and a number RMC-trained cavalry officers distinguished themselves.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Dalton p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> MSB RMC 21/10/1805 p. 314.

<sup>48</sup> MSB RMC 30/4/1810 p. 176.

<sup>49</sup> LG 29/7/1809.

<sup>50</sup> LG 17/7/1810.

<sup>51</sup> LG 24/7/1810.

<sup>52</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/376.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/376.pdf) (accessed 26/10/2017).

<sup>53</sup> LG 31/8/1813.

<sup>54</sup> Brereton p. 49.

<sup>55</sup> Dalton p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Siborne, H T p. 195.

<sup>57</sup> Hussey Vol 2 pp. 27-28.

<sup>58</sup> Some of the exploits of RMC-trained regimental officers during the Waterloo campaign will be covered in Morton, 'The Impact of Royal Military College officers on Waterloo: Part Two-Regimental Officers (forthcoming).

According to fellow former cadet Lieutenant Basil Jackson of the Quartermaster General's Department Hill, a portly young man, had been nicknamed 'Fat Hill' while a cadet at the Royal Military College. In his memoirs Jackson made a further unkind comment about Hill's large size (allegedly he was the fattest young man in the British Army), suggesting that at Waterloo on 18 June he only avoided being hit by enemy fire by being positioned behind the Duke of Wellington when stationed in an exposed position on the top of the ridge of Mount St Jean.

Nevertheless, irrespective of his physical appearance Lord Arthur Hill obviously had some more positive qualities relevant to his profession that had encouraged Wellington see him as suitable material for a staff appointment and appoint him as an ADC. It is worth noting in particular that when during the battle Wellington ordered most of his personal staff to take cover behind the brow of the Mont St Jean ridge to avoid attracting attention from French musketry during renewed attacks against La Haie Sainte in the mid-afternoon, the one ADC the Duke chose to keep by his side in case he needed to send an urgent message or order was one of his RMC-trained officers, namely Lord Arthur Hill.<sup>59</sup>

Less than a month after Waterloo Hill was promoted to Brevet Major. He continued to rise through the ranks to become a Major General in 1841 and a Lieutenant General in 1854. From 1817 until 1836 Hill was also MP for County Down. He died in 1860.<sup>60</sup>

#### Headquarters, 1st Cavalry Brigade

##### **Lieutenant Henry Somerset, 18<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons (Hussars)**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1808-1810

ADC to Major General Lord Edward Somerset 1815

*Eldest son of Major General Lord Charles Somerset.<sup>61</sup> Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (2<sup>nd</sup> Establishment/C Company) on 2/2/1808 aged 13 years and two months.<sup>62</sup> Left the RMC on 14/12/1810.<sup>63</sup> Gentleman, Cornet without purchase 10/12/1811 (vice Webster promoted), 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>64</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 5/1/1813, 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>65</sup> Served in the Peninsula February 1813-April 1814 (ADC to General Lord Edward Somerset July 1813-April 1814). Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his services at the Battles of Vitoria, Orthes and Toulouse.<sup>66</sup> Lieutenant 12/11/1814 (vice Smith retired), 18<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>67</sup>*

Another member of the aristocracy, Henry Somerset spent nearly three years as a cadet in the Junior Department, leaving at the end of 1810. He later obtained a commission in the 10<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons (restyled Hussars in 1806) and served in the Peninsular, during which time he acted as ADC to his uncle Major General Lord Edward Somerset. Later transferring to the 18<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons (a Hussar regiment from 1807<sup>68</sup>) Somerset was once again appointed ADC to his uncle during the Waterloo campaign when Lord Somerset was in command of the British 1<sup>st</sup> (Household) Cavalry Brigade.

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<sup>59</sup> Jackson p. 33.

<sup>60</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 446.

<sup>61</sup> Dalton p. 22.

<sup>62</sup> MSB RMC 12/4/1808 p. 315.

<sup>63</sup> MSB RMC 9/2/1811 p.314.

<sup>64</sup> LG 7/12/1811.

<sup>65</sup> LG 2/1/1813.

<sup>66</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/724.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/724.pdf) (accessed 27/10/2017).

<sup>67</sup> LG 22/11/1814.

<sup>68</sup> Brereton p. 53.

As his uncle's only ADC<sup>69</sup> Henry Somerset would have borne the main responsibility for ensuring the speedy and accurate transmission of Lord Somerset's orders to the regiments of the Household Cavalry Brigade. At Waterloo he would have been involved in co-ordinating the movements of the regiments of his uncle's brigade that resulted in the great cavalry charge by the Household Cavalry that routed the French 1<sup>st</sup> Cuirassier Brigade protecting the left flank of D'Erlons' I Corps, as the latter attacked Wellington's forces deployed on the left of his line between La Haie Sainte and Papelotte in the early afternoon.

The spectacular and very effective counterattack launched by the British heavy cavalry of the Household and Union Brigades against D'Erlons' infantry and supporting cavalry, despite later failing to rally and suffering from a French cavalry counterattack, resulted in the complete defeat of what was probably Napoleon's best chance of winning the battle of Waterloo, with some French infantry managing to breach the hedgerows along the top of the Mont St Jean ridge before being repulsed.

Three years after Waterloo Somerset was posted to the Cape of Good Hope as ADC to his father and Governor of the Cape Lord Charles Somerset in 1818. He fought in the Xhosa Wars where he raised the Cape Corps Cavalry. Somerset was made a Knight of Hanover in 1834. He defeated the Xhosa in 1846 and following the 8<sup>th</sup> Xhosa War in 1853 was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. In 1857 Somerset reached the rank of Lieutenant General while holding the post of Commander in Chief of the Bombay Army (1855-1860). He died in 1862.<sup>70</sup>

#### Headquarters, 4<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade

#### **Captain William M Armstrong, 19<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1806-1808

ADC to Major General Sir John Vandeleur 1815

*Son of the late Major Armstrong, 88<sup>th</sup> Foot. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (1<sup>st</sup> Establishment/A Company) on 5/8/1806 aged 13 years and two months.<sup>71</sup> Left the RMC on 31/1/1808 after having reached the 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>72</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the RMC, Cornet without purchase 23/5/1809 (vice Quintin promoted 23<sup>rd</sup> Light Dragoons), 19<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>73</sup> Lieutenant by purchase 16/6/1810 (vice Maxwell retired), 19<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>74</sup> Served in the Peninsula September 1811-April 1814 (ADC to Major General Vandeleur). Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his services at the Battles of Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Vitoria, Nivelle and Nive.<sup>75</sup> Captain of a Troop by purchase 4/8/1814 (vice Anderson promoted), 19<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>76</sup>*

William Armstrong was one of only seven former cadets serving in the Waterloo campaign whose final Class of Instruction is known to have progressed above the 4<sup>th</sup> Class, in his case graduating from the 5<sup>th</sup> Class in 1808. Clearly a very able cadet, Armstrong commissioned into the 19<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons with a college recommendation in May 1809. He served in the Peninsula from 1811-1814 as ADC to Major General Sir John Vandeleur. At the Battle of the Nive in December 1813 Armstrong had a narrow escape when his horse was killed from under him near Bayonne.<sup>77</sup> Following the end of the Peninsula War Armstrong was promoted to Captain and given command of a cavalry troop.

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<sup>69</sup> Dalton p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2015 pp. 299-300; *et al.*

<sup>71</sup> MSB RMC 13/10/1806 p. 103; cf JDR 30/3/1805, 15/6/1805.

<sup>72</sup> MSB RMC 30/4/1810 p. 176.

<sup>73</sup> LG 20/4/1809.

<sup>74</sup> LG 12/6/1810.

<sup>75</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/020.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/020.pdf) (accessed 30/10/2017).

<sup>76</sup> LG 9/8/1814.

<sup>77</sup> Bamford 2015 pp. 122-123.

During the Waterloo campaign Armstrong was again ADC<sup>78</sup> to Major General Vandeleur, now commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> British Cavalry Brigade that was deployed to on the left flank of Wellington's army along the Ohain road. As Major General Vandeleur's only ADC Armstrong would have been primarily responsible for the transmission of the general's orders to the light cavalry regiments of the brigade as they moved up across difficult terrain in support of the Union Brigade that had been repulsed and pursued by French lancers after charging too far towards the French 'Grand Battery' of artillery.<sup>79</sup>

Once the brigade was in position Armstrong would have accompanied his general in the various charges made by Vandeleur's light cavalry that helped extricate the Union Brigade from its 'ambush' by enemy lancers and save the heavy cavalry from destruction. Later in the day after the defeat of the French Imperial Guard the 4<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade took part in the allied general advance and fought against French rear guards covering the retreat/rout of Napoleon's army.

A few years after Waterloo Armstrong was placed on half pay as a Captain in the Royal African Corps in 1819. He was still on the half pay list in 1830.<sup>80</sup>

### Headquarters, 6<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade

#### **Lieutenant Charles Augustus Fitzroy, Royal Horse Guards**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow/Sandhurst 1811-1812

Extra ADC to Major General Sir Hussey Vivian 1815

*Eldest son of Lieutenant General Lord Charles Fitzroy. Educated at Harrow School. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (2<sup>nd</sup> Establishment/A Company) on 5/2/1811 aged 14 years and eight months.<sup>81</sup> Gentleman, Cornet by purchase 6/6/1812 (vice Riddlesden promoted), Royal Horse Guards.<sup>82</sup> Left the RMC 14/7/1812.<sup>83</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 16/10/1812, Royal Horse Guards (Blue).<sup>84</sup> Served in the Peninsula November 1812-September 1813. Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his services at the Battle of Vitoria.<sup>85</sup>*

Descended from the Dukes of Grafton Charles Fitzroy trained for just over seventeen months at the Royal Military College, leaving in July 1812 one month after obtaining a commission in the Royal Horse Guards. Three months later he was promoted to Lieutenant after which Fitzroy was posted to the Peninsula where he served for nearly a year, fighting with his regiment at the battle of Vitoria that essentially won the Peninsula War for Wellington.

Fitzroy later obtained a staff appointment and served as an extra ADC<sup>86</sup> to Major General Vivian, General officer Commanding 6<sup>th</sup> British Cavalry Brigade in 1815. At Waterloo the 6<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade was deployed on the extreme left of Wellington's army to prevent any attempt by the French to outflank the eastern end of the Mont St Jean ridge, and ordered to remain in position until sufficient Prussian reinforcements had arrived to free the brigade for use elsewhere. Understandably this led to some frustration on the part of Major General Vivian and his officers, particularly when at about 2pm they witnessed the massive French infantry attack by D'Erlons' I Corps on their right but were forbidden by their orders to intervene.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Dalton p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> See Vandeleur's memorandum published in Siborne, H T pp. 105-106.

<sup>80</sup> Dalton p. 17.

<sup>81</sup> MSB RMC 9/2/1811 p. 312.

<sup>82</sup> LG 2/6/1812 (Army Lists September 1812 give the date as 28/5/1812).

<sup>83</sup> MSB RMC 4/4/1812 p. 147.

<sup>84</sup> LG 17/10/1812.

<sup>85</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/277.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/277.pdf) (accessed 30/10/2017).

<sup>86</sup> Dalton p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> TWA VI pp. 102-103.

Positioned out on the extremity of Wellington's left flank also made it difficult to know what was happening elsewhere on the battlefield. Vivian together with Fitzroy and his fellow staff officers rode forward in the afternoon to reconnoitre the situation amidst the confusion of battle as the fighting increased in intensity. An account by Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable Henry Murray, Commanding Officer of the 18<sup>th</sup> Hussars (one of the regiments of the 6<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade) graphically described the smoke and noise of battle that made visibility and communication very difficult for Vivian and his ADCs as they tried to discern the progress of the battle.<sup>88</sup>

In the evening after Prussian troops had begun arriving in significant numbers the 6<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade was moved to the centre of Wellington's line to provide support against the last French attacks led by the Imperial Guard. Once the French army began to break following the defeat of this final attack the brigade advanced with the rest of the Anglo-allied army and fought against French cavalry rear guards.

Five years after Waterloo Fitzroy was promoted to Captain in 1820. In 1825 he appointed Deputy Adjutant General of the Cape of Good Hope after having been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. He was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath prior to being made Governor of Prince Edward Island (1837-1841). Fitzroy was then made Governor of the Leeward Islands until 1845 when he became Governor of New South Wales, after which he was appointed Governor of Van Diemen's Land, South Australia and Victoria (1853-1855). Fitzroy died in 1858.<sup>89</sup>

#### Headquarters, 1<sup>st</sup> Corps

#### **Captain Viscount Augustus Frederick Bury, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

(aka Frederick Augustus Keppel; inherited his title in 1804<sup>90</sup>).

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1811

Extra ADC to Prince of Orange 1815

*Eldest son of William Charles, fourth Earl of Albermarle.<sup>91</sup> Admitted to the Junior Department (3rd Establishment/B Company) of the RMC on 5/3/1811 aged 16 years and eleven months.<sup>92</sup> Ensign 4/4/1811 (vice Eyre, killed in action), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>93</sup> Left the RMC 24/12/1811 after completing the 1<sup>st</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>94</sup> Served in the Peninsula September 1812-April 1814.<sup>95</sup> Lieutenant and Captain without purchase 12/1/1814 (vice Saltoun), 1st Battalion 1st Foot Guards.<sup>96</sup> Served in the Netherlands in 1814 and present at the Siege of Bergen op Zoom in March of that year.<sup>97</sup>*

The son of an earl, Augustus Bury was one of nine former cadets serving in the Waterloo campaign to leave the RMC after only completing the 1<sup>st</sup> Class of Instruction. One month after becoming a cadet he obtained an Ensign's commission in the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards. He spent a further nine months in the Junior Department, completing the first class of instruction before leaving the College in December 1811 and a month later obtaining a captain's commission in the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards. After promotion to Lieutenant and Captain in January 1812 Bury served in the Peninsula until the end of that war and later in the Netherlands.

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<sup>88</sup> TWA IV pp. 67-68

<sup>89</sup> Dalton p. 28; *et al.*

<sup>90</sup> TWA I p. 250.

<sup>91</sup> Dalton p. 12.

<sup>92</sup> RMC JDR 5/3/1811.

<sup>93</sup> LG 6/4/1811; AL January 1813. The RMC Cadet register appears to erroneously show him as having commissioned into the Coldstream Guards on 4/4/1811.

<sup>94</sup> MSB RMC 24/3/1812 p. 6.

<sup>95</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/106.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/106.pdf) (accessed 30/10/2017).

<sup>96</sup> LG 22/1/1814

<sup>97</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/106.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/106.pdf) (accessed 30/10/2017).



During the Waterloo campaign Bury was one of six ADCs<sup>98</sup> on the staff of the Prince of Orange who commanded the allied 1<sup>st</sup> Corps. He was the only officer on the Prince's staff to have been educated at the Royal Military College. All of the Prince's ADCs were British and from fairly aristocratic backgrounds (five were titled and one was the son of a baronet),<sup>99</sup> presumably to reflect the rank and importance of their commander, heir apparent to the Kingdom of the Netherlands.<sup>100</sup>

At the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo Bury, along with the rest of the Prince's staff would have been responsible for co-ordinating the movements of the various divisions under the Prince's command and ensuring that the chain of communication between those formations and his headquarters operated accurately and efficiently. The 1<sup>st</sup> Corps included the British 1<sup>st</sup> (Guards) and 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Divisions and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Netherlands Infantry Divisions together with supporting artillery. The Netherlands Cavalry Division ceased being part of the Prince's command at the beginning of the battle of Waterloo when he asked that it become part of the Cavalry Corps under the Earl of Uxbridge.

Five years after Waterloo Bury was elected MP for Arundel in 1820, a seat that he held until 1826. He was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of Norfolk in 1845. Bury succeeded his father to become the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Albermarle in 1849 and died two years later in 1851.<sup>101</sup>

#### Headquarters, 1<sup>st</sup> British (Guards) Infantry Division

##### **Captain George Disbrowe, 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

(Alternative spellings: Desbrowe/Desborough)

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1807-1809

ADC to Major General Sir George Cooke 1815

*Second son of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Disbrowe, Royal Staffordshire Militia. Admitted to the Junior Department (3rd Establishment/ A Company) on 3/2/1807 aged 13 years and one month.<sup>102</sup> Left the RMC 31/1/1808 after completing the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>103</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the RMC, Ensign without purchase 4/3/1809 (vice Hurst resigned), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards<sup>104</sup>. Served in the Peninsula March 1810-June 1813 (ADC to Major General Stewart September 1810-February 1811).<sup>105</sup> Lieutenant and Captain by purchase 8/4/1813 (vice Packe), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>106</sup> Served in the Netherlands 1814-1815 (wounded at Bergen-op-Zoom 8/3/1814).<sup>107</sup>*

An extremely successful cadet, George Disbrowe reached the required standard for a commission, the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction, in under a year. He commissioned direct from the Junior Department of the Royal Military College into the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards with a college recommendation in March 1809. He served in the Peninsula War just over three years, for six months of which time he held a staff appointment as ADC to Major General Stewart. Disbrowe was promoted to Lieutenant and Captain two months before returning from the Peninsula in June 1813. He later served in the Netherlands as ADC to Major General Sir George Cooke from 1813 to 1815. Disbrowe was wounded at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1814.

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<sup>98</sup> Dalton p. 1.

<sup>99</sup> Dalton p. 1.

<sup>100</sup> Haythornthwaite 2015 p. 158.

<sup>101</sup> Dalton p. 12; *et al.*

<sup>102</sup> RMC JDR 20/12/1806, 3/2/1807.

<sup>103</sup> MSB RMC 30/4/1810 p. 176.

<sup>104</sup> LG 28/2/1809

<sup>105</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/220.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/220.pdf) (accessed 31/10/2017).

<sup>106</sup> LG 10/4/1813.

<sup>107</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/220.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/220.pdf) (accessed 31/10/2017); Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 258.

During the Waterloo campaign Disbrowe and his fellow former cadet Augustus Cuyler (see below) were the two ADCs<sup>108</sup> on the staff of Major General Cooke who commanded 1<sup>st</sup> British Infantry (Guards) Division. On the morning of 16 June 1815 after the 1<sup>st</sup> Division had marched from Enghien to Braine-le-Comte in response to Wellington's orders, Major General Cooke sent Disbrowe to the headquarters of the Prince of Orange, his Corps Commander for further instructions but to no avail, as the Prince had already departed for Quatre Bras and had left no orders for his divisional commander.<sup>109</sup>

As one of Cooke's ADCs Disbrowe would have accompanied the general when, in the absence of any orders from his superior, Cooke on his own initiative rode south from Braine-le-Comte to make a reconnaissance and gather intelligence regarding the confused situation. As a result, he decided to continue the march to Nivelles<sup>110</sup> and then after receiving orders from a 1<sup>st</sup> Corps staff officer there advanced to Quatre Bras shortly after 5.00 pm,<sup>111</sup> providing much needed reinforcements to Wellington that took part in the British counterattack later in the day.<sup>112</sup>

Two days later at Waterloo the Guards Division was deployed on the right of Wellington's line close to Hougomont. Disbrowe would along with the other staff officers of the Guards Division have been heavily involved in maintaining communications between its two infantry brigades and ensuring Cooke's orders and messages were relayed to them accurately and promptly. The 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade was heavily involved in the defeat of the French Imperial Guard at about 7.30pm while the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade helped defend Hougomont throughout the day from numerous enemy attacks and ensured that the vital strongpoint never fell into enemy hands.

At about 4.00 pm after Napoleon's 'Grand Battery' had renewed its bombardment of Wellington's lines Major General Cooke was severely wounded in his left arm (it later had to be amputated) by round shot. Disbrowe was one of the officers standing with Cooke when the incident took place and helped take the wounded general to the rear for surgery.<sup>113</sup>

Disbrowe was promoted to Brevet Major in 1817 two years after Waterloo and to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel in 1821. He was promoted to Captain and Lieutenant Colonel in the Grenadier Guards (formerly 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards) in 1828 and left the army in 1834. A year later Disbrowe was made a Knight of Hanover in 1835. He died in 1876.<sup>114</sup>

### **Ensign Augustus Cuyler, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1811-1812

Extra ADC to Major General Sir George Cooke 1815

*Third son of General Cornelius Cuyler, late 69<sup>th</sup> Foot. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (2<sup>nd</sup> Establishment/ A Company) on 6/8/1811 aged 14 years and eleven months.<sup>115</sup> Left the RMC 8/6/1812 after completing the 3<sup>rd</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>116</sup> Gentleman, Ensign 9/6/1812 (vice Ellis), 69<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>117</sup> Ensign without purchase 15/10/1812 (vice Greville promoted), 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards.<sup>118</sup>*

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<sup>108</sup> Dalton p. 3.

<sup>109</sup> Franklin (1) p. 56.

<sup>110</sup> Franklin (1) pp. 56.

<sup>111</sup> Franklin (1) pp. 75-76.

<sup>112</sup> Franklin (1) pp. 83-83.

<sup>113</sup> TWA I pp. 3-4

<sup>114</sup> Bromely & Bromley 2012 p. 258; *et al.* Curiously Disbrowe's memorial quoted in Bromley & Bromley states he was wounded at Waterloo. This cannot be corroborated by either official or personal documentation.

<sup>115</sup> RMC CR.

<sup>116</sup> MSB RMC 13/7/1812 p. 74.

<sup>117</sup> LG 13/6/1812

<sup>118</sup> LG 17/10/1812

Augustus Cuyler was a cadet in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College for ten months. He reached the 3rd Class of Instruction before leaving in June 1812 to take up an Ensign's commission in the 69th Foot, transferring to the Coldstream Guards a few months later. During the Waterloo campaign Cuyler held a staff appointment as one of the two ADCs on the staff of Major General Sir George Cooke of the 1<sup>st</sup> British Infantry (Guards) Division.<sup>119</sup>

On the morning of 16 June 1815 prior to the battle of Quatre Bras Cuyler would have accompanied his fellow ADC Captain Disbrowe and Major General Cooke on the latter's reconnaissance patrol to gather intelligence concerning the whereabouts of friendly and enemy troop movements (see above). Both Disbrowe and Cuyler would have taken part in the battle itself constantly moving between the two infantry brigades of the Guards Division and Cooke to ensure the maintenance of communications during the successful counterattack launched against French forces trying to take the all-important crossroads.

At Waterloo two days later Cuyler would have carried out his expected duties as an ADC, carrying his general's orders to the four battalions of the Guards Division and helping to maintain contact between the battalions of the division and their commanding officer during the fighting on Wellington's right flank, including the multiple French attacks on Hougoumont throughout the day, Ney's massed cavalry charges (particularly dangerous for lone British staff officers riding across the battlefield trying to deliver messages) in the afternoon and the attack of the Imperial Guard at the climax of the battle in the evening.

Cuyler was promoted to Lieutenant and Captain in the Coldstream Guards two years after Waterloo in 1817 and then to Captain and Lieutenant Colonel in 1826. He held the post of Brigade Major in Portugal and later became Military Secretary in Ireland. Cuyler became Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in Dublin in 1836. He died in 1837.<sup>120</sup>

#### Headquarters, 1<sup>st</sup> British (Guards) Infantry Brigade

##### **Captain James Gunthorpe, 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1804-1805

Brigade Major to Major General Peregrine Maitland 1815

*Second son of William Gunthorpe. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (3<sup>rd</sup> Establishment/B Company) on 7/2/1804 aged 15 years and seven months.<sup>121</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the RMC, Ensign without purchase 26/9/1805 (vice Raban promoted Major General Champagne's Regiment), 24<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>122</sup> Ensign without purchase 26/12/1805 (vice Thompson resigned), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>123</sup> Left the RMC 22/1/1806 after completing the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>124</sup> Served in the Peninsula October 1808-January 1809 and April 1811-April 1814. Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his services at the Battles of Coruna, Nivelle, and Nive.<sup>125</sup> Lieutenant and Captain by purchase 7/11/1811 (vice Cook), 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>126</sup> Adjutant 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards 1811-1821.<sup>127</sup>*

James Gunthorpe spent two years as a cadet in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College, leaving in January 1806 having reached the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction, the required standard to be considered for a commission. He commissioned into the 24<sup>th</sup> Foot with a college recommendation some months before leaving the College but soon transferred into the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards in December 1805. Gunthorpe went on to

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<sup>119</sup> Dalton p. 3.

<sup>120</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 227-228; *et al.*

<sup>121</sup> MSB RMC 15/6/1804 p. 185.

<sup>122</sup> LG 28/9/1805

<sup>123</sup> LG 28/12/1805

<sup>124</sup> MSB RMC 8/2/1806 p. 8.

<sup>125</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/338.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/338.pdf) (accessed 31/10/2017).

<sup>126</sup> LG 9/11/1811

<sup>127</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 398-399



serve twice in the Peninsula War for a total of three years and four months, and in 1811, the first year of his second tour of duty there he was made Adjutant to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards and promoted to Lieutenant and Captain.

In 1815 Gunthorpe held a staff appointment as Brigade Major<sup>128</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> British Infantry Brigade under the command of Major General Maitland. During the Waterloo campaign Gunthorpe was responsible for the day to day staff duties concerning the brigade, including the communication of orders from the headquarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> British Infantry Division to his brigade and its battalions and providing accurate strength returns of the battalions of the brigade both before and after the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo

The ability of Gunthorpe on the battlefield to help ensure the successful and accurate transmission of orders from divisional headquarters to his brigade commander General Maitland and from Maitland to the two battalions of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards that made up the brigade would have been crucial at two key points in the battle of Waterloo.

Firstly the massed French cavalry attack launched by Ney at about 4pm when along with other infantry battalions on Wellington's right flank the Guards battalions would have had to form square quickly and efficiently to prevent themselves from being overrun (Gunthorpe sheltered with General Maitland inside the square of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards<sup>129</sup>); and secondly the attack by Napoleon's Imperial Guard at 8.00pm that required both battalions to rise as one from lying prone behind the crest of the Mont St Jean ridge and deliver disciplined and devastating volley fire into the enemy whose subsequent repulse signalled the end of the battle and defeat for the French.

Gunthorpe was promoted to Brevet Major for his services at Waterloo.<sup>130</sup> He remained Brigade Major to 1<sup>st</sup> Guards Brigade during the occupation of France 1815-1818.<sup>131</sup> In 1821 he was promoted to Captain and Lieutenant Colonel in the Grenadier Guards (formerly 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards). Gunthorpe retired from the army in 1833. He died in 1853.<sup>132</sup>

#### Headquarters, 2nd British (Guards) Infantry Brigade

##### **Captain Henry Dumaresq (sw), 9<sup>th</sup> (East Norfolk) Foot**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1805-1808

ADC to Major General Sir John Byng 1815

*Eldest son of the late Lieutenant Colonel John Dumaresq, 8<sup>th</sup> Reserve Battalion. Admitted to the Junior Department (1<sup>st</sup> Establishment/ B Company) of the RMC on 7/6/1805 aged 13 years and five months.<sup>133</sup> Left the RMC 2/2/1808 after completing the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of instruction.<sup>134</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 9/8/1808, 9<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>135</sup> Served in the Peninsula August 1808-June 1809, November 1810-January 1813 (wounded at Villa Muriel 25/10/1812), December 1813-April 1814 (Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General).<sup>136</sup> Captain of a*

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<sup>128</sup> Dalton p. 5.

<sup>129</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 173.

<sup>130</sup> Booth p. 251.

<sup>131</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 256.

<sup>132</sup> Dalton p. 25; Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 398-399.

<sup>133</sup> RMC JDR 30/3/1805, 14/6/1805, 1/7/1805.

<sup>134</sup> MSB RMC 12/4/1808 p. 311.

<sup>135</sup> LG 9/8/1808

<sup>136</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/238.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/238.pdf) (accessed 31/10/2017); cf Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 277-278.

*Company 13/2/1813 (vice Fraser appointed to 93<sup>rd</sup> Foot), 3<sup>rd</sup> Garrison Battalion.<sup>137</sup> Captain of a Company 21/10/1813 (exchanged with Captain H Wellman), 9<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>138</sup>*

As a cadet in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College Henry Dumaesq reached the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction and commissioned into the 9<sup>th</sup> Foot in 1808. He fought in the Peninsula War from 1808 to 1814 during which time Dumaesq was wounded at Villa Muriel on 25 October 1812. A few months later he was promoted to Captain and given command of an infantry company in the 93<sup>rd</sup> Foot in February 1813. He exchanged back into his old regiment the 9<sup>th</sup> Foot eight months later. During the last few months of the war Dumaesq was given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.

During the Waterloo campaign Dumaesq was the sole ADC on the staff of Major General Sir John Byng who commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> British Infantry (Guards) Brigade.<sup>139</sup> The brigade was present at both Quatre Bras and Waterloo, but it was at the latter battle during which the brigade was committed to defending the strongpoint of Hougomont on the end of Wellington's right flank that Byng's RMC-trained ADC made his mark and became renowned as one of the heroes of the battle of Waterloo.

Around 1.30pm the second attack against Hougomont, this time against the west side of the building in an attempt to force the North Gate, was defeated and driven back by three companies of Coldstream Guards commanded by under Captain Daniel Mackinnon. The Guardsmen then came under heavy fire from French troops in the adjacent woods and the situation became very confused. General Byng desperately needed to know what was happening and sent Dumaesq to find out. Dumaesq soon saw that Mackinnon and his men were in danger of being overwhelmed by the enemy and in urgent need of support.<sup>140</sup>

Dumaesq raced back to his commander and apprised him of the urgency of the situation. After sending Dumaesq to pass the information on to Wellington, Byng ordered the rest of the battalion bar two companies into the fight to reinforce Mackinnon's men. As the fighting in the woods intensified Dumaesq was once more sent to find out what was happening and discovered that the French had at last been driven from their positions. While observing the situation he was severely wounded by being shot through the lungs by French musket fire (the musket ball was never extracted<sup>141</sup>). Without informing General Byng of his wound, Dumaesq rode back up the ridge, running the gauntlet of French musketry and artillery fire to deliver the vital information direct to Wellington that the French attack had been repulsed, before falling from his horse exhausted from his exertions and wounds.<sup>142</sup>

Wellington himself said that holding Hougomont was the key to victory<sup>143</sup> and being kept informed of the state of the garrison, whether that concerned its ability or otherwise to resist a particular assault, its need for reinforcements or ammunition supplies, or other vital factors enabled him to take any necessary steps to ensure the strongpoint did not fall. The Duke had sufficiently high regard for Dumaesq's contributions to the holding of Hougomont that he put the seriously wounded officer in the care of his personal surgeon.<sup>144</sup>

Dumaesq was promoted to Brevet Major for his services during the Waterloo campaign.<sup>145</sup> Two years after the battle he was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel. Dumaesq was appointed Military Secretary to Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Darling on Mauritius from 1818 to 1824. When Sir Ralph became Governor of

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<sup>137</sup> LG 9/2/1813.

<sup>138</sup> LG 20/11/1813

<sup>139</sup> Dalton p. 4.

<sup>140</sup> Burnham & McGuigan pp. 141.

<sup>141</sup> Dalton p. 20.

<sup>142</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 278; TWA I pp. 4; TWA IV p. 144; Burnham & McGuigan pp. 142.

<sup>143</sup> Paget & Saunders p. 3.

<sup>144</sup> TWA I p. 231

<sup>145</sup> Booth p. 251

New South Wales in 1825 Dumaresq became his ADC.<sup>146</sup> Dumaresq retired from the army in 1834 and became Commissioner (manager) of the Australian Agricultural Company. Dumaresq died in 1838 due to the long-term effect of his wounds sustained at Waterloo.<sup>147</sup>

### Headquarters, 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps

#### **Major Chatham Horace Churchill, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1805-1807

ADC to Lieutenant General Lord Rowland Hill 1815

*Only son of Lieutenant Colonel Horatio Churchill, 1<sup>st</sup> Horse Grenadier Guards. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (2<sup>nd</sup> Establishment/C Company) on 1/10/1805 aged 14 years and seven months.<sup>148</sup> Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 21/6/1806, 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>149</sup> Left the RMC 17/4/1807 after completing the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>150</sup> Served in the Peninsula November 1808-January 1809 (ADC to Major General John Broderick), July 1809-September 1810 (ADC to Major General C Craufurd), October 1810-November 1812 (ADC to Lieutenant General Lord Rowland Hill), December 1812-April 1814 (Deputy Assistant Adjutant General 2<sup>nd</sup> Division).<sup>151</sup> Lieutenant and Captain 27/8/1812 (vice West), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>152</sup> Brevet Major 22/11/1813.<sup>153</sup>*

Eight months after he became a cadet in October 1805 Chatham Churchill had obtained an Ensign's commission without purchase in the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards independent of the Royal Military College. Nevertheless, presumably with the permission of his commanding officer he remained at the college until he had completed the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction, the required standard to be recommended for a commission by the College, in April 1807. In the following year Churchill was posted to the Peninsula where he served for six years and held four successive staff appointments, three as ADCs to various generals including Lieutenant General Lord Rowland Hill and finally in the Adjutant General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Adjutant General attached to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division.

During the Waterloo Campaign Churchill was again appointed as an ADC to Lord Hill,<sup>154</sup> who commanded not only the 2nd Corps but also the entire right wing of Wellington's army. Churchill was one of two RMC-trained ADCs on Lord Hill's staff, the other being Orlando Bridgeman (see below). At Waterloo both officers would have been involved in ensuring the accurate transmission of Lord Hill's orders to and reports from the many formations under his overall command that composed the right half of the Anglo-allied army between Hougomont to La Haie Sainte.

This sector was subject to continual attacks on Hougomont throughout the day, French artillery bombardment, massed cavalry attacks in the late afternoon and the assault of the Imperial Guard in the evening, all of which required the organisation and co-ordination of British and allied units as they were moved, redeployed, changed formation and committed to action against the enemy.

Right at the end of the battle, around 8.00 pm during the attack by the French Imperial Guard, Churchill brought up six squadrons of British light cavalry from the reserves (the 10<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Hussars of Vivian's 6<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 254.

<sup>147</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 277-278

<sup>148</sup> MSB RMC 21/10/1805 p. 316

<sup>149</sup> LG 21/6/1806

<sup>150</sup> RMC JDR 5/5/1807

<sup>151</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/147.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/147.pdf) (accessed 1/11/2017).

<sup>152</sup> LG 5/9/1812

<sup>153</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 170.

<sup>154</sup> Dalton p. 2.

Cavalry Brigade).<sup>155</sup> These fresh cavalry formations helped prevent the last remnants of French cavalry still operational from taking advantage of the weakened state and depleted numbers of many of Wellington's infantry battalions. Without this action the Anglo-allied army might not have had enough infantry units in good enough shape to hold off Napoleon's final attack and clinch victory.

Churchill appears to have been with the 10<sup>th</sup> Hussars when the regiment was charged by a squadron of enemy heavy cavalry (from either the 5<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> Cuirassiers) supporting the Imperial Guard.<sup>156</sup> In the process he had his (third<sup>157</sup>) horse killed by grapeshot from supporting French artillery and narrowly escaped death himself at the hands of a cuirassier while he lay trapped beneath the body of his dead horse.<sup>158</sup>

Interestingly while Churchill was highly critical of the performance of the British light cavalry regiments at Waterloo he was full of admiration for the fighting qualities of the French cuirassiers regiments. When describing the failure of the massed cavalry charges launched by Ney against the centre and right of Wellington's line Churchill claimed that the French cavalry '*had retired rather than been beat back.*'<sup>159</sup> After the battle Churchill offered to send a cuirass from a fallen Frenchman to a fellow officer in the Royal Horse Artillery as a souvenir.<sup>160</sup>

Churchill was commended for his actions by Lord Hill in a letter to Wellington<sup>161</sup> and promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel for his services during the Waterloo campaign.<sup>162</sup> He remained ADC to Lord Hill during the occupation of France from 1815 to 1818. Churchill was appointed Military Secretary and ADC to Lieutenant General Edward Barnes, Commander of the Forces on Ceylon in 1824. In 1826 he was promoted to Major (unattached). Churchill was once again appointed Military Secretary and ADC to Lieutenant General Edward Barnes, now Commander-in-Chief of India, in 1832.<sup>163</sup>

In 1833 Churchill was appointed as a Brigadier on the staff of Cawnpore, Bengal Residency. In 1837 he was promoted to Brevet Colonel. Later that year Churchill was posted to India as Quartermaster General with the rank of (local) Major General. He was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1838. Churchill died in action at the battle of Maharajpore in India on 27 December 1843.<sup>164</sup>

### **Captain Hon Orlando Henry Bridgeman (w), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1809-1811

ADC to Lieutenant General Lord Rowland Hill 1815

*Third son of Orlando Bridgeman, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Bradford. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (3<sup>rd</sup> Establishment/A Company) on 6/6/1809 aged 15 years and one month.<sup>165</sup> Ensign 14/2/1811 (vice Brooke), 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>166</sup> Left the RMC 24/6/1811 after completing the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>167</sup> Served in the Peninsula June 1812-March 1814 (slightly wounded at Siege of San Sebastian 31/8/1813). Lieutenant and Captain 25/12/1813.<sup>168</sup> Captain of a Company without purchase 8/1/1814, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>169</sup>*

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<sup>155</sup> TWA VI p. 5.

<sup>156</sup> Franklin(3) pp. 81-82.

<sup>157</sup> Dalton p. 275. According to Burnham & McGuigan p. 212 Churchill actually had four horses killed under him.

<sup>158</sup> TWA VI p. 6.

<sup>159</sup> TWA VI p. 4.

<sup>160</sup> TWA VI p. 8.

<sup>161</sup> <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/wellington-and-waterloo/1/steps/33935>.

<sup>162</sup> Booth p. 251.

<sup>163</sup> Burnham & McGuigan pp. 256-257.

<sup>164</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 170; Burnham & McGuigan p. 257; *et al.*

<sup>165</sup> MSB RMC 13/9/1809 p. 70.

<sup>166</sup> LG 16/2/1811; Glover 2008 p. 10.

<sup>167</sup> MSB RMC 26/7/1811 p. 430.

<sup>168</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 94.

<sup>169</sup> LG 22/1/1814; Glover 2008 pp. 4, 174-176.

Orlando Bridgeman commissioned into the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards four months before he left the Royal Military College in June 1811 after having reached the required standard to be recommended for a commission. He served in the Peninsula War for nearly two years during which time he was wounded at the siege of San Sebastian on 31 August 1813. A few months later Bridgeman was promoted to Lieutenant and Captain and in early 1814 was given command of an infantry company.

Bridgeman later obtained a staff appointment and during the Waterloo campaign was the second of two RMC-trained ADCs attached to Lord Hill, in command of 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps and Wellington's right wing (see Chatham Churchill above).<sup>170</sup> Together with Lord Hill's four other ADCs Bridgeman accompanied the general on a reconnaissance of the battlefield on the morning of the battle of Waterloo. Scouting out the battlefield took over seven hours from about 2.40 am to 10.00 am,<sup>171</sup> by which time Hill's staff would have become very familiar with the lay of the land and how their general intended to take advantage of it.

Given that Bridgeman had studied military surveying at the Royal Military College he would have been particularly well qualified to appreciate the importance of the local topography to military manoeuvres. Such training was no doubt of great help to him when around 3.00 pm (some four hours after the commencement of the battle) he had to relay Hill's orders to the 14<sup>th</sup> Foot to move up from their original position in a ravine behind the British frontline across difficult terrain into an open valley to support the defenders of Wellington's most important strongpoint, the chateau and farm of Hougomont on the right flank of his army, against renewed French attacks.<sup>172</sup>

Right at the end of the battle, around 8.00 pm at the height of the attack by the French Imperial Guard, Lord Hill led Major General Adam's 3<sup>rd</sup> British Infantry Brigade in attack against the flank of the Imperial Guard. Bridgeman was wounded by being hit in the back with grapeshot while standing next to Lord Hill and had to be taken to the rear. The flank attack by the brigade's battalions combined with the devastating volleys of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards to their front He '*thanked the Almighty*' for the British victory.<sup>173</sup>

Bridgeman along with many others later commented on the heavy casualties among Wellington's staff and the personal bravery of Wellington himself: '*The Duke of Wellington's staff suffered most cruelly, and it is a miracle how he escaped, for he was in the hottest part of the fire*'. A few days later Bridgeman collected the possessions of a fallen officer from the 10<sup>th</sup> Hussars to pass on to his next of kin.<sup>174</sup>

Bridgeman remained ADC to Lord Hill during the occupation of France from 1815 to 1817.<sup>175</sup> He retired from the army in 1819 and died in 1827.<sup>176</sup>

#### Headquarters, 2<sup>nd</sup> British Infantry Division

#### **Captain Francis Henry Dawkins, 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow/Sandhurst 1810-1813

ADC to Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton 1815

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<sup>170</sup> According to Glover 2008 p. 176 fn 2 Dalton (p. 2) is in error showing Bridgeman as an 'extra' ADC; however cf [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/082.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/082.pdf) (accessed 1/11/2017) which shows him as an Extra ADC to Lord Hill at Waterloo.

<sup>171</sup> TWA IV p. 26.

<sup>172</sup> The 3/14<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot in the Waterloo campaign ([www.napoleon-series.org](http://www.napoleon-series.org))

<sup>173</sup> Glover 2008 p. 178.

<sup>174</sup> Glover 2008 pp. 178-179; TWA IV p. 27.

<sup>175</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 258.

<sup>176</sup> Glover 2008 p. 4.

*Fourth son of Henry Dawkins MP.<sup>177</sup> Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (3<sup>rd</sup> Establishment) on 3/6/1810 aged 13 years and eight months.<sup>178</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the Royal Military College, Ensign without purchase 30/6/1812 (vice Lambert deceased), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>179</sup> Left the RMC on 5/3/1813 having reached the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>180</sup> Served in the Peninsula August-November 1813.<sup>181</sup> Lieutenant and Captain 28/4/1814 (vice Wynyard), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>182</sup>*

Francis Dawkins was a cadet in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College during the move of the College from its rented accommodation to its permanent site and so began his training at Great Marlow but completed it at Sandhurst. A successful cadet, he commissioned direct from the College into the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards with a college recommendation and later briefly served in the Peninsula with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion at the battle of the Bidassoa River on 7 October 1813, receiving a promotion to Lieutenant and Captain a few months later.

Dawkins later obtained a staff appointment and during the Waterloo campaign was one of two ADCs appointed to his uncle Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, who was in command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> British Infantry Division.<sup>183</sup> (A brother, Henry Dawkins, was also a cadet at the Royal Military College and served at Waterloo as a field officer in the Coldstream Guards.) The 2<sup>nd</sup> Division was held in reserve behind Wellington's right wing at Waterloo, north of the Nivelles road. Its 3<sup>rd</sup> Hanoverian Brigade moved up to the reverse slope of the Mont St Jean ridge in the mid-afternoon and with its battalions in square formation helped repel the massed French cavalry attacks against Wellington's right flank from 4pm onwards.

The rest of the division moved up to the front line in the early evening and the 3<sup>rd</sup> British Brigade (the division's other two brigades were the 3<sup>rd</sup> Hanoverian and 3<sup>rd</sup> King's German Legion Brigades) took part in the repulse of the French Imperial Guard, with one of the brigade's battalions, the 52<sup>nd</sup> Foot playing a major role by delivering deadly volleys of musketry into the flank of the elite French troops.<sup>184</sup> Dawkins and his fellow staff officer would have been responsible for ensuring the timely and accurate transmission of Lieutenant General Clinton's orders to the three brigades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division as they advanced to the Mont St Jean ridge and variously engaged the enemy during two crucial phases of the battle.

Dawkins was later posted to India and served as ADC to Lieutenant General Combermere at the siege of Bhurtore 1825-1826. He was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel in 1826 for his services at the siege and continued to hold various staff appointments for the rest of his life including that of Deputy Quartermaster General in the Ionian Islands in 1837. Dawkins was promoted to Brevet Colonel in 1841. He died in 1847.<sup>185</sup>

#### Headquarters, 5<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Division

#### **Captain Newton Chambers (k), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

Student Officer Farnham 1814-1815

ADC to Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton 1815

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<sup>177</sup> Dalton p. 15.

<sup>178</sup> RMC CR.

<sup>179</sup> LG 27/6/1812.

<sup>180</sup> MSB RMC 14/3/1813 p. 191.

<sup>181</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/203.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/203.pdf) (accessed 2/11/2017).

<sup>182</sup> LG 3/5/1814.

<sup>183</sup> Dalton p. 2.

<sup>184</sup> Adkin p. 104.

<sup>185</sup> Dalton p. 15; Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 243.



*Son of George Chambers.*<sup>186</sup> *Ensign 28/1/1809 (vice Burrard deceased), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.*<sup>187</sup> *Served in the Peninsula March 1810-November 1810, September 1812-May 1813.*<sup>188</sup> *Lieutenant and Captain 7/4/1813 (vice Macdonald), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.*<sup>189</sup> *ADC to Lieutenant General Picton in the Peninsula December 1813-April 1814.*<sup>190</sup> *Studied in the Senior Department of the RMC 1814-1815.*<sup>191</sup>

A grandson of the famous Admiral Rodney<sup>192</sup>, Newton Chambers had served with the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards in the Peninsula War for four years, receiving a promotion to Lieutenant and Captain in April 1813 and later a staff appointment as ADC to Lieutenant General Picton in December of the same year. Following the end of the war in April 1814 Chambers was sent to Brussels with the remainder of his battalion (2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards) in August. Almost immediately Chambers along with five fellow officers and were ordered back to England together with 200 invalid soldiers.<sup>193</sup>

Soon after returning to England Chambers was admitted as a student to the Senior Department of the Royal Military College and was still studying there when Napoleon escaped from Elba in early 1815. On being recalled from the College Chambers was immediately given a staff appointment in Wellington's army with his former commanding officer, as one of the three authorised ADCs on the staff of Lieutenant General Picton who commanded the 5<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Division,<sup>194</sup> part of Wellington's Reserve Corps. Chambers had obviously made a good impression on Picton while his ADC in the Peninsula war, as an officer of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards and friend of Chambers later described him as '*Picton's favourite Aide-de-Camp*'.<sup>195</sup>

The 5<sup>th</sup> Division contained two British and one Hanoverian brigades. It was the two British brigades that were heavily engaged at the battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June, sustaining significant losses while counterattacking French forces in defence of the crossroads. Amidst the chaos and confusion of battle, made worse by the heat of the day and dust from the crops of the fields over which the division had to manoeuvre and fight, Chambers would have needed all the skill and resilience he could muster to help maintain contact between the division's three brigades and its commander.

On the evening of the following day after the division had arrived at the village of Waterloo Chambers was among a number of staff officers who, having turned out of their quarters on hearing the sound of musket fire discovered that some French prisoners taken at Quatre-Bras had tried to escape from the barn and courtyard of a nearby farm. Unlike a similar attempt by a previous group of prisoners this one was unsuccessful.<sup>196</sup>

The next day, deployed on the left and centre of Wellington's line behind the Mont St Jean ridge the 5<sup>th</sup> Division suffered heavily from artillery fire by the French Grand Battery and bore the brunt of the attack by D'Erlon's I Corps at 2pm, seen by many as the crisis point of the battle of Waterloo where Napoleon came closest to victory. The 5<sup>th</sup> Division, with the support of the British heavy cavalry brigades managed to repel the French assault after hard fighting during which General Picton was killed and the division's constituent battalions suffered very heavy casualties.

Despite the 5<sup>th</sup> Division sustaining 43% losses from its original strength of 6,274 men Chambers, according to one account, managed to survive the intense fighting while carrying out his staff duties for most of the

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<sup>186</sup> Dalton p. 15.

<sup>187</sup> LG 24/1/1809.

<sup>188</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/139.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/139.pdf) (accessed 2/11/2017).

<sup>189</sup> LG 10/4/1813.

<sup>190</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/139.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/139.pdf) (accessed 2/11/2017).

<sup>191</sup> AL 12/1814-7/1815.

<sup>192</sup> Haythornthwaite 2016 p. 30.

<sup>193</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p.34.

<sup>194</sup> Dalton p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> Gronow pp. 20-21; Burnham & McGuigan pp. 105-106.

<sup>196</sup> Gronow p. 11.

afternoon. Sadly, his luck ran out towards the end of the battle. At about 6.30pm as the French attempted to exploit their capture of La Haie Sainte the senior brigade commander in the 5<sup>th</sup> Division, Major General Sir James Kempt who had replaced the dead Picton as divisional commander, ordered Chambers to lead an infantry column to recapture the farm 'at all hazards'; Chambers was killed on the spot while accepting the surrender of a French officer.<sup>197</sup>

An alternative account states Chambers was killed very soon after General Picton much earlier in the afternoon around 1.30pm during the great assault against Wellington's centre and left by D'Erlons' I Corps. Whatever the truth of the matter Chambers' death was apparently greatly lamented with even the Duke of York, former Commander in Chief of the British Army, declaring that 'In him we have lost one of our most promising officers.'<sup>198</sup>

#### Headquarters, 9<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Brigade

#### **Brevet Major Charles Smyth (mw), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 95<sup>th</sup> Foot (Riflemen)**

Student Officer High Wycombe 1811-1812

Brigade Major to Major General Sir Denis Pack 1815

*Fourth son of the Right Honourable John Smyth of Heath Hall, Wakefield.<sup>199</sup> Gentleman, Ensign by purchase 28/6/1803 (vice Thompson removed 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards), 29<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>200</sup> Lieutenant 25/9/1804 (vice Nestor promoted), 29<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>201</sup> Captain of a Company (vice McNiell appointed 9<sup>th</sup> Veteran Battalion), 18/6/1808, 5<sup>th</sup> Garrison Battalion.<sup>202</sup> Captain of a Company without purchase 13/8/1808 (vice Hely), 11<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>203</sup> Served in the Peninsular August 1809-November 1809.<sup>204</sup> Captain of a Company without purchase 7/10/1809, 95<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>205</sup> Studied in the Senior Department of the RMC 1811-1812.<sup>206</sup> Served in the Peninsula July 1812-April 1814 (severely wounded at Nivelles 10/11/1813).<sup>207</sup> Major by purchase 25 May 1815 (vice Rynd retired), 100<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>208</sup>*

Charles Smyth originally commissioned into the 29<sup>th</sup> Foot in 1803. After being promoted to Lieutenant he transferred on promotion to Captain to the 5<sup>th</sup> Garrison Battalion and then transferred to the 11<sup>th</sup> Foot. Smyth briefly served in the Peninsula War in 1809 as a company commander in the 95<sup>th</sup> Rifles and two years later was admitted as a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College in 1811. Following completion of his studies Smyth returned to the Peninsula once more this time for nearly two years, during which time he was seriously wounded at the Battle of the Nivelles river on 10 November 1813 while serving with the 95<sup>th</sup> Rifles.

Promoted to Major in early 1815 Smyth received a staff appointment as Brigade Major to Major General Pack who command of the 9<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Brigade,<sup>209</sup> part of the 5<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Division. During the Waterloo campaign Smyth brought news of Napoleon's impending attack at Quatre Bras to an officer of

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<sup>197</sup> Gronow p. 21, followed by Haythornthwaite 2016 p. 180. Although Burnham & McGuigan p. 160 rightly point out that Gronow was not present at the recapture of La Haie Sainte, he was at least on the battlefield at the time serving with his regiment and may have received an account of Chambers death later from an eyewitness.

<sup>198</sup> Dalton p. 15, followed by Bromley 2012 p. 162.

<sup>199</sup> Dalton p. 21.

<sup>200</sup> LG 25/6/1803.

<sup>201</sup> LG 22/9/1804.

<sup>202</sup> LG 14/6/1808.

<sup>203</sup> LG 9/8/1808.

<sup>204</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/721.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/721.pdf) (accessed 2/11/2017).

<sup>205</sup> LG 3/10/1809.

<sup>206</sup> AL 2/1811-6/1812.

<sup>207</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/721.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/721.pdf) (accessed 2/11/2017).

<sup>208</sup> LG 3/6/1815.

<sup>209</sup> Dalton p. 4.



the 95<sup>th</sup> Rifles early on 15 June, and later that day accompanied Major General Pack to the Duchess of Richmond's Ball at Brussels which Wellington used as an opportunity to brief his senior officers.<sup>210</sup>

The three infantry battalions of the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade, the 42<sup>nd</sup>, 44<sup>th</sup> and 92<sup>nd</sup> Foot saw action defending the crossroads at Quatre Bras on 16 June in the late afternoon, halting an attack by French infantry but being severely mauled by French cavalry charges due to a case of mistaken identity. Major General Pack and some of his senior officers thought the enemy cavalry were in fact Belgian, with the result that the British infantry were caught in line formation rather than square with grievous consequences.

While carrying out his staff duties during the chaos of the fighting Smyth was mortally wounded, dying later on 18 June.<sup>211</sup>

## THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

### **Captain the Honourable Esme Stuart Erskine (sw), 60<sup>th</sup> (Royal American) Foot**

Student High Wycombe 1810-1811

Deputy Assistant Adjutant General 1815

*Fourth son of Thomas Erskine, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Erskine of Restormel Castle, Cornwall.<sup>212</sup> Second Lieutenant without purchase 14/3/1807 (vice Douglas promoted 4<sup>th</sup> Garrison Battalion), 21<sup>st</sup> Foot.<sup>213</sup> Lieutenant 18/7/1807 (vice Dougan dismissed), 2<sup>nd</sup> Garrison Battalion.<sup>214</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 10/3/1810 (vice Hastings exchanged), 27<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>215</sup> Admitted to the Senior Department of the RMC on 18/4/1810.<sup>216</sup> Left the RMC in February 1811.<sup>217</sup> Captain of a Company by purchase 16/2/1811 (vice Virgo), 60<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>218</sup> Captain of a Troop 14/5/1811 (vice Gordon exchanged), 15<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>219</sup> Captain of a Company 29/8/1812 (vice Dundas exchanged), 60<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>220</sup> Served in the Peninsula February-September 1813 (attached to 2<sup>nd</sup> Division) and in the Netherlands 1813-1814 as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.<sup>221</sup>*

Esme Erskine was a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College while a lieutenant in the 27<sup>th</sup> Foot and was promoted to captain in the 60<sup>th</sup> immediately on completion of his studies in February 1811. After spending just over a year as a troop commander in a cavalry regiment he transferred back to his previous regiment as a company commander.

Erskine briefly served in the Peninsula War for eight months in 1813 on the staff of the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General attached to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division. He remained with the Quartermaster General's Department when posted to the Netherlands in late 1813. In 1815 Erskine received another staff appointment, this time to the Adjutant General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.<sup>222</sup>

At the battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June Erskine, together with the Adjutant General Major General Sir Edward Barnes and his ADC, helped rally a fleeing Belgian light cavalry regiment (the 5<sup>th</sup> Belgian Light

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<sup>210</sup> Haythornthwaite 2016 pp. 68-70.

<sup>211</sup> Dalton p.21; Haythornthwaite 2016 p. 51; TWA IV p. 201.

<sup>212</sup> Dalton pp. 31-32

<sup>213</sup> LG 14/3/1807.

<sup>214</sup> LG 18/7/1807.

<sup>215</sup> LG 6/3/1810.

<sup>216</sup> RMC SDR 27/8/1810

<sup>217</sup> Last mentioned as a student in AL 2/1811.

<sup>218</sup> LG 12/2/1811.

<sup>219</sup> LG 11/5/1811.

<sup>220</sup> LG 25/8/1812.

<sup>221</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/255.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images251-300/255.pdf) (accessed 6/11/2017).

<sup>222</sup> Dalton p. 7.

Dragoons of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Brigade, Netherlands Cavalry Division<sup>223</sup>) after they had been routed by French cavalry south of the crossroads. During the battle Erskine had a horse shot from under him.<sup>224</sup>

According to one source on 17 June Erskine was severely wounded in his arm and captured during the British rearguard action at Genappe, subsequently being personally interrogated by Napoleon himself. He then had to have his injured arm amputated<sup>225</sup> and apparently later escaped during the French rout after their defeat at Waterloo.<sup>226</sup>

However, according to Elizabeth Ord, a civilian whose house in Brussels was used as a makeshift hospital, Erskine was at Waterloo on 18 June and it was there that he suffered his injuries, having one arm shot off and the other seriously wounded. After being wrapped in a blanket by two soldiers he was left at the side of the road and seen by Wellington as the latter joined the pursuit of the defeated French army.<sup>227</sup>

Erskine was promoted to Brevet Major for his services during the Waterloo campaign.<sup>228</sup> A year later he transferred to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ceylon Regiment and was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel. Erskine died in 1817.<sup>229</sup>

### **Captain the Honourable William Curzon (k), 69<sup>th</sup> (South Lincolnshire) Foot**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1805-1808

Deputy Assistant Adjutant General 1815

*Fourth son of Nathaniel Curzon, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Scarsdale.<sup>230</sup> Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (3<sup>rd</sup> Establishment/A Company) on 1/10/1805 aged 13 years and eleven months.<sup>231</sup> Left the RMC on 7/2/1808 having reached the 4<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>232</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the RMC, Ensign 19/12/1807 (vice Richardson promoted), 9<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>233</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 13/8/1808, 9<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>234</sup> Served in the Peninsula August 1808-April 1814 (wounded at the Battle of Villa Muriel 25/10/1812; ADC to Major General Lord Aylmer August 1813-April 1814).<sup>235</sup> Captain of a Company by purchase 22/12/1812 (vice Davys retired), 69<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>236</sup> ADC to Lord Aylmer in Dublin 1814-1815.<sup>237</sup>*

William Curzon was a cadet in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College for just over two years before reaching the required standard for a commission and joining the 9<sup>th</sup> Foot with a college recommendation. Promoted to Lieutenant eight less than a year later in August 1808 he served in the Peninsula War for six years and was wounded in 1812 at the battle of Villa Muriel.

In August 1813 Curzon obtained a staff appointment as ADC to Major General Aylmer and remained in that post when Aylmer was posted to Dublin after the end of the war. When hostilities were renewed in early 1815 Curzon was appointed to the staff of the Adjutant General's Department as a Deputy Assistant

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<sup>223</sup> Franklin (1) p. 48.

<sup>224</sup> TWA I p. 226.

<sup>225</sup> Dalton pp. 31-32. According to Booth p. 122 Erskine was captured on 16 June at Quatre Bras. Both agree he was personally interrogated by Napoleon.

<sup>226</sup> Booth p. 122.

<sup>227</sup> TWA I p. 230.

<sup>228</sup> Booth p. 251.

<sup>229</sup> Dalton pp. 31-32.

<sup>230</sup> Bromley 2012 p. 226.

<sup>231</sup> JDR 1/10/1805; MSB RMC 21/10/1805 p. 316.

<sup>232</sup> MSB RMC 12/4/1808 p. 318.

<sup>233</sup> LG 19/12/1807.

<sup>234</sup> LG 9/8/1808.

<sup>235</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images151-200/191.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images151-200/191.pdf) (accessed 6/11/2017).

<sup>236</sup> LG 19/12/1812.

<sup>237</sup> AL 11/1814, 1/1815.

Adjutant General. He was in fact the second of two RMC-trained staff officers serving as Deputy Assistant Adjutant Generals in the Adjutant General's Department during the Waterloo campaign.<sup>238</sup>

Respected by both Wellington and the Prince of Orange,<sup>239</sup> Curzon was attached to the 1<sup>st</sup> Corps under the command of the Prince.<sup>240</sup> Most of the formations that made up the 1<sup>st</sup> Corps had fought at Quatre Bras on 16 June, with the Prince of Orange himself taking command of the battle until Wellington's arrival. Two days later at Waterloo most of the Corps was deployed on the left and centre of Wellington's line and thus was involved in the day-long defence of Hougomont and the repulse of the massed French cavalry attacks launched by Marshal Ney in the late afternoon.

Unfortunately, Curzon did not survive the battle. Having emerged unscathed from Quatre Bras and the first six or so hours of Waterloo he was shot in the chest and killed during Ney's spectacular but futile cavalry charges between 4-5pm. He had been with his friend Captain, the Earl of March (extra ADC to the Prince of Orange) when he received his fatal wound, calling out '*Good bye, dear March*' as he fell off his horse face forward onto the ground.<sup>241</sup>

Nevertheless, even as he lay dying on the battlefield, Curzon continued to display the professionalism of an RMC-trained officer by checking that March was correctly deploying the infantry battalions of the independent Nassau Reserve Brigade into square in the face of the threat from a French heavy cavalry regiment (almost certainly the 11<sup>th</sup> Cuirassiers<sup>242</sup>). In fact, Curzon's last words were '*That's right, well done, my dear March*'. When his friend returned with a surgeon Curzon was already dead, with his head leaning against his wounded horse.<sup>243</sup>

## THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

### **Colonel Sir William Howe De Lancey (mw), Quartermaster General's Department**

Student High Wycombe 1801-1802

Deputy Quartermaster General/Acting Quartermaster General 1815

*Only son of Stephen De Lancey, Governor of Tobago.*<sup>244</sup> *Gentleman, Cornet 6/7/1792 (vice Joseph Starkey promoted), 16<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.*<sup>245</sup> *Lieutenant 20/4/1793, 16<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.*<sup>246</sup> *Served in Flanders 1794.*<sup>247</sup> *Captain by purchase 29/3/1794 (vice Jones retired), Independent Company of Foot.*<sup>248</sup> *Captain of a Company 11/10/1794 (vice Philipps exchanged), 80<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>249</sup> *Served in India 1796. Captain of a Troop 25/10/1796 (vice Black deceased), 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.*<sup>250</sup> *Major 17/10/1799, 45<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>251</sup> *Admitted to the Senior Department of the RMC on 23/5/1801. Progressed from 1<sup>st</sup> Class of Instruction to 4<sup>th</sup> Class by 30/11/1801.*<sup>252</sup> *Left the RMC 14/9/1802 to become Assistant Quartermaster General.*<sup>253</sup> *Brevet Lieutenant Colonel 1/1/1805, Quartermaster General's Department.*<sup>254</sup> *Served in the Peninsula as an Assistant*

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<sup>238</sup> Dalton p. 7.

<sup>239</sup> Booth, p. 275.

<sup>240</sup> Booth, p. 275.

<sup>241</sup> Booth, p. 275.

<sup>242</sup> Cf Map 30, French cavalry charges between 4.00 and 5.00pm, Adkin p. 358.

<sup>243</sup> Gronow pp. 24-25.

<sup>244</sup> Dalton p. 33.

<sup>245</sup> LG 5/7/1792.

<sup>246</sup> LG 16/4/1793.

<sup>247</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/210.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/210.pdf) (accessed 8/11/2017).

<sup>248</sup> LG 25/3/1794.

<sup>249</sup> LG 7/10/1794.

<sup>250</sup> LG 25/10/1796

<sup>251</sup> Bromley 2012 pp. 249-250. Cf LG 22/3/1800.

<sup>252</sup> RMC SDR 30/11/1801.

<sup>253</sup> RMC SDR 18/1/1808.

<sup>254</sup> LG 8/1/1805.

*Quartermaster General August 1808-January 1809, and as Deputy Quartermaster General May 1809-April 1814. Mentioned in Despatches by Wellington for his services at Douro 12/5/1809, by Lieutenant General Sir Brent Spencer for his services at Gallegos 6/6/1811, by Wellington for his services at Salamanca 22/7/1812, Vitoria 21/6/1813, by Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Graham for his services at San Sebastian 29/6-8/9/1813, and by Wellington for his services at Nive 10-13/12/1813. Awarded Army Gold Cross for his services at Corunna, Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vitoria, San Sebastian and Nive. Brevet Colonel 4/6/1813. Knighted in the Order of the Bath 1/1/1815.*<sup>255</sup>

William De Lancey was one of the earliest and most brilliant students to attend the Senior Department of the Royal Military College, having joined the college in 1801 after serving in the Flanders campaign in 1794 as a cavalry officer in the 16<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons followed by a short posting in India in 1796. De Lancey progressed through the various Classes of Instruction in half the time taken by the average student, reaching, as few did, the top class of the Chief Instructor, General Francois Jarry (who taught the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Classes of Instruction).

While he was still studying at the College De Lancey, together with other students, surveyed the south coast of England between Rye and Sandwich in the summer of 1802, helping to produce maps and sketches that later proved extremely useful during the invasion scare of 1803-05.<sup>256</sup> Interestingly the Duke of York, who gave so much support to the Royal Military College in its early days had blamed the failure of the Dutch to make a similar survey of their border in 1794 for contributing to the disastrous outcome of the Flanders campaign.<sup>257</sup>

Given De Lancey's achievements as a student it is not surprising that when he left the Senior Department in 1802 it was to become one of the newly established core of professional permanent staff of the Quartermaster General's Department.<sup>258</sup> He was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel in 1805 and the following year served with the Quartermaster General's Department in the Peninsula War for six years, during which time he was mentioned in despatches on five occasions, three times by Wellington himself, and promoted to Brevet Colonel.

In January 1815 De Lancey was knighted for his services in the Peninsula War. When war broke out once again following Napoleon's escape from Elba in March that year De Lancey was officially second in command of the Quartermaster General's Department, having held the post of Deputy Quartermaster General since 1809. However, he was temporarily given command of the Department as acting Quartermaster General during the Waterloo campaign<sup>259</sup> as Wellington's first choice, Colonel Sir George Murray was still on his way home from Canada.<sup>260</sup>

As Quartermaster General De Lancey was responsible for organising the various movements of the Anglo-Allied army, including issuing appropriate orders based on Wellington's instructions to the scattered units of the army to concentrate prior to the battle of Quatre Bras on 16<sup>th</sup> June and briefing Wellington on the movements of the various elements of his army in response to those orders on the morning of the battle.<sup>261</sup>

After the battle De Lancey organised the withdrawal of the Anglo-Allied army from the crossroads on 17<sup>th</sup> June in the face of pursuing French forces to a much better defensive position on and around the ridge of Mont St Jean at Waterloo.<sup>262</sup> Once there De Lancey carried out with great efficiency the deployment of

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<sup>255</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/210.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/210.pdf) (accessed 8/11/2017).

<sup>256</sup> Miller p. 19.

<sup>257</sup> Glover 1963 p. 209.

<sup>258</sup> ODNB 'William De Lancey'.

<sup>259</sup> Dalton p. 7.

<sup>260</sup> Miller p. 55.

<sup>261</sup> Hussey Vol 1 p. 444.

<sup>262</sup> Franklin(3) p. 6.

Wellington's army using wooden stakes to mark out the position of each infantry battalion, cavalry regiment and artillery battery ready for the confrontation with Napoleon the next day.<sup>263</sup>

De Lancey also issued orders to the British 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division and various units of the Netherlands army to deploy in and around the city of Hal as instructed by Wellington, to protect against a French advance on Brussels from the west and/or any attempt by Napoleon to outflank Wellington's position from that direction.<sup>264</sup> These troops would play no part in the battle of Waterloo.

There has been some debate as to whether De Lancey went beyond following the Duke's initial instructions and was himself largely responsible for choosing the ridge of Mont St Jean and its environs for the Allied Army's initial deployment. In his account of the Waterloo campaign Wellington's Military Secretary Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy Somerset claimed that Wellington originally intended to deploy his army further south on the ridge on which Napoleon's army would deploy in the actual battle (and on which stood the inn La Belle Alliance, site of Napoleon's headquarters), but that De Lancey felt that this position was too vulnerable and positioned the army on the ridge of Mount St Jean instead.<sup>265</sup>

Another claim, reported in 1839 by Major General Sir Hussey Vivian, Commander of the 6<sup>th</sup> British Cavalry Brigade at Waterloo, was that Wellington originally planned to fight the battle at Genappe but that De Lancey persuaded the Duke that the Waterloo site would be a much better defensive position.<sup>266</sup>

If either of the above claims were true, given the crucial role played by the ridge and the associated settlements that protected its flanks in Wellington's victory it would mean that De Lancey's contribution to that victory was even more significant than it already appeared to be. However, a month after the battle of Waterloo a Royal Engineers officer, Major John Oldfield, stated that he had given a map of the area to Wellington who in his presence then instructed De Lancey to put the army in position across the Nivelles road at the point at which it divided from the Brussels-Charleroi road, i.e. at Mont St Jean.<sup>267</sup>

Oldfield's account has been used to argue that De Lancey had no input in Wellington's deployment,<sup>268</sup> but when the map given by Oldfield to Wellington (and then given to De Lancey) was found on De Lancey's body after the battle the deployment areas for the Anglo-Allied Army appeared to have been marked by De Lancey, not Wellington as claimed by Oldfield. Given that Wellington's military secretary Lieutenant Colonel Somerset was more likely than anyone to know of the Duke's plans and that Somerset had a reputation for integrity, his testimony and the evidence of the map make it probable that De Lancey did exercise a degree of discretion in the crucial choice of where to deploy the Duke's army.<sup>269</sup>

Shortly before the commencement of the battle of Waterloo De Lancey gave strict instructions to the commander of the 6<sup>th</sup> British Cavalry Brigade, Major General Vivian, to hold his position on the extreme left of the Anglo-allied army until adequate numbers of eagerly awaited Prussian forces had arrived on Wellington's left flank to replace the brigade.<sup>270</sup>

This would ensure that no gap would open up on that flank that could be exploited by the French. De Lancey was clearly able to communicate the tactical importance of these orders to Vivian as the 6<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade maintained its position throughout the battle despite the temptation to provide support to Wellington's left

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<sup>263</sup> ODNB 'William De Lancey'.

<sup>264</sup> Hussey Vol 2 pp. 33-34.

<sup>265</sup> The relevant part of Somerset's account is quoted in Miller p. 62 and Hussey Vol 2 p. 37.

<sup>266</sup> Quoted in Miller p. 62 and Hussey Vol 2 p. 36.

<sup>267</sup> TWA VI p. 207.

<sup>268</sup> See Hussey Vol 2 pp. 36-41 who also argues that Wellington was too good a tactician to be unaware of the merits of Mont St Jean as a defensive position.

<sup>269</sup> As argued by Miller pp. 60-65.

<sup>270</sup> TWA VI pp. 101, 104.



and centre at critical points during the attack by the French I Corps, the British cavalry counterattack and the later fall of La Haie Sainte, a strongpoint just forward of the centre of Wellington's defensive position.

In the late afternoon around 6.30 pm when lead elements of the Prussian I Corps finally began to arrive on the battlefield on Wellington's left flank, De Lancey was severely wounded when hit in the back by a cannon ball while with the Duke of Wellington near the Duke's command post, a solitary Elm tree opposite the farm of La Haie Sainte, that had finally (albeit temporarily) fallen to the French and been occupied by enemy artillery and skirmishers.<sup>271</sup>

De Lancey did not survive the battle of Waterloo by more than a few days. He died on 26 June in the arms of his young wife in a cottage bedroom at Mont St Jean.<sup>272</sup> De Lancey was well-known for his military professionalism. After his death a fellow officer and Waterloo veteran wrote of him that '*Few had studied so deeply in theory and fewer still illustrated it so bravely, skilfully and frequently by practise.*'<sup>273</sup> Wellington himself later said that De Lancey '*was an excellent officer, and would have risen to great distinction had he lived.*'<sup>274</sup>

### **Colonel Hon Alexander Abercromby (w), 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards**

Student High Wycombe 1801-1802

Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Fourth son of Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby.*<sup>275</sup> *Gentleman, Cornet without purchase 20/8/1799 (vice Aird promoted), 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoons.*<sup>276</sup> *Served at the Helder 27/8-19/11/1799.*<sup>277</sup> *Lieutenant without purchase 18/3/1800, 52<sup>nd</sup> Foot.*<sup>278</sup> *Served in the Ferrol Expedition 25-25/8/1800.*<sup>279</sup> *Captain 26/5/1801 (vice Bury promoted), 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot.*<sup>280</sup> *Admitted to the Senior Department of the RMC on 20/10/1801.*<sup>281</sup> *Left the RMC 16/8/1802 to become ADC to Major General Sir John Moore.*<sup>282</sup> *Served in Sicily 1806-1807.*<sup>283</sup> *Major 22/7/1806 (vice Bertram deceased), 100<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>284</sup> *Major 6/1/1807 (vice Plenderleath exchanged), 81<sup>st</sup> Foot.*<sup>285</sup> *Brevet Lieutenant Colonel and Inspecting Field Officer of Militia in Canada 2/2/1808.*<sup>286</sup> *Lieutenant Colonel 10/12/1808 (vice Johnson exchanged), 28<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>287</sup> *Served in the Peninsular July 1809-April 1814 (Commanded 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade, 2<sup>nd</sup> Division at Albuera 16/5/1811 and mentioned in Wellington's Despatch;*<sup>288</sup> *Assistant Quartermaster General February 1813-April 1814). Awarded the Army Gold Cross for his services at Albuera, Vittoria, Pyrenees and Orthes.*<sup>289</sup> *Brevet Colonel 4/6/1814.*<sup>290</sup> *Captain of a Company and Lieutenant Colonel 25/7/1814, Coldstream Guards.*<sup>291</sup> *Made Knight of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword 7/10/1814.*<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Miller pp. 74-76; cf TWA VI pp. 213, 263.

<sup>272</sup> Miller pp. 128-129.

<sup>273</sup> Lieutenant Colonel James Stanhope, 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot Guards, quoted in TWA VI p. 123.

<sup>274</sup> Quoted in Miller p. 76.

<sup>275</sup> Dalton p. 33.

<sup>276</sup> LG 17/8/1799.

<sup>277</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf) (accessed 9/11/2017).

<sup>278</sup> LG 15/3/1800.

<sup>279</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf) (accessed 9/11/2017).

<sup>280</sup> LG 23/5/1801.

<sup>281</sup> RMC SDR 30/11/1801.

<sup>282</sup> RMC SDR 18/1/1808.

<sup>283</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf) (accessed 9/11/2017).

<sup>284</sup> LG 19/7/1806.

<sup>285</sup> LG 6/1/1807.

<sup>286</sup> LG 30/1/1808.

<sup>287</sup> LG 6/12/1808.

<sup>288</sup> Bromley 2012 p. 1.

<sup>289</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images1-50/001.pdf) (accessed 9/11/2017).

<sup>290</sup> LG 7/6/1814.

<sup>291</sup> LG 13/8/1814.

<sup>292</sup> LG 15/10/1814.

Alexander Abercromby of the Coldstream Guards (son of Sir Ralph Abercromby killed in the Egyptian Campaign of 1801<sup>293</sup>) had served in Holland as a cavalry officer in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoons during the Helder campaign in 1799 and in Spain as an infantry officer in the 52<sup>nd</sup> Foot during the attack on the Ferroll naval base in 1800. Promoted to Captain in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot in May 1801 Abercromby was admitted as a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College in October the same year.

Abercromby was a contemporary of De Lancey at the College (see above) and like his fellow student was so successful in his studies that he given a staff appointment immediately on leaving the Senior Department, being appointed ADC to Major General Sir John Moore in 1802. Abercromby went on to serve in Sicily and Canada, reaching the rank of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel in 1808.

From 1809 to 1814 he fought in the Peninsula War during time which Abercromby commanded the 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade so effectively at the Battle of Albuera in 1811 that he was praised by Wellington in his despatch. Towards the end of the Peninsula War in February 1813 Abercromby was once again given a staff appointment, this time in the Quartermaster General's Department as an Assistant Quartermaster General. Following the end of the war he was promoted to Brevet Colonel in June 1814.

One month after his promotion Abercromby was given command of an infantry company in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Coldstream Guards in July 1814. This was the first time he had been a regimental officer for many years, having either commanded at a much higher level-that of a brigade commander-or served on the staff for most of his service in the Peninsular War. Because of this Abercromby, along with other officers of similar experience had got out of practice with the drill required to manoeuvre units smaller than the size of a brigade, as was revealed when his battalion was inspected in Belgium on 12 December 1814.<sup>294</sup>

Abercromby's skills were clearly those of a highly efficient staff officer rather than a regimental officer, and as Wellington naturally had a lot of confidence in his highly valued Peninsula veterans Abercromby was once again given a staff appointment as Assistant Quartermaster General in the Duke's army prior to the commencement of the Waterloo campaign.<sup>295</sup>

Along with fellow RMC-trained officer Captain William Curzon of the Adjutant General's Department (see above) Abercromby was attached to the headquarters of 1<sup>st</sup> Corps under the command of the Prince of Orange. He was one of the Prince's two quartermasters, the other being Baron Constant-Rebècque from the Netherlands army. Both quartermasters kept the Prince continually updated on the orders issued to and movements of the British and Netherlands divisions under his command during the manoeuvres of 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> June as the Anglo-allied army endeavoured to concentrate its forces in the face of the French advance.<sup>296</sup>

Late in the day on 16 June between 5.00 and 6.00 pm at the battle of Quatre Bras Abercromby, seeing a dangerous gap on the allied lines personally ordered the newly-arrived second and third battalions of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards to take up a defensive position in the Bossu wood protecting the right flank of Wellington's army as French forces renewed their advance towards the crossroads, urging the Guardsmen to hold this important terrain feature at all costs.<sup>297</sup> French forces were cleared from Bossu Wood and the French commander Marshal Ney eventually withdrew from the field.

Two days later at Waterloo Abercromby was wounded seriously enough to require a temporary replacement for his role as Quartermaster General of 1<sup>st</sup> Corps. The officer chosen as his replacement, Lieutenant Colonel

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<sup>293</sup> Bromley 2012 p. 1.

<sup>294</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p.38.

<sup>295</sup> Dalton p. 7.

<sup>296</sup> Hussey Vol 1 p. 447.

<sup>297</sup> TWA VI pp. 114-115. Cf Burnham & McGuigan p. 81.

James Hamilton Stanhope of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards, who was not an RMC-trained officer and who was suffering from exhaustion and an old wound when given the appointment described the post as being ‘...an arduous undertaking for anyone from the ranks (i.e. not a trained staff officer) with no knowledge of previous arrangements without sufficient horses and with no maps....’ and tried (unsuccessfully) to avoid being given the job.<sup>298</sup>

Abercromby was made a Companion of the Military Order of the Bath, a Knight of the Austrian Order of Maria Theresa and a member of the Russian Order of St George Fourth Class for his services at Waterloo.<sup>299</sup> He remained an Assistant Quartermaster General during the occupation of France from 1815 to 1818. Abercromby was MP for Clackmannanshire from 1817 to 1818 and retired from the army on half pay in 1822.<sup>300</sup> He died in 1853.<sup>301</sup>

### **Lieutenant Colonel Sir Jeremiah Dickson, Quartermaster General’s Department.**

Student High Wycombe 1800-1802

Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Eldest son the Right Reverend William Dickson, Bishop of Down. Gentleman, Cornet 17/10/1798 (vice Watney promoted), 8<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>302</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 10/8/1799, 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoon Guards.<sup>303</sup> Admitted to the Senior Department of the RMC 1/7/1800. Had reached 3<sup>rd</sup> Class of Instruction by June 1801 and 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction by 30/11/1801.<sup>304</sup> Left 14/9/1802 to join Quartermaster General’s Department.<sup>305</sup> Captain-Lieutenant by purchase 19/3/1803 (vice Trevanion retired), 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoon Guards.<sup>306</sup> Served at Hanover 1805.<sup>307</sup> Captain of a Company 9/8/1806 (vice Morris exchanged), 34<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>308</sup> Permanent Assistant Quartermaster General with rank of Major 9/12/1806 (vice Holland promoted), Quartermaster General’s Department.<sup>309</sup> Served at Copenhagen 1807 and Walcheren 1809.<sup>310</sup> Permanent Assistant Quartermaster General with rank of Lieutenant Colonel 6/8/1811 (vice Nesbitt), Quartermaster General’s Department.<sup>311</sup> Served in the Peninsula as an Assistant Quartermaster General November 1812-April 1814. Awarded Army Gold Medal for his services at Vitoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthes, Toulouse. Made Knight Commander of the Bath 5/1/1815.<sup>312</sup>*

Jeremiah Dickson was, unusually, admitted as a student to the Senior Department of the Royal Military College just two years after his first commission during which he had been promoted to Lieutenant in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoon Guards. Alongside his contemporaries De Lancey and Abercromby, Jeremiah Dickson had excelled at his studies at the Royal Military College to the extent that, in common with De Lancey, upon leaving the Senior Department after reaching the 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction he obtained the position of a permanent Assistant Quartermaster General in the Quartermaster General’s Department in 1802.

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<sup>298</sup> Glover 2010 p. 179. Stanhope’s response is an interesting example on the field of Waterloo of how others saw the importance of having a professional military education to be an effective officer of the Quartermaster General’s Department.

<sup>299</sup> Booth p. 252, 254, 255.

<sup>300</sup> LG 19/4/1817, 16/2/1822.

<sup>301</sup> Dalton p. 33.

<sup>302</sup> LG 23/10/1798.

<sup>303</sup> LG 6/8/1799.

<sup>304</sup> RMC SDR 30/11/1801.

<sup>305</sup> RMC SDR 18/1/1808.

<sup>306</sup> LG 15/3/1803.

<sup>307</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/218.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/218.pdf) (accessed 10/11/2017).

<sup>308</sup> LG 5/8/1806.

<sup>309</sup> LG 6/12/1806.

<sup>310</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/218.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/218.pdf) (accessed 10/11/2017).

<sup>311</sup> LG 3/8/1811.

<sup>312</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/218.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images201-250/218.pdf) (accessed 10/11/2017).



Dickson's future awards and commendations suggest that his excellence as a student continued to characterise his military career. He briefly transferred on promotion to Captain back to his old regiment the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoon Guards in which he served in the expedition aimed at freeing Hanover from French rule in 1805. The next year Dickson transferred back to the Quartermaster General's Department on promotion to Major and served as an Assistant Quartermaster General at Copenhagen in 1807 and Walcheren in 1809 before being posted to the Peninsula in 1812 for the last two years of that war. He was later knighted for his services in the Peninsula War.

During the Waterloo campaign Dickson was the Assistant Quartermaster General<sup>313</sup> attached to Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton's 2<sup>nd</sup> British Infantry Division. At Waterloo this formation was deployed in reserve behind the right of Wellington's line and remained there until it was brought forward in the early evening to support the battered 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> British Infantry Divisions, who by the end of the battle had lost 30% and 47% casualties respectively.<sup>314</sup>

Elements of the 2<sup>nd</sup> British Infantry Division, primarily the 52<sup>nd</sup> Foot but with some support from the 95<sup>th</sup> Rifles and 71<sup>st</sup> Foot helped rout the French Imperial Guard by attacking them in the flank as the latter engaged the second and third battalions of the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards to their front. Dickson would have been involved in helping move the division forward over the Mont St Jean ridge and co-ordinating the infantry battalions of the division as they engaged the enemy.

Dickson was commended for his services during the battle of Waterloo by General Clinton.<sup>315</sup> He was promoted to Brevet Colonel in 1825. Dickson served in India in 1827 as Quartermaster General. In 1837 he was promoted to Major General and four years later in 1841 was put in command of forces in Nova Scotia. In 1846 Dickson was promoted to Lieutenant General. He died in 1848.<sup>316</sup>

### **Lieutenant Colonel Colquhoun Grant, 11<sup>th</sup> (North Devonshire) Foot**

Student Officer Farnham 1815

Assistant Quartermaster General/Exploring Officer 1815

*Born 1780. Eighth son of Duncan Grant. Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 19/9/1795 (vice Heley promoted), 11<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>317</sup> Lieutenant by purchase 16/4/1796 (vice Raleigh promoted), 11<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>318</sup> Served in Flanders 1798 (taken prisoner at Ostend).<sup>319</sup> Captain 19/11/1801, 11<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>320</sup> Served in the Peninsula August 1809-April 1811.<sup>321</sup> Brevet Major 30/5/1811.<sup>322</sup> Served in the Peninsula as Assistant Quartermaster General, Intelligence Officer and Deputy Assistant Adjutant General May 1811-April 1814 (Prisoner of War July 1812-December 1813).<sup>323</sup> Brevet Lieutenant Colonel 19/5/1814.<sup>324</sup> Major without purchase 13/10/1814 (vice Bradford appointed 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards), 11<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>325</sup> Student in the Senior Department of the RMC in 1815.<sup>326</sup>*

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<sup>313</sup> Dalton p. 7.

<sup>314</sup> Adkin p. 40.

<sup>315</sup> Letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Hill dated Nivelles 19/6/1815, quoted in full in Glover 2015 p. 171.

<sup>316</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2015 p. 518.

<sup>317</sup> LG 15/9/1795.

<sup>318</sup> LG 16/4/1796.

<sup>319</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/323.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/323.pdf) (accessed 14/11/2017); Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 382-383.

<sup>320</sup> Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 30.

<sup>321</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/323.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/323.pdf) (accessed 14/11/2017).

<sup>322</sup> Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 30.

<sup>323</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/323.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images301-350/323.pdf) (accessed 14/11/2017).

<sup>324</sup> LG 24/5/1814.

<sup>325</sup> LG 25/10/1814.

<sup>326</sup> AL 1/1815-6/1815.

Colquhoun Grant had originally commissioned into the 11<sup>th</sup> Foot and served with that regiment in Flanders in 1798. By the time his regiment deployed to the Peninsula in 1809 Grant had reached the rank of Captain. In 1811 he was promoted to Brevet Major and given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as an Assistant Quartermaster General with special responsibilities as an 'Exploring Officer' i.e. Intelligence Officer. Grant proved to be very successful in this role despite being taken prisoner and being held by the French for nearly eighteen months.

At the end of the Peninsula War Grant was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel and became a student at the Senior Department of the Royal Military College in early 1815. Like many of his fellow students Grant was recalled from his studies by Wellington upon Napoleon's escape from Elba in February 1815. He was given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as an Assistant Quartermaster General<sup>327</sup> and was once again put in charge of the Intelligence Department of the army as Wellington had been so impressed with Grant's performance in the Peninsula War.

In an effort to explain the apparent intelligence failure that led to Wellington being initially taken by surprise by the speed of Napoleon's advance into Belgium, it was later alleged by the soldier-historian William Napier (whose son was Grant's Godson) that Grant had been informed by his spies on 15<sup>th</sup> June that a large battle would be fought in three days but that the German officer Major General Dörnberg failed to pass on the message to Wellington.

No evidence was produced to support Napier's claim and it has been comprehensively refuted. It is more likely that because Wellington was particularly concerned (mistakenly as it transpired) that the main French advance would be via Mons south-west of Brussels he sent Grant to scout that area, too far west of what proved to be the actual route of Napoleon's main thrust towards Brussels which was via Charleroi directly south of the Belgian capital. Certainly, Wellington did not blame either Grant or Dörnberg for his mistake.<sup>328</sup>

Grant re-joined the army in time for the battle of Waterloo where he had his horse shot from under him.<sup>329</sup> After the end of the Waterloo campaign Grant was based in Paris where he ensured that the allies did not appropriate the spoils of war at the expense of British troops.<sup>330</sup>

The year after Waterloo Grant was put on half pay until 1821 when he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in the 54<sup>th</sup> Foot and sent with his regiment to India. He commanded an infantry brigade in the First Burmese War (1824-1826) for which he was made a Companion of the Military Order of the Bath. Grant died in 1829 of malaria caught in Aracan during the Burmese war.<sup>331</sup>

### **Major William Campbell, 23<sup>rd</sup> (Royal Welch Fusiliers) Foot**

Student Officer Farnham 1815

Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Gentleman, Cornet without purchase 19/5/1804, 7<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>332</sup> Lieutenant 18/4/1805 (vice Cholmley), 7<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.<sup>333</sup> Captain of a Troop without purchase 16/7/1808 (vice Lord Waldegrave promoted 8<sup>th</sup> Garrison Battalion).<sup>334</sup> Served in the Peninsula November 1808-April 1814 (ADC to Major General Robert Craufurd and later Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General July 1809-April 1814).<sup>335</sup>*

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<sup>327</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>328</sup> See Hussey Vol 1 pp. 305-311 where the author demolishes the 'Napier Myth'.

<sup>329</sup> Hussey Vol 1 p. 311.

<sup>330</sup> ODNB 'Colquhoun Grant'.

<sup>331</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 382-383; *et al.*

<sup>332</sup> LG 15/5/1804.

<sup>333</sup> LG 20/4/1805.

<sup>334</sup> LG 12/7/1808.

<sup>335</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/125.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/125.pdf) (accessed 15/11/2017).

*Captain of a Company 20/6/1809 (vice Edward Keane exchanged), 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot.<sup>336</sup> Brevet Major 12/4/1814.<sup>337</sup> Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his services at Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, Pyrenees, Vitoria, Nivelles, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse.<sup>338</sup> Student in the Senior Department of the RMC in 1815.<sup>339</sup>*

As a junior officer in the 7<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons William Campbell had been promoted to Captain and given command of a troop in his cavalry regiment a few months before it was sent to fight in the Peninsula War in late 1808. After serving in the Peninsula for about nine months as a regimental officer (including a brief transfer to the 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot) Campbell was given two successive staff appointments, first as an ADC to Major General Robert Craufurd and then as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in the Quartermaster General's Department.

At the end of the Peninsula War Campbell was promoted to Brevet Major. Together with fellow former student Captain James Shaw (see below) he then published Major General Craufurd's '*Standing Orders...for the use of the Light Division during the years 1809, 1810, and 1811*'.

Following what was believed by most to be the end of the Napoleonic Wars Campbell became a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College, but in common with other students Campbell was recalled from his studies in early 1815 following Napoleon's escape from Elba. Presumably his-albeit interrupted-progress on the staff course at the Royal Military College played a part in Campbell being given the post of Assistant Quartermaster General in Wellington's army,<sup>340</sup> a higher post in the Quartermaster General's Department than he had held in the Peninsula War.

Campbell's effectiveness in carrying out his duties as an Assistant Quartermaster General was regarded highly enough by Wellington for Campbell to be promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel and made a Companion of the Military Order of the Bath, as well as being a recipient of the Russian Order of St Anne 2<sup>nd</sup> Class, for his services during the Waterloo campaign.<sup>341</sup>

Five years after Waterloo Campbell was put on half pay in 1821. In 1837 he was promoted to Brevet Colonel followed by promotion to Major General in 1846. Campbell died in 1852.<sup>342</sup>

### **Captain James Shaw (w), 43<sup>rd</sup> (Monmouthshire) Light Infantry**

(Surname changed on marriage to Shaw Kennedy in 1820)

Student High Wycombe 1813

Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Second son of Captain John Shaw, late 76<sup>th</sup> Foot. Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 23/4/1805 (vice Williams resigned), 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot.<sup>343</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 23/1/1806 (vice Watson resigned), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot.<sup>344</sup> Served in the Baltic 1807. Served in the Peninsula October 1808-January 1809, July-November 1809, December 1809-August 1811 (severely wounded at the Coa 24/7/1810) and November 1811-January 1812 (ADC to Major General Robert Craufurd), February-November 1812, December 1812-November 1813 (ADC to Major General Charles, Count Alten). Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his services at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz and Salamanca.<sup>345</sup> Captain of a Company 16/7/1812*

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<sup>336</sup> LG 17/6/1809.

<sup>337</sup> LG 17/5/1814.

<sup>338</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/125.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/125.pdf) (accessed 15/11/2017).

<sup>339</sup> Information supplied by the library of the Joint Services Command and Staff College. William Campbell does not appear as a student of the Senior Department in the Army Lists for 1815.

<sup>340</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>341</sup> Booth pp. 251, 252, 255.

<sup>342</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 150.

<sup>343</sup> LG 20/4/1805

<sup>344</sup> LG 25/1/1806

<sup>345</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/701.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images701-750/701.pdf) (accessed 15/11/2017).

(vice Hall retired), 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot.<sup>346</sup> Admitted to the Senior Department of the RMC April 1813.<sup>347</sup> Left the RMC due to ill health August 1813.<sup>348</sup>

James Shaw had served as a junior officer in the 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot in the Baltic in 1807 and later for five years in the Peninsula War during which he was wounded at battle of the Coa in 1810. Towards the end of the war Shaw had been promoted to Captain and given command of a company in 1812, prior to which he had held two successive staff appointments. Both staff appointments were as an ADC, first to Major General Craufurd and later to Major General Alten.

Early in 1813 Shaw became a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College in 1813 but his studies were cut short because of illness. The following year he published Major General Craufurd's '*Standing Orders...for the use of the Light Division during the years 1809, 1810, and 1811*' together with fellow Peninsular veteran and future student Major William Campbell (see above).

Shaw's military education may have been cut short, but he was still able to obtain a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as an Assistant Quartermaster General,<sup>349</sup> and he put the training he had received at the Royal Military College in how to move large bodies of troops and understand military topography to good use during the Waterloo campaign in 1815.

On 17<sup>th</sup> June, following the hard-fought battle at Quatre Bras the previous day, Shaw, attached to Lieutenant General Count Alten's 3<sup>rd</sup> British Infantry Division<sup>350</sup> reconnoitred that division's line of march, separated as it was from Wellington's main force to allow more room for the latter to retreat through the defile of the bridge and town of Genappe towards Waterloo.

In broad daylight in the face of Napoleon's advance guard Shaw successfully organised the movement of the division over the River Dyle lower down at Weys, retiring by successive brigades in very good order.<sup>351</sup> Shaw's excellent staff work enabled the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division to retreat unmolested by French pursuers and to cover the withdrawal of the rest of Wellington's infantry (the British 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Divisions, the Dutch-Belgian 2<sup>nd</sup> Division and the Brunswick Corps) from Quatre Bras to his chosen defensive position on the ridge at Mont St Jean.

Shaw's achievement is particularly impressive given that after Assistant Quartermaster General Brevet Major John Jessop had become a casualty at the battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June Shaw was left as the only staff officer from the Quartermaster General's Department still in action with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division.<sup>352</sup>

The following day Shaw made another important contribution to victory, when at Waterloo his innovative deployment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division into a chequer board formation of rectangular 'squares' in the late afternoon resulted in attacking French cavalry regiments suffering catastrophic losses, with serious consequences for the attack of the Imperial Guard at the end of the day.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Division had been deployed on the centre right of Wellington's army and during the afternoon of the battle was subjected to numerous massed French cavalry charges ordered by Marshal Ney in the mistaken belief that the Anglo-Allied army was on the verge of retreating from the battlefield. General Alten's confidence in Shaw was such that he allowed the latter, in the presence of Wellington, to organise the

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<sup>346</sup> LG 18/7/1812

<sup>347</sup> AL 5/1813-8/1813.

<sup>348</sup> ODNB 'Sir James Shaw Kennedy'. Dalton p. 36 confuses the Junior Department of the RMC at Great Marlow with the Senior Department at High Wycombe. His mistake is repeated by Fletcher in his introduction to Shaw Kennedy's 'Notes on the Battle of Waterloo' p. vii.

<sup>349</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>350</sup> Shaw Kennedy p. 17.

<sup>351</sup> Shaw Kennedy pp. 17-18.

<sup>352</sup> <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/wellington-and-waterloo/1/steps/33935>.

infantry battalions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division into oblong formations (still referred to as 'squares' although actually rectangular in shape) in a chequer board pattern.

Shaw had been inspired by similar formations used against cavalry attacks by the victorious Austrians at Gross-Aspern in 1809<sup>353</sup> indicating that he was a serious student of contemporary military affairs. The mutually supporting fire provided by the infantry battalions when arranged in Shaw's unusual formation not only saved Wellington's infantry from destruction but also decimated the various French cavalry regiments involved in the attack.

By 6.00 pm Ney's cavalry had retreated exhausted having failed to break a single infantry 'square' during the preceding two hours of massed charges and having suffered such heavy casualties as to be no longer effective fighting formations.<sup>354</sup> This would have fatal consequences for Napoleon's final attack at the end of the day when his Imperial Guard had to advance with a mere 2000 surviving and demoralised cavalry that were not enough to provide support against the now superior Allied cavalry formations.<sup>355</sup>

Along with every other staff officer of his division Shaw had to take cover inside one of the various infantry squares during the French cavalry attacks, in his case almost certainly that of the Luneburg Battalion, from the 1<sup>st</sup> Hanoverian Brigade, where he was standing next to General Alten at the time. (The 1<sup>st</sup> Hanoverian Brigade together with the 2<sup>nd</sup> King's German Legion Brigade and 5<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Brigade made up the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division).

Shaw later gave a vivid account of the utter confusion caused by swarms of French Cuirassiers milling around the infantry squares of the division and his concern for the whereabouts of Wellington should General Alten send Shaw to the Duke for new orders.<sup>356</sup> It was probably during one of these massed charges that Shaw was shot and wounded in the side when a musket ball hit the steel hilt of his sword and shattered. He also had one horse killed from under him and another wounded.<sup>357</sup>

After the fall of La Haie Sainte at about 6.30pm the centre of the Anglo-allied army became vulnerable to a French breakthrough. As most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division's senior officers had become casualties Shaw, the only staff officer present in that area of the field took the initiative and warned Wellington that there was now a large gap between the division's 5<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade positioned on the right of the farmhouse and the 8<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Brigade from the 5<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Division positioned on the other (eastern) side of La Haie Sainte.

Alerted to the danger by Shaw's warning Wellington ordered the Brunswick Corps forward and instructed Shaw to get all the remaining German troops he could find from less critical areas of the battlefield and bring them forward as well to help plug the gap.<sup>358</sup> As a result the gap in Wellington's centre was closed and the French were unable to exploit their capture of La Haie Sainte to support the attack of the Imperial Guard that was defeated shortly afterwards.

Shaw's reconnaissance skills and tactical judgement were of great help to Wellington and Alten and the latter singled him out for praise in a report to the Duke the day after the battle.<sup>359</sup> Shaw was promoted to Brevet Major for his services at Waterloo and commanded the Calais garrison from 1815 to 1819 during the Army of Occupation. In 1819 he was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel and appointed Assistant Adjutant General in Manchester where for the next nine years Shaw had to deal with various riots.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Shaw Kennedy pp. 19, 22-23.

<sup>354</sup> Fremont-Barnes pp. 198-199.

<sup>355</sup> Adkins pp. 402-403.

<sup>356</sup> Glover 2004 pp. 213-214

<sup>357</sup> Shaw Kennedy p. 27; Bromley 2015 p. 264.

<sup>358</sup> Shaw Kennedy pp. 127-128.

<sup>359</sup> The relevant extract from Alten's report is reproduced in Shaw Kennedy p. 25.

<sup>360</sup> Booth p. 251; Dalton pp. 36-37; Bromley & Bromley 2015 p. 264; *et al.*

From 1836 to 1838 Shaw was Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary. During this time, he was promoted to Brevet Colonel in 1837. In 1838 Shaw was made a Companion of the Military Order of the Bath. He was later promoted to Major General in 1846 and to Lieutenant General in 1854. Shaw was promoted to General in 1862. He died in 1865 with his history of the battle of Waterloo, '*Notes on Waterloo*', published posthumously in the same year. Shaw divided the course of the battle into five phases, a framework that continues to be used by historians today.<sup>361</sup>

### **Captain Edward Thomas Fitzgerald (w), 25<sup>th</sup> (King's Own Borderers) Foot**

Student Officer High Wycombe 1811-1813

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

Deputy

*Second son of Colonel Charles Fitzgerald.*<sup>362</sup> *Gentleman, Cornet without purchase 13/6/1804, 20<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons.*<sup>363</sup> *Lieutenant without purchase 7/6/1806 (vice Lennon resigned), 7<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>364</sup> *Captain of a Company 28/8/1806, 101<sup>st</sup> Foot.*<sup>365</sup> *Captain of a Company 2/12/1806, Froberg's Regiment.*<sup>366</sup> *Captain of a Company 30/12/1806 (vice Charles Thomas Gladwin exchanged), 6<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>367</sup> *Captain of a Company (vice Rutherford deceased) 13/9/1810, 25<sup>th</sup> Foot.*<sup>368</sup> *Studied at the Senior Department of the RMC 1811-1813.*<sup>369</sup> *Served in the Netherlands 1814-1815 as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.*<sup>370</sup>

Edward Fitzgerald first commissioned into the 20<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons but two years later transferred into the 101<sup>st</sup> Foot on promotion to Lieutenant. Just two months after this first promotion Fitzgerald was promoted to Captain and put in charge of a company. After serving as a company commander in various infantry regiments he became a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College.

Fitzgerald remained at his studies for two years, leaving in May 1813. Promoted to Major less than a year later Fitzgerald was given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General to British forces in the Netherlands in 1814. He retained this position during the Waterloo campaign<sup>371</sup> and was attached to the Guards, i.e. the 1<sup>st</sup> British Infantry Division.<sup>372</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Division was heavily engaged at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. During the latter battle the division was deployed on Wellington's right flank close to the chateau of Hougomont. Its 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade helped see off the massed French cavalry attacks of the late afternoon and later defeated the Imperial Guard at the end of the day. The division's 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade fought in defence of Hougomont throughout the day against numerous French assaults. By the end of the battle of Waterloo the 1<sup>st</sup> Division had suffered 30% casualties (1,350 men).<sup>373</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Fitzgerald was wounded while carrying out his battlefield staff duties during such intense fighting. At about 6pm another attempt was made by French cavalry to break the infantry squares of Wellington's right flank who had rebuffed the great cavalry charges ordered by Ney only an hour before. Although the French heavy cavalry were this time supported by skirmishers they still failed to break the

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<sup>361</sup> Dalton pp. 36-37; Bromley & Bromley 2015 p. 264; *et al.*

<sup>362</sup> Dalton p. 37.

<sup>363</sup> LG 26/6/1804; Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 340.

<sup>364</sup> LG 3/6/1806.

<sup>365</sup> LG 30/8/1806; Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 340.

<sup>366</sup> LG 29/11/1806.

<sup>367</sup> LG 27/12/1806.

<sup>368</sup> LG 11/9/1810; Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 340.

<sup>369</sup> AL 1/1811-5/1813.

<sup>370</sup> Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 340.

<sup>371</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>372</sup> Montgomery-Massingberd p. 1122.

<sup>373</sup> Adkin p. 40.



squares. The skirmishers however, managed to kill or wound a number of British officers including Fitzgerald.<sup>374</sup>

Two years after Waterloo Fitzgerald exchanged to the 12<sup>th</sup> Foot in April 1817.<sup>375</sup> In June the same year he was promoted to Brevet Major<sup>376</sup> (later backdated to 1814<sup>377</sup>) and in 1818 was placed on half pay.<sup>378</sup> In 1830 Fitzgerald was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel on half pay.<sup>379</sup> He was made a Knight of Hanover in 1836. Fitzgerald died in 1845.<sup>380</sup>

### **Captain Richard Brunton, 60<sup>th</sup> (Royal American) Foot**

Student Officer Farnham 1814-1815

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 10/11/1808 (vice Compton whose appointment did not take place), 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot.<sup>381</sup> Served in the Peninsula October 1808-January 1809 and July 1809-January 1811.<sup>382</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 16/12/1809, 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot.<sup>383</sup> Captain 6/3/1811, 6<sup>th</sup> Cacadores (Portuguese army). Served in the Peninsula March 1811-January 1814. Slightly wounded at the Pyrenees 30/7/1813.<sup>384</sup> Captain of a Company 10/11/1813, 60<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>385</sup> Severely wounded at St Pierre, Nive 13/12/1813.<sup>386</sup> Studied in the Senior Department of the RMC 1814-1815.<sup>387</sup>*

Richard Brunton served in the Peninsula from the time of his first commission into the 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot to the end of the war in 1814. He was one of a number of British officers to serve in the army of Britain's ally Portugal during the Peninsula War. Such officers held one rank higher in the Portuguese army than their rank in the British Army. Some months after being wounded during the battle of the Pyrenees in July 1813 Brunton was promoted Captain in the British Army and given command of a company in the 60<sup>th</sup> Foot. A month later he was wounded again, this time during the passage of the Nive in December.

At the end of the Peninsula War Brunton was admitted as a student to the Senior Department of the Royal Military College. Alongside other students he left the College in mid-1815 after having been recalled to his regiment to join Wellington's army for the Waterloo campaign. In common with many of his fellow students recalled for the same reason Brunton was immediately given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department, in his case as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.<sup>388</sup>

After Waterloo Brunton remained with the Army of occupation until 1816. He exchanged to the 13<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons in 1819. Brunton was posted to India in 1820 where he served until 1826 when he was promoted to Major. Brunton served in India again from 1828 to 1840 during which time he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1830. Brunton retired from the army in 1845 and died a year later in 1846.<sup>389</sup>

### **Captain George Hillier, 74<sup>th</sup> (Highland) Foot**

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<sup>374</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p.173.

<sup>375</sup> LG 3/5/1817.

<sup>376</sup> LG 24/6/1817.

<sup>377</sup> LG 12/5/1821.

<sup>378</sup> Dalton p. 37.

<sup>379</sup> LG 23/7/1830.

<sup>380</sup> Dalton p. 37; Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 320.

<sup>381</sup> LG 8/11/1808.

<sup>382</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/095.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/095.pdf) (accessed 17/11/2017).

<sup>383</sup> LG 12/12/1809.

<sup>384</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/095.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/095.pdf) (accessed 17/11/2017).

<sup>385</sup> LG 20/11/1813.

<sup>386</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/095.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images51-100/095.pdf) (accessed 17/11/2017).

<sup>387</sup> AL 9/1814-6/1815.

<sup>388</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>389</sup> Dalton p. 37; Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 109.

Student Officer Farnham 1815  
Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General

*Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 25/3/1809 (vice Sullivan resigned), 29<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>390</sup> Served in the Peninsula July 1809-July 1812.<sup>391</sup> Lieutenant without purchase 12/5/1810 (vice Swinburne resigned), 29<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>392</sup> Attached to the Portuguese army April 1811-July 1812.<sup>393</sup> Captain of a Company without purchase 14/7/1812 (vice Gurwood appointed 63<sup>rd</sup> Foot), Royal African Corps.<sup>394</sup> Captain of a Company without purchase 1/7/1813 (vice Shaw promoted 59<sup>th</sup> Foot), 74<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>395</sup> Served in the Peninsula December 1813-April 1814 (intelligence officer on the staff of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division).<sup>396</sup> Studied in the Senior Department of the RMC in 1815.<sup>397</sup>*

Within four months of his first commission into the 29<sup>th</sup> Foot George Hillier was posted to the Peninsula in July 1809. He served in various infantry regiments during which time he was seconded to the Portuguese Army for just over a year. Immediately upon finishing his secondment Hillier was promoted to Captain and given command of a company first in the Royal African Corps and then in the 74<sup>th</sup> Foot. Later in the Peninsula War he was given a staff appointment as intelligence officer for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division in 1813.

At the beginning of 1815, some months after the defeat of France had brought peace to Europe Hillier joined the Senior Department of the Royal Military College as a student. He was half way through the staff course when Napoleon's escape from Elba triggered what would prove to be the final phase of the Napoleonic wars. Along with his fellow students Hillier was recalled from the Royal Military College. His training at the College, despite being prematurely halted was enough to obtain Hillier a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in Wellington's army.<sup>398</sup>

Following the Waterloo campaign Hillier served in Canada for ten years from 1818 to 1828, during which time he served as ADC and civil secretary to the governor of Upper Canada, Sir Peregrine Maitland (commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> British Brigade at Waterloo). Hillier was promoted in 1826 to Major in the 60<sup>th</sup> Foot. In 1828 he was promoted to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel and served in Jamaica from 1828 to 1832 as Deputy Quartermaster General.<sup>399</sup>

From Jamaica Hillier was posted to India where he served from 1832 to 1840. In 1832 he was appointed Commandant of Moulmien, at the time capital of British Burma. At the end of his appointment in 1835 Hillier promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in the 62<sup>nd</sup> Foot. He died in 1840.<sup>400</sup>

### **Captain William Gordon Cameron (sw), 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

Student Officer High Wycombe 1812-1814  
Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Eldest son of Lieutenant General William Neville Cameron, HEICS.<sup>401</sup> Gentleman, Ensign by purchase 19/8/1809 (vice Alexander retired), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>402</sup> Served in the Peninsula March 1810-April 1811 (severely wounded at Barossa 5/3/1811). Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his service*

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<sup>390</sup> LG 21/3/1809.

<sup>391</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/379.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/379.pdf) (accessed 17/11/2017).

<sup>392</sup> LG 8/5/1810.

<sup>393</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/379.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/379.pdf) (accessed 17/11/2017).

<sup>394</sup> LG 11/7/1812.

<sup>395</sup> LG 3/7/1813.

<sup>396</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/379.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/379.pdf) (accessed 17/11/2017).

<sup>397</sup> AL 1/1815-4/1815.

<sup>398</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>399</sup> Dalton p. 38; Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 453.

<sup>400</sup> Dalton p. 38; Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 453.

<sup>401</sup> Dalton p. 38.

<sup>402</sup> LG 15/8/1809; AL 2/1810; Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 353.



at the Battle of Barossa.<sup>403</sup> Studied in the Senior Department of the RMC 1812-1814.<sup>404</sup> Lieutenant and Captain 10/6/1813 (vice De Courcy deceased), 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>405</sup>

As a junior officer William Cameron had served with the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards in the Peninsula for a year, being severely wounded at the battle of Barossa in March 1811 and returning home one month later. He became a student in Senior Department of the Royal Military College in 1812 and studied there for two years, leaving the College at the end of 1814. During his studies Cameron had been promoted to Lieutenant and Captain in his regiment.

No doubt as a result of his studies at the Royal Military College Cameron was in 1815 given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in Wellington's army.<sup>406</sup> Having already been severely wounded once during his service in the Peninsula, Cameron lost his right arm at Waterloo and had such other severe wounds<sup>407</sup> that he was mistakenly rumoured to have died.<sup>408</sup>

Cameron remained a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General from 1815 to 1816 during the occupation of France.<sup>409</sup> Three years later he was promoted to Brevet Major in 1819.<sup>410</sup> In 1825 Cameron was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in the 95<sup>th</sup> Rifles<sup>411</sup> and was subsequently put on half pay. He exchanged into the Coldstream Guards in 1832 on full pay.<sup>412</sup> Cameron was made a Knight of Hanover in 1834. He died in 1856.<sup>413</sup>

### **Lieutenant Basil Jackson, Royal Staff Corps**

Gentleman Cadet Great Marlow 1808-1811

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Son of Lieutenant Basil Jackson, Royal Waggon Train. Admitted to the Junior Department of the RMC (1<sup>st</sup> Establishment/C Company) on 6/9/1808 aged 13 years and three months. Passed his examination on 15/6/1811.<sup>414</sup> Gentleman Cadet from the RMC, Ensign without purchase 11/7/1811 (vice Malter promoted), 26<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>415</sup> Ensign 26/10/1811 (vice Duvernette promoted), Royal Staff Corps.<sup>416</sup> Left the RMC 24/12/1811 after completing the 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>417</sup> Lieutenant 6/5/1813 (vice Schannahan), Royal Staff Corps.<sup>418</sup> Served as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in the Netherlands 1813-1814.<sup>419</sup>*

Basil Jackson was the only one of the RMC-trained officers on the staff of the Quartermaster General's Department to have been a cadet at the Junior Department of the Royal Military College rather than a student in the Senior Department. He was one of only nine former cadets at Waterloo who had reached either the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction (in his case the 5<sup>th</sup> Class), the top two Classes in the Junior Department only achieved by cadets of exceptional ability. In fact, Jackson had reached a sufficiently high

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<sup>403</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/116.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images101-150/116.pdf) (accessed 21/11/2017).

<sup>404</sup> AL 11/1812-12/1814.

<sup>405</sup> LG 15/6/1813; Royal Military Calendar Vol 5 p. 353.

<sup>406</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>407</sup> Dalton p. 38.

<sup>408</sup> TWA VI p. 112.

<sup>409</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 257.

<sup>410</sup> LG 13/2/1819.

<sup>411</sup> LG 16/7/1825.

<sup>412</sup> LG 13/4/1832.

<sup>413</sup> Dalton p. 38; *et al.*

<sup>414</sup> MSB RMC 16/9/1808 p. 347

<sup>415</sup> LG 13/7/1811

<sup>416</sup> LG 22/10/1811

<sup>417</sup> MSB RMC 24/3/1807 p. 7.

<sup>418</sup> LG 11/5/1813.

<sup>419</sup> Jackson p. 12; Bromley 2012 p. 489.

standard in his studies to be allowed to spend a further six months at the College after receiving a commission in the 26<sup>th</sup> Foot.

Two months after he left the Royal Military College in October 1811 Jackson was recommended for a transfer to the Royal Staff Corps.<sup>420</sup> In late 1813 he was given a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in the small British force sent to Holland to encourage the Dutch to join the many uprisings against the French. By early 1814 Jackson was based in Brussels, and as instructed by the then Quartermaster General Sir Hudson Lowe he carried out a thorough reconnaissance of the highways and byways of Belgium. In particular Jackson made a special report on the route between Ligny and Wavre.<sup>421</sup>

In 1815 Jackson (whose father, another Basil Jackson also served at Waterloo, as a Captain in the Royal Waggon Train)<sup>422</sup> retained his position held a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in Wellington's army<sup>423</sup> and was attached to Wellington's headquarters. In the evening of 15 June he helped copy out and distribute the movement orders of the Duke of Wellington via the Quartermaster General, former student Colonel William De Lancey, aimed at concentrating British and allied forces in the vicinity of the threatened areas of Nivelles and Quatre Bras.<sup>424</sup>

On 16 June Jackson witnessed the burial of friend and fellow former cadet Lieutenant Arthur Gore of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Foot near Bossu Wood towards the end of the fighting at Quatre Bras. Only two weeks before the battle Jackson had met Gore in a village where the 33<sup>rd</sup> Foot had been billeted and had reminisced with him about playing football as cadets on the College playing field.<sup>425</sup>

On the same day as Wellington's forces engaged elements of the French army under Marshal Ney at Quatre Bras Blücher's Prussians were defeated at the battle of Ligny by Napoleon. Jackson's previously compiled special report on the Ligny route, when passed on to Major General Gneisenau, Blücher's Quartermaster General/Chief of Staff, enabled the latter to successfully move the retreating Prussian Army to Wavre where two days later it would be able provide support to Wellington's Anglo-Allied Army at Waterloo.<sup>426</sup>

Another of Jackson's significant contributions to the successful outcome of the campaign was his actions on 17 June at Genappe, a village between Quatre Bras to Waterloo. After having delivered orders to General Picton to withdraw his division from Quatre Bras to Waterloo Jackson rode towards Mont St Jean to meet up with the army's quartermaster general Sir William Delancey as ordered.<sup>427</sup>

Upon his arrival at Genappe Jackson, on his own initiative, acted as a military policeman when encountering the chaos and confusion caused by the withdrawal of the majority of Wellington's forces through the village. Understanding the importance of the defile through which the allied troops were retreating with French forces in close pursuit, Jackson appears to have single-handedly cleared the route through Genappe of the multitude of supply waggons, ammunition tumbrils and waggons carrying the wounded.

Jackson's undoubted organisational skills and professionalism were augmented by knowing how to curse in three languages (presumably English, French and German, all on the curriculum of the Junior Department of the Royal Military College) and the '*free application*' of the flat of his sword.<sup>428</sup> His efforts were sufficiently

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<sup>420</sup> Jackson p. 11.

<sup>421</sup> Jackson p. 13.

<sup>422</sup> Dalton p. 207.

<sup>423</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>424</sup> Hussey Vol 1 p. 445.

<sup>425</sup> TWA VI pp. 181-182.

<sup>426</sup> Jackson p. 7.

<sup>427</sup> Jackson p. 27.

<sup>428</sup> Jackson pp. 27-28. Presumably the three languages were English, French and German. The latter two languages were taught at the Royal Military College.

effective to gain the enthusiastic commendation of the Quartermaster General, Sir William De Lancey. Indeed, it goes without saying that had the French been able to catch Wellington's forces while on the march and in disarray the consequences would have been fatal.

When writing his memoirs many years later Jackson credited his training at the RMC for giving him the necessary skills to clear the route for Wellington's army and control its movements (see second quote at the head of this paper).<sup>429</sup>

On the morning of the battle of Waterloo on 18 June Jackson began the day by trying to help a fellow British officer find some horses stolen from a stable in Brussels by Prussian deserters. In this both officers were unsuccessful.<sup>430</sup> By his own admission, during the battle itself Jackson had little to do as being a very junior staff officer he was only asked to carry a few messages by his superiors (that little was expected of him because of his lowly rank makes Jackson's actions at Genappe the day before all the more impressive).<sup>431</sup>

Some three hours after the battle had commenced, after the repulse of D'Erlon's attack against Wellington's left at around 2pm Jackson was ordered to bring up a Dutch artillery battery in reserve close to the farm of Mont St Jean (presumably one of the horse artillery batteries attached to the Netherlands Cavalry Division deployed behind Wellington's centre). The battery commander refused to advance on the grounds that his guns had expended all their ammunition, a claim that Jackson seems not have believed.<sup>432</sup>

On his way back along the road from the farm towards La Haie Sainte Jackson found the Adjutant General, Sir Edward Barnes, badly wounded and suffering from loss of blood, together with his distraught ADC. After offering the wounded general a drink from his flask Jackson found a horse artilleryman to help take Barnes to the rear.<sup>433</sup>

Like many British staff officers that day Jackson had to frequently evade French cavalry as he traversed the battlefield carrying messages or observing the progress of the battle. During Ney's great cavalry attacks of the late afternoon against Wellington's right Jackson found himself sheltering in the square of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards while French Cuirassiers attempted to break into and overrun the Anglo-Allied infantry squares.<sup>434</sup>

Having been unimpressed by his encounter with Dutch-Belgian troops earlier in the battle, Jackson's already less than flattering opinion of the army of Britain's more important ally was confirmed by an encounter with the Prussians in the early evening. At about 7.00pm he went looking for signs of Prussian reinforcements arriving on the left flank of the Anglo-Allied army. Jackson encountered cavalymen from the Prussian 4<sup>th</sup> Hussars advancing slowly in skirmish order from the direction of the village of Ohain. They were from the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry Brigade of Ziethen's I Corps, and Jackson soon encountered Lieutenant General Friedrich von Roeder the commander of the brigade.

Jackson urged von Roeder to hurry as Wellington desperately needed his support, but the Prussians continued to advance very slowly and did not take up position until around 7.30pm, a fact that reinforced the belief that the Prussian Chief of Staff Gneisenau did not trust Wellington to stand and fight at Waterloo and therefore restrained the forces under his command from advancing more quickly to the battlefield.<sup>435</sup>

Jackson's last significant act of the day on 18 June was probably when during the victorious allied advance at the end of the battle he put his knowledge of German learnt at the Royal Military College to good use by

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<sup>429</sup> Jackson p. 11.

<sup>430</sup> Jackson p. 30.

<sup>431</sup> Jackson pp. 38-39.

<sup>432</sup> Jackson pp. 35, 38.

<sup>433</sup> Jackson p. 38.

<sup>434</sup> Burnham & McGuigan p. 170.

<sup>435</sup> Jackson p. 39 fn 4; *et al.*

saving the life of an English light dragoon, who was about to be bayoneted by mistake by pursuing Prussian troops in their enthusiasm for despatching wounded French soldiers.<sup>436</sup>

After Waterloo Jackson served on the island of St Helena during Napoleon's imprisonment there, until 1819. He was promoted to Captain in 1825 and was involved in the construction of the Rideau Canal, Nova Scotia (1826-1832). Jackson was promoted to Major in 1834. He became Professor of Military Surveying at Addiscombe House, the East India Company officer training college in 1836-1857) and wrote *A Course of military surveying* in 1838 which became a standard text.<sup>437</sup>

Two years later Jackson wrote *The Military Life of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington* in 1840. He was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1846. Jackson retired from his position as Professor of Military Surveying at Addiscombe House in 1857. He died in 1889.<sup>438</sup>

### **Lieutenant Augustus Christian Gottlieb Braun(s), Royal Staff Corps**

Military Drawing Master Great Marlow 1811

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General 1815

*Probably a son of the late Lieutenant Colonel John Brauns, 2<sup>nd</sup> Line Battalion, King's German Legion.*<sup>439</sup>  
*Joined the Junior Department of the RMC as Military Drawing Master on 8/4/1811. Left the RMC 24/12/1811.*<sup>440</sup> *Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 15/11/1811 (vice Tait promoted), Royal Staff Corps.*<sup>441</sup>  
*Lieutenant 17/2/1814 (vice King promoted), Royal Staff Corps.*<sup>442</sup>

Augustus Brauns had been a military drawing master in the Junior Department of the Royal Military College from April to November 1811 before obtaining a commission without purchase in the Royal Staff Corps. Brauns later obtained a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General and held this post during the Waterloo campaign of 1815.<sup>443</sup>

While an instructor at the Royal Military College Brauns would no doubt have taught Basil Jackson (Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General) as well as Orlando Bridgeman (ADC to Lord Hill), Augustus Cuyler (extra ADC to Major General Cooke) and Charles Fitzroy (extra ADC to Major General Vivian), all of whom were cadets during his short time on the College staff. He can be fairly said to have played a part in giving these future staff officers the necessary skills to perform their roles so effectively at Waterloo, particularly in the cases of Bridgeman and Jackson whose understanding of military topography was so important to their achievements in the campaign.

Brauns was put on half pay in 1819.<sup>444</sup> He was still on the half pay list in 1852.<sup>445</sup>

## **OTHER STAFF DUTIES**

### **Captain and Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge (w), 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards**

Student High Wycombe 1806-1807

British Liaison Officer to the Prussian Army 1815

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<sup>436</sup> Jackson p. 40.

<sup>437</sup> Jackson p. 38; Dalton pp. 38-39; Bromley 2012 p. 489; *et al.*

<sup>438</sup> Jackson p. 38; Dalton pp. 38-39; Bromley 2012 p. 489; *et al.*

<sup>439</sup> Dalton pp. 39; LG 15/8/1809.

<sup>440</sup> RMC SR.

<sup>441</sup> LG 16/11/1811.

<sup>442</sup> LG 1/3/1814.

<sup>443</sup> Dalton p. 8.

<sup>444</sup> LG 1/5/1819.

<sup>445</sup> AL 1852 p. 376.

*Third son of Reverend Henry Hardinge. Gentleman, Ensign without purchase 23/7/1799 (vice McGill promoted), Queen's Rangers (Upper Canada).<sup>446</sup> Lieutenant by purchase 25/3/1802 (vice O'Connell retired), 4<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>447</sup> Captain of a Company by purchase 7/4/1804 (vice Shadforth promoted), 57<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>448</sup> Admitted to the Senior Department of the RMC on 7/2/1806.<sup>449</sup> Served at Copenhagen August-September 1807.<sup>450</sup> Left the RMC 28/11/1807 having completed the 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction.<sup>451</sup> Served in the Peninsula August 1808-January 1809 on Staff as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General (ADC to Lieutenant General John Moore at Corunna 16/1/1809<sup>452</sup>). Served in the Peninsula April 1809-April 1814. Major Portuguese Army 13/4/1809. Deputy Quartermaster General in the Portuguese Army 15/4/1809. Wounded at the Battle of Vimeiro 21/8/1809. Mentioned in Despatches for his service at the Battle of Albuera 16/5/1811. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Portuguese Army 30/5/1811. Severely wounded at the Battle of Vitoria 21/6/1813. Mentioned in Lieutenant General Beresford's Despatches for his service at the passage of the Nive 10-13/12/1813. Officer Commanding 5 Portuguese Brigade from 22/12/1813. Mentioned in Lieutenant General Beresford's Despatches for his service at the Battle of Orthez 27/2/1814. Mentioned in Lieutenant General Beresford's Despatches for his service at the Battle of Toulouse 10/4/1814. Later awarded the Military General Service Medal for his service at the Battles of Rolica, Vimeiro, Corunna, Ciudad Rodrigo and Toulouse. Awarded the Army Gold Cross for his services at the Battles of Busaco, Albuera, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vitoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive and Orthes.<sup>453</sup> Lieutenant Colonel without purchase 14 April 1814 (vice Harcourt on half pay), 40<sup>th</sup> Foot.<sup>454</sup> Captain and Lieutenant Colonel 25/7/1814, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards.<sup>455</sup> Made Knight Commander of the Bath 2/1/1815.<sup>456</sup>*

Prior to being admitted as a student into the Senior Department of the Royal Military College in 1806 Henry Hardinge had served as a junior officer in various infantry regiments reaching the rank of Captain in the 57<sup>th</sup> Foot in 1804. As a student he had distinguished himself by being one of the few to reach the 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction and soon after leaving the College received a staff appointment in the Quartermaster General's Department as a Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General in the Peninsula in 1808, briefly serving as ADC to Lieutenant General Moore in January 1809 before being promoted to Major in the Portuguese Army and appointed Deputy Quartermaster General of that army's Quartermaster General's Department.

Hardinge was wounded twice during the Peninsula War, once at the battle of Vimeiro on 21 August 1809 and more severely at the battle of Vitoria on 21 June 1813. He was mentioned in despatches four times while serving in the reformed Portuguese Army commanded by the British officer Lieutenant General William Beresford. Hardinge was promoted to Captain and Lieutenant Colonel in the 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards at the end of the Peninsula War in 1814 and knighted for his services in the Peninsula in January 1815. During the Waterloo campaign Hardinge once again held a staff appointment, this time the important post of British liaison officer to the Prussian Army.<sup>457</sup>

Hardinge's German language skills acquired while he was a student at the Royal Military College included translating Prussian military manuals, something that only those students that reached the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Classes were taught. While this might not in itself have made Hardinge fluent in conversational German it did ensure that he was conversant with German military terminology and must have helped equip him to perform the liaison duties required. The 5<sup>th</sup> Class of Instruction was also the final class of French studies, which meant

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<sup>446</sup> LG 20/7/1799.

<sup>447</sup> LG 23/3/1802

<sup>448</sup> LG 17/4/1804

<sup>449</sup> RMC SDR 28/11/1807; ODNB 'Henry Hardinge'.

<sup>450</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/351.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/351.pdf) (accessed 21/11/2017).

<sup>451</sup> RMC SDR 28/11/1807; ODNB 'Henry Hardinge'.

<sup>452</sup> Hall p. 260.

<sup>453</sup> [www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/351.pdf](http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/Images351-400/351.pdf) (accessed 21/11/2017).

<sup>454</sup> LG 19/4/1814.

<sup>455</sup> LG 13/8/1814.

<sup>456</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 416-417; ODNB 'Henry Hardinge'.

<sup>457</sup> Dalton pp. 97, 101 fn 16.

that Hardinge had reached the highest standard of competence with the French language possible at the Royal Military College. Again, these language skills would have been very useful, particularly in the crucial discussions between Wellington, Blücher and their staff during the Waterloo campaign that were carried out in French.

During the campaign Hardinge, holding the temporary rank of Brigadier General was attached to Blücher's headquarters, his role being to keep Wellington informed of his ally's movements and intentions and to help ensure that both armies acted in concert and maintained a line of communication.<sup>458</sup> (Generalmajor Karl, Freiherr von Müffling of the Prussian Army performed the same role at Wellington's headquarters.<sup>459</sup>) Hardinge also kept Wellington informed of serious political issues that could potentially affect Prussian plans and capabilities such as the security risk of mutinous Saxon troops who had been badly treated by the Prussian High Command.<sup>460</sup> Hardinge was in fact held in high regard by the Prussian High Command and was described by Gneisenau, the Prussian Quartermaster General/Chief of Staff as an '*acute observer*'.<sup>461</sup> He also had Wellington's complete trust and confidence.

In fact, there appears to be a stark contrast between the relationship between Wellington and his liaison officer with the Prussian army and that between Gneisenau (the quartermaster general seems to have been more in control of Blücher's army than the field marshal himself at times) and his liaison officer with the Anglo-allied army. When reports from Belgian and Prussian sources warning of French troops massing on the border close to Charleroi reached Blücher's headquarters on the evening of 14 June Hardinge immediately wrote a long letter to Wellington detailing not only the intelligence reports but also the reaction of the Prussian High Command to them, i.e. that they believed Napoleon was about to attack and were making preparations for the movement of the various corps of the Prussian army to counter the imminent French advance.

Müffling, on the other hand, based in Brussels with Wellington's headquarters received no information from his superior Gneisenau concerning Prussian plans in the event of a French invasion either that evening or in the morning of 15 June, the very day that Napoleon's main force crossed the Sambre into Belgium and captured Charleroi.<sup>462</sup>

Hardinge was present at two meetings between Wellington and Blücher that would shape the course of the Waterloo campaign. The first was at Tirlemont on 3 May, a site chosen because it was equidistant between Wellington's headquarters at Brussels and Blücher's headquarters at Liège. Hardinge was the only British officer present as unlike Blücher Wellington came on his own without any staff. The meeting appears to have confirmed both that the Anglo-allied and Prussian armies would offer mutual support to each other in the event of a French attack and that the Prussians had already selected the area around Ligny as suitable to fight a defensive battle.<sup>463</sup>

The second meeting in which Hardinge no doubt put his liaison skills to good effect was the famous meeting that took place between 1.00pm-2.00pm at the Windmill of Bussy, near the village of Brye and on the highest point of the Sombrefe area on 16 June. It has been stated that the lengthy discussion was carried out

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<sup>458</sup> TWA IV p. 19; TWA VI p. 138; Cornwell p. 76

<sup>459</sup> Franklin (2) pp. 22, 29.

<sup>460</sup> Hussey Vol 1 p. 173.

<sup>461</sup> Letter to the King of Prussia from Gneisenau written on 14 April 1815 and quoted in Hussey Vol 1 p. 119. See also Hussey Vol 1 p. 282.

<sup>462</sup> Hussey Vol 1 pp. 299-301 in which the author quotes from Hardinge's report.

<sup>463</sup> Hussey Vol 1 pp. 170-172.

in French with Blücher refusing to participate as he despised the French language<sup>464</sup> and that the reason for the use of French as the medium of discussion was that no British officer present could speak German.<sup>465</sup>

Although Wellington couldn't speak German (he could speak French) it is worth repeating that Hardinge had excelled at his studies as a student and studied 'military' German in his final class and French in his final two classes, so he could probably help translate into German for Blücher. The meeting resulted in Wellington promising to support the Prussians should they be attacked at Sombreffe providing the Anglo-allied army was not attacked at Quatre Bras (which it subsequently was).

Following this conditional assurance of support the Prussians decided to engage the French in battle at Ligny, despite the absence of the Prussian IV Corps (representing about a quarter of their army) due to misunderstood orders.<sup>466</sup> French forces began their attack at Ligny at about 3.15pm. After much hard fighting Napoleon's forces gained the upper hand and at about 8.00pm the French Imperial Guard advanced through the village of Ligny.

As the Prussian high command observed the Guard emerge from the village French artillery to the east of Ligny began to target them. A cannon ball hit the ground in front of the group of mounted officers and bounced, hitting Hardinge and shattering his left hand, with the result that it had to be amputated.<sup>467</sup> Blücher thought highly enough of the British liaison officer that he visited him the morning after the battle out of concern for his well-being and addressed him intimately as a '*lieber Freund*'.<sup>468</sup>

Napoleon failed to follow up his victory at Ligny and was unaware that the Prussians had retreated not eastwards away from Wellington as expected but northwards towards Wavre, in keeping with the agreement between Wellington and Blücher not to allow their forces to lose contact with each other. At Waterloo on 18 June the arrival of Prussian reinforcements late in the day ensured victory for the allied cause.

Interestingly while many British Waterloo veterans expressed severe distaste and condemnation for the treatment of French soldiers and civilians by the victorious Prussian army Hardinge was much more forgiving. A month after the battle he wrote to the British Ambassador to Austria justifying the Prussian behaviour. As far as Hardinge was concerned a combination of having had no pay for three months, a desire for revenge against the previous depredations of Napoleon's army in Germany, and frequent broken promises by the newly-restored French government was justification enough for what he referred to as 'moderate retaliation' by the Prussian soldiery.<sup>469</sup>

Because of complications with his wound Hardinge was not present at the decisive battle of Waterloo two days later, but nevertheless he had performed his duties so effectively in helping to ensure the two allied armies remained in contact with each other during the campaign that after Napoleon's defeat Wellington presented Hardinge with Napoleon's sword as a gift.<sup>470</sup>

Hardinge was also mentioned in Wellington's despatches of 30 June 1815 for his services with the Prussian Army<sup>471</sup> and made a Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia Third Class for his services during the Waterloo campaign.<sup>472</sup> Five years after Waterloo Hardinge sat as MP for Durham in 1820. He was promoted

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<sup>464</sup> Franklin (2) p. 41.

<sup>465</sup> See Hofschröder 1998 p. 235 who claims neither Wellington (correctly) or Hardinge (incorrectly) could speak German at all. Hofschröder was probably unaware that Hardinge possessed a knowledge of German military vocabulary acquired from his study and translation of Prussian military works at the Royal Military College as well as being taught general German language skills.

<sup>466</sup> Franklin (2) pp. 40-41.

<sup>467</sup> TWA VI pp. 112-113

<sup>468</sup> Cornwell p. 76.

<sup>469</sup> Burnham & McGuigan pp. 236-237.

<sup>470</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 416-417.

<sup>471</sup> Dalton 97, 101.

<sup>472</sup> Bromley 2012 p. 417



to Brevet Colonel in 1821 and in 1823 was made Clerk of the Ordnance. Hardinge again served as MP for Durham in 1826. He retired from his regiment on half pay in 1827 and was Secretary of State for War while Wellington was Prime Minister (1828-1830).

In 1830 Hardinge was promoted to Major General and in the same year served as MP for St Germans and was also Irish Secretary. In 1831 He served as MP for Newtown and in the following year as MP for Launceton. Hardinge was again Irish Secretary from 1834 to 1835.

Hardinge was promoted to Lieutenant General in 1841. He was appointed Secretary of State for War once more from 1841 to 1844, at the end of which time he was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Military Order of the Bath and appointed Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in India (1844-1848). While there Hardinge served in the first Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846) for which he was made Viscount of Lahore and King's Newton in 1846.

Hardinge was promoted to General in 1852 and replaced Wellington as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. His series of reforms were interrupted by the Crimean War (1854-1856). In 1855 Hardinge was promoted to Field Marshal.<sup>473</sup> He was preparing a memorandum on military education when he died of a stroke in 1856.<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Dalton pp. 98, 101; Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 416-417; *et al.*

<sup>474</sup> Bond pp. 65-66.

# Appendix 1

Table A

Distribution of former students and gentlemen cadets of the Royal Military College who served in Wellington's army during the Waterloo Campaign

Unit	Titled‡	Senior Department	Junior Department										Direct Commission from RMC	RMC-trained Staff Officers	RMC-trained Regimental Officers	Total number of RMC-trained Officers
			Establishment			Class of Instruction										
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	N/K *				
RHG	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2
1DG	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
6DN	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
7H	0	1	2	0	4	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	7	7
10H	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	3	1	4	5
11LD	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	4	4
12LD	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	3	3
13LD	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	4
15H	0	0	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	4
16LD	3	1	0	1	7	1	0	0	3	2	0	2	5	0	9	9
18H	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
19LD*	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
23LD	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
1/1FG+	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
2/1FG	5	3	0	0	8	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	1	2	9	11
3/1FG	3	1	0	1	11	0	1	1	6	0	0	4	7	3	10	13
2/CG	3	1	2	2	6	1	0	3	4	0	0	2	4	3	8	11
2/3FG	3	0	1	2	9	1	0	3	3	1	0	4	3	0	12	12
3/1FT	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	4	4
1/4FT	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	2
9FT+	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
11FT+	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
3/14FT	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	4	4
1/23FT	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	3	4
25FT+	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1/27FT	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
2/30FT	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1/32FT	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1/33FT	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	4
2/35FT¶	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
1/40FT	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
43FT+	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1/51FT	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	4	4
1/52FT	0	0	3	1	6	0	0	0	3	1	1	5	7	0	10	10
1/54FT¶	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
2/59FT¶	0	0	2	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	5	5
60FT	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
2/69FT	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	1	3	4

1/71FT	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	2
2/73FT	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
74FT*	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1/79FT	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	2	2
1/91FT	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
1/92FT	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1/95FT	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	3
2/95FT	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
3/95FT	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
RSC	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	1	2
QMG	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total	28	22	30	29	87	9	7	13	55	8	1	53	63	29	139	168

Table B

Former Students and Gentlemen Cadets of the Royal Military College who served on Wellington's Staff during the Waterloo Campaign

Unit	Titled‡	Senior Department	Junior Department										Direct Commission from RMC	RMC-trained staff officers	RMC-trained staff officers killed (including those who later died of their wounds)/wounded
			Establishment			Class of Instruction									
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	N/K *			
RHG	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
10H	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
18H	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
19LD*	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
1/1FG+	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	1k/1w
2/1FG	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2w
3/1FG	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	3	0
2/CG	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	1w
9FT*	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1w
11FT*	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1/23FT	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
25FT*	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1w
43FT*	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1w
60FT*	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1w
2/69FT	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1k
74FT*	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1/95FT	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1k
RSC	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
QMG	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1k
Total	8	14	4	4	7	1	0	2	8	2		2	7	29 (19% of total number of staff officers present)	4k/8w (23% of total number of staff officer casualties)

\*Unfortunately, the minute books of the Supreme Board of the RMC cease providing a cadet's final Class of Instruction part way through 1813. The RMC Cadet Register does not provide a cadet's final Class of Instruction for the course in its entirety, only for individual subjects.

<sup>+</sup>These regiments were not part of Wellington's army during the Waterloo campaign.

<sup>‡</sup>Gentleman cadets from families who were members of the aristocracy at the time of their admission to the RMC.

<sup>¶</sup>These regiments were part of the 6<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Brigade, 4<sup>th</sup> British Infantry Division that was stationed at Hal to the west of Wellington's position on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1815 and took no part in the actual fighting during the Waterloo campaign.

## Appendix 2<sup>475</sup>

### HONOURS AWARDED FOR THEIR SERVICES IN THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN TO STAFF OFFICERS WHO HAD ATTENDED THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE

#### Brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel-commissions to be dated 18/6/1815

Major Chatham Horace Churchill, 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards (1<sup>st</sup> Battalion), ADC to Lt Gen Lord Hill  
(Gentleman Cadet, Junior Department 1805-1807)

Major William Campbell, 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot, Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Officer, Senior Department 1815)

#### Brevet rank of Major-commissions to be dated 18/6/1815

Captain Henry Dumaesq, 9<sup>th</sup> Foot, ADC to Maj Gen Byng  
(Gentleman Cadet, Junior Department 1805-1808)

Captain *Hon* Esme Stuart Erskine, 60<sup>th</sup> Foot, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General  
(Student Officer, Senior Department 1810)

Captain James Gunthorpe, 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards (3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion), Brigade Major to Maj Gen Maitland  
(Gentleman Cadet, Junior Department 1804-1805)

Captain James Shaw, 43<sup>rd</sup> Foot (1<sup>st</sup> Battalion), Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Senior Department 1813)

#### Companions of the Military Order of the Bath

Colonel *Hon* Alexander Abercromby, Coldstream Guards, Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Officer Senior Department 1801-1802)

Major William Campbell, 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot, Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Officer, Senior Department 1815)

Lieutenant Colonel John William Fremantle, Coldstream Guards, ADC to Duke of Wellington  
(Gentleman Cadet, Junior Department 1802-1805)

#### Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle Third Class (Prussia)

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<sup>475</sup> Booth pp. 251-257.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge,<sup>476</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards (2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion), Liaison Officer Prussian Army  
(Student Officer Senior Department 1806-1807)

Knights of the Order of Maria Theresa (Austrian)

Colonel *Hon* Alexander Abercromby, Coldstream Guards, Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Officer Senior Department 1801-1802)

Order of St George Fourth Class (Russian)

Colonel *Hon* Alexander Abercromby, Coldstream Guards, Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Officer Senior Department 1801-1802)

Order of St Anne Second Class (Russian)

Major William Campbell, 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot, Assistant Quartermaster General  
(Student Officer, Senior Department 1815)

Order of Maximilian Joseph (Bavarian)

Lieutenant Colonel John William Fremantle, Coldstream Guards, ADC to Duke of Wellington  
(Gentleman Cadet, Junior Department 1802-1805)

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<sup>476</sup> Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 417.

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## Abbreviations

LG	London Gazette
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
MSB RMC	Minutes of the Supreme Board of the Royal Military College (WO99)
RMA CR	Royal Military Academy Gentleman Cadet Register (WO149)
RMC	Royal Military College
RMC CR	Royal Military College Gentleman Cadet Register (WO151)
RMC JDR	Royal Military College Junior Department Returns (WO99)
RMC SDR	Royal Military College Senior Department Returns (WO99)
RMC SR	Royal Military College Staff Register (WO99)
TWA	The Waterloo Archive
WMR	Waterloo Medal Roll



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