

## **The French advance and positions.**

It must have been around 6.30 p.m. that the French advance guard, consisting of the division of Jacquinet was on the Brussels road opposite Plancenoit, approaching the inn of La Belle Alliance.<sup>1</sup>

Two squadrons of the 7th regiment of French hussars pursued the extreme rearguard of the British-Hanoverian cavalry towards the farm of La Haye Sainte.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after, some batteries opened fire upon the French columns which started to arrive near La Belle Alliance.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, Napoleon had joined the advance guard, being escorted by his service squadrons.<sup>4</sup> The fire made him believe that he was faced by a rearguard of Wellington's army, intended to cover a retreat further through the forest of Soignes.

On top of that, dusk was quickly coming in, the more as the skies were clouded by the rain, which by now was about to cease from falling.<sup>5</sup> By now, it was about 7 p.m.<sup>6</sup>

In order to be sure about what Wellington was doing, Napoleon decided to have a strong body of cavalry being deployed. By now, the division of Subervie and those of Milhaud had just started arriving on the heights of La Belle Alliance; they now got the instruction to deploy to the east of the road.<sup>7</sup>

Also four batteries were deployed in the vicinity of La Belle Alliance to cover a feint attack of cavalry.<sup>8</sup> The result was a strong artillery duel in which several dozens of guns of Wellington's army were involved.<sup>9</sup>

At the very moment that this artillery-duel opened, long convoys of Wellington's army were heading through the forest of Soignes towards Waterloo and Brussels. Not knowing what was really happening and rumours spreading the army was defeated, drivers and horses panicked, causing a huge chaos and mêlée amidst of the road which became soon completely blocked by all sorts of waggons, tumbrils, carts and guns. Some drivers and escorts even went back as far as Antwerp, spreading alarm all over the area.<sup>10</sup>

Napoleon must have observed the position which Wellington had taken in front of the forest for some time from a position near La Belle Alliance and then decided to put an end to the artillery-fire.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, he assigned the troops their positions.<sup>12</sup> After that, he returned by foot along the road to the farm of Le Caillou, in the hamlet of Vieux Manans.<sup>13</sup> It was here that the imperial headquarters were installed.<sup>14</sup>

As the emperor had advanced with the advance guard, his headquarters were to follow and therefore had to wait for it to arrive. In doing so, he sat down at a bivouac-fire in the immediate surrounding of Le Caillou.<sup>15</sup> Then it must have been around 8 p.m.<sup>16</sup>

In rear of the cuirassiers of Milhaud, Drouet d'Erlon led his divisions into the first line, having three divisions between the farm of Mon Plaisir and Plancenoit, their front and right flank covered by the men of Jacquinet.<sup>17</sup>

The 4th division, of Durutte, was further to the rear, about halfway between Le Caillou and Genappe where it halted on the evening.<sup>18</sup> On the morning of the 17th it had been instructed to rejoin its corps, but hadn't succeeded in doing so.<sup>19</sup>

That evening, general Drouet d'Erlon wrote from his headquarters to the emperor:

*Au bivouac, le 17 juin 1815*

*Monsieur le maréchal,*

*Conformément aux ordres de S.M. le 1er corps d'armée tient la première ligne à cheval sur la route de Bruxelles, la 1ere division de cavalerie flanque le corps d'armée et couvre son front. J'ai l'honneur d'informer V.E. que la 1ere division de cavalerie a fait plusieurs charges heureuses et qu'elle a enlevé quelques voitures et un certain nombre de prisonniers.*

*Daignez agréer l'hommage de mon respect,*

*Le lieutenant général en chef de 1er corps,*

*Drouet Comte d'Erlon*<sup>20</sup>

Thus, the 1st corps was in the first line on both sides of the Brussels road, covered by its cavalry in front and flanks.<sup>21</sup>

The divisions of the 2nd and 6th corps, as well as the corps of Kellerman, halted in and around Genappe; further details about exact hours and positions are missing.<sup>22</sup>

The cavalry-divisions of Domon and Subervie, the corps of Milhaud and the light cavalry of the guard were on the heights of the farm of Rossomme, but further details are not available.<sup>23</sup>

The infantry of the imperial guard followed the 6th corps on the Brussels road. Before Genappe however, it turned right and proceeded further to the north through small by-roads. This must have been around 8 or 8.30 p.m.<sup>24</sup> This movement was intended to clear the road for the artillery and its parcs.

Having marched over the small roads and through the fields, the 1st and 2nd regiment of grenadiers were the only units to reach Glabais that night; this must have been somewhere between 11 p.m. and midnight. Here they established bivouacs north of the village.<sup>25</sup>

The other regiments of the guard were scattered in the fields south of Glabais. Due to the exhaustion of the troops and the state of the terrain, units (regiments, battalions and even companies) got mixed.<sup>26</sup> The heavy cavalry of the guard must have spent the night in and around Maransart.<sup>27</sup> The general headquarters of the guard were probably established in the farm of Toulifau, about one kilometer east of the Brussels road.<sup>28</sup>

Marshal Ney spent the night in the farm of Chantelet, about one kilometer east of Le Caillou.<sup>29</sup>

A lot of units of the French army would have reached their bivouacs only deep into the night.<sup>30</sup>

### **Napoleon at Le Caillou.**

Accompanied by his duty squadrons, Napoleon reached the farm of Le Caillou at 8 p.m.

As the general headquarters had to be established first, the emperor must have waited near a bivouac-fire.<sup>31</sup>

Napoleon finally must have settled in the room which was immediately next to the one of the

aide de camp's, the couriers and pages, and this was the one to the left of the main entrance.<sup>32</sup> By now, the farm was flooded by members of the general imperial staff (<sup>33</sup>) and the maison, all with their belongings contained in waggons, while the central ambulance of the Imperial Guard was established in the barn and other annexes of the farm.<sup>34</sup>

In the orchard, the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment of chasseurs of the Imperial Guard was on duty.<sup>35</sup>

That evening, Napoleon issued a disposition for the order of battle for the next day, but from this order no written document is available.<sup>36</sup>

According to some, Napoleon would have left Le Caillou at 1 a.m. on the 18th of June - accompanied by Bertrand and in the drenching rain – so as to visit his outposts and observe the enemy. In doing so, he would have been in front of the wood of Goumont around 2.30 a.m. and he would have returned to Le Caillou by daybreak.<sup>37</sup>

All of this, however, is mere legend. In fact, from eye-witness accounts it becomes clear that Napoleon never left Le Caillou that night at all.<sup>38</sup>

Around 2 a.m. Grouchy's report, written at Gembloux at 10 p.m., was delivered at Le Caillou.<sup>39</sup>

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1.Gourgaud, C. La campagne de 1815 p.66

6 p.m. is given by the Mémoires pour servir etc. p.111

Also see: Petiet, Souvenirs p.208

Camon believes it was then 10 p.m. ! Cf. Camon. La guerre Napoléonienne. Paris.1925.

II.p.185.

The inhabitants of la Belle Alliance, a family called Dedave, had fled from their home to the forest of Soignes.

Cf. Logie, J. La Belle Alliance p.19

2.Cf. chef d'escadron Dupuy of this regiment. Cf. Souvenirs

3.Gourgaud claims 15 to 20 guns were involved. These may have been those of the batteries of Lloyd and Cleeves, both in front of the division of Alten. Captain Rudyard (Battery Lloyd).

BL, Add.Ms. 34.706 p.473-478

Cf. La campagne de 1815 p.67

4.Initially, the emperor would have followed the paved road leading from Genappe towards La Belle Alliance, but somehow he must have left it somewhere south of this village as at some point he had "arrivé par une route qui joint la grande route de Bruxelles, fit encore un quart ou une demi-lieue en avant et bientôt nous nous trouvâmes sur un terrain élevé qui domine le vaste bassin borné au nord par le rideau de la forêt de Soignes." Cf. Saint-Denis, Mémoires etc. p.109

This would have meant that Napoleon would have taken a small tracks through the fields between Genappe and le Caillou. This may have been the case, but no further details are available.

5.Saint-Denis. Souvenirs p.109

Gourgaud, C. La campagne de 1815 p.67

6. Constant Rebecque. Journal. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Ensign R.Batty (1st Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 22nd June 1815. In: private collection.p.11

Major Van Gorkum (officer attached to general headquarters of the army of the Netherlands). Cf. his memoirs p.82. In: private collection.

Master of the horse Jardin (general headquarters) believes it was somewhere between 6.30 and 7 p.m. In: Beaucour, F. La campagne de Waterloo vue par Jardin L'Aîné, un écuyer de Napoleon p.24-34

According to captain Weiz of the 1st battalion 1st regiment Nassau it was between 7 and 8 p.m. Cf. In: Unzer, A. Darstellung etc. In: Nassauische Heimatblätter, nr.1-2 1915 p.3

7.Mémoires pour servir etc. p.111-112

Gourgaud. La campagne de dix huit cent quinze etc. p.67

Colonel M.Ordener (7th regiment cuirassiers). In: Lot, H. Les deux généraux Ordener p.90  
d'Erlon, D. Vie militaire p.96

Petiet - Souvenirs p.208

The regimental history of the 1st regiment of cuirassiers claims it was 6 p.m. Cf. Histoire du  
1er régiment de cuirassiers p.162

8.Mémoires pour servir etc. p.112

Gourgaud, C. La campagne de dix huit cent quinze etc. p.67

There is no clear idea about the identity of this artillery. According to H.de Mauduit it was  
light horse artillery of the imperial guard. Cf. Mauduit, H.de – Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II  
p.229

Captain Von Scriba (battalion Bremen) mentions the fire of 50 to 60 guns. Cf. Scriba, C.von  
Das leichte Bataillon etc. p.87

Baron Dessales, commander of the artillery of the 1st corps, claims he opened fire on the  
evening of the 17th June with two horse batteries and one foot-battery of his corps. Cf. his  
account cited by: Coppens / Courcelle, Le chemin d'Ohain p.16

9.Mémoires pour servir etc. p.112

Of quite some of them I have been able to determine their involvement in the duel. They  
were:

Both troops of the 1st British division. Cf. Account of captain Kühlmann. In: NHH, Des.41 E,  
XXI k nr.2

Captain Lloyd's troop (3rd division).Cf. Report about the 5th battalion of the line KGL. In:  
NHH, Des.38D, A.1 nr.8

Letter of sir J.May to captain Whinyates dated 5th april 1816. IN: RAI, nr.MD 1438

Captain Rogers troop. Also see letter of Sir J.May.

Captain Bijleveld's troop (2nd division of the army of the Netherlands). Cf. Aantekeningen  
van een veteraan etc.

Captain Mercer's troop. Cf. Journal of the Waterloo campaign, Vol.I. p.282-285

Mercer's letter dated 24th January 1866 to an unknown person. IN: RAI, nr.MD88

Another source is the:

Return of the ammunition expended by the artillery (16th -18th June).

	<b>16th June</b>		<b>17th June</b>		<b>18th June</b>	
<b>Name troop</b>	9-pounder	6p.howitzzer	9-pounder	6p.howitzzer	9-pounder	6p.howitzzer
Gardiner					113	5
Webber- Smith					588	82
Bull					266	

Mercer			113	15	566	84
Whinyates*					560	
Ramsay			37		584	83
Ross					320	30
Beanes					436	44
Kühlmann	130	31			314	54
Symphor					335	58
Sandham	8			11	1049	78
Bolton					467	
Lloyd	94	30	97	23	641	115
Rogers	90	11	20	4	259	
Sinclair					411	25
Cleeves	205	17			605	59
Rettberg	270	24			438	39
Braun	157	7			315	13
Subtotal	954	120	270	53	8267	699
Total	10.363					

\*The rocket-battery of captain Whinyates fired 21 rockets on the 17th and 52 on the 18th of June.

In: Papers relating to the battle of Waterloo. BL, Add.ms. 19.590

Captain Sandilands (battery of Ramsay) mentions the French bombardment, but nothing about the activity of his battery. Cf. manuscript account in RAI, nr.MD 638

Sergeant Johnston (Scots Greys) claims the role of the rocket-troop of Whinyates, but for this there are no indications, at least not from the return list mentioned above. Journal. In: Atkinson, C.T. A Waterloo journal. JSAHR. Vol.33.1960 p.35.

According to colonel Ordener of the 7th regiment of cuirassiers, 50 guns fired back to the French fire. Cf.his account in family-archive published in: Lot, H. Les deux généraux Ordener p.90

Some units, like those of the brigade of Colin Halkett, suffered under the French fire. Cf. ensign Macready in a letter dated Paris, 7th July 1815. In: NAM, Letters written by Ensign E.N. Macready 30th foot [2-3-1815 - 7-7- 1815), nr.8203//10

Lieutenant Pratt (30th regiment). In: BL. Add.Ms. 34.705 p.88-94

According to ensign R.Batty (1st Foot Guards) the bombardment lasted about 90 minutes.

Ensign R.Batty (1st Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 22nd June 1815. In: private collection.p.11

Dehnel, H. Rückblicke etc. p.241 Dehnel was lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the line KGL, brigade Duplat.

Musician Ch.Schacht, battalion Gifhorn. In: Letter to his father, dated 25 August 1815. In: Private collection H.Dohrendorf. Cited by: Weinhold, G. *Erinnerungen an Waterloo* p.92  
There are statements, however, that not the French but the allied artillery started the fire. Cf. lord Uxbridge to general Adam in a letter dated 9 december 1815. In: NAM, Book of manuscript copies of Waterloo letters, nr.6507-1

Private Hemingway (33rd regiment) in his letter dated 16 august 1815. Cf. Waley, D. - A new account of Waterloo;a letter home from private G.Hemingway of the 33rd regiment. In: NAM, nr.8406/156.

According to Gomm the artillery in the centre of the line replied to the French fire. Cf. Gomm, W.M. *Letters and journals etc.* p.357

Lieutenant Ingilby (Gardiner's troop), then near Vert Coucou, mentions the bombardment. *Diary in RAI, nr.MD 797*).

There are some indications that the French fire was mostly concentrated to the very centre of Wellington's position. Cf. Cotton, E. *A voice from Waterloo* p.27

Account of lieutenant Von Gagern (of the 2nd battalion 1st regiment Nassau). In: *Ein unbekannter Waterloo-Brief*. In: *Nassauische Heimatblätter* 1956 Heft 1 p.21

According to the journal of the Lüneburg battalion (brigade Kielmansegge) the duel lasted for about one hour. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in NHA, Hann.48A I, nr.368

10. Cf. Sir H.Clinton's letter dated 23rd June 1815. In: NLS, MS 3615 f.40

Constant Rebecque. *Journal*. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Tupper Carey, *Reminiscences of a commissariat officer* p.727-728

Lieutenant Luard (16th regiment of,light dragoons) in a letter dated 19th of June 1815. In: Fforde, C.W.de L. (ed) - *The Peninsula and Waterloo letters of captain Thomas Charles Fenton* p.230-231

P.J.Tellier, a civilian witness at Waterloo, says the road was still blocked around 3 p.m. of the 18th of June. Cf. account in a private collection at Waterloo. Tellier lived from 1799 until 1876 and kept a diary throughout his life.

On the evening of the 17th of June, adjudant general Van der Wijk of the headquarters of the army of the Netherlands, was at Waterloo.

Here it was that he met Dr.Mergell of the medical department and it was Mergell who told Van der Wijk that Constant Rebecque had said "dites au général Van der Wijk, qu'on fasse tout partir pour Bruxelles".

Van der Wijk, presuming he would find headquarters just in front of Brussels, now proceeded in this direction. In trying to do so he was almost run over by the numerous fugitives on the road; somehow he managed to reach the capital and it was here that he spent the night. Cf account of Van der Wijk. In: NA, nr. 2.13.13.01 inv.4

11.The fact that Napoleon proceeded as far as the heights of La Belle Alliance can be read from the account of Saint-Denis, as he states he did so from the heights which dominated the depressions south of the forest of Soignes. In: *Saint-Denis, L.E., Souvenirs du mameluck*

p.109

Cf. Mercer, C. Journal of the waterloo campaign Vol.I p.283

General D'Erlon mentions a brief position of Napoleon to the left of the road that evening.Cf. Vie militaire p.96

12.Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p. 273

He bases this assertion on a letter dated evening 17th June written by Drouet d'Erlon, in Vincennes (SHAT). However, I have not been able to locate this letter.

13. Saint-Denis, L.E., Souvenirs du mameluck p.110

Cf. separate note on this building itself.

14.Baudus. Etudes sur Napoleon p.224

Mémoires pour servir etc. p.112

Gourgaud, C.La campagne de 1815 p.67

Zenowicz, G. , Waterloo; déposition sur les quatre journées de la campagne de 1815 p.29

Colonle Heymès. In: Documents inédits etc.p.13

Fleury de Chaboulon, M., Mémoires pour service à l'histoire de la vie privée II p.131

Saint-Denis, L.E., Souvenirs du mameluck p.110

Marchand, L.J.N. , Mémoires de Marchand p.162

Earlier that day, Le Caillou had been plundered by allied troops, resulting in the flight of its inhabitants, Henry Boucquéau, and his family, to Plancenoit.

Cf. Fleischman, Th. Histoire de la ferme du Caillou etc. p.9 He bases himself upon the account of the owner of Le Caillou in 1815, Henry-Joseph-Jérôme-Géry Boucquéau. He published this account under the pseudonym of Couquébeau in a ode called "La Belle Alliance."

A 15 year old servant, Marie Houzeau, however did not leave the farm and assisted the French in their installation that evening. Later she married and kept on living near the farm. One of the sons of E.Coulon, Henry Gustave Coulon, later owner of Le Caillou, had seen, being a kid of 8 years old, Marie Houzeau when she was still alive. Then she was 83 years old. She then lived in Vieux Manant and said she possessed a candle which would have been used on the night of the 17th of June 1815. Later, she would have given it to the historian Henry Houssaye. Cf. Fleischman, Th. Marie Houzeau. La servante du Caillou. In: Bulletin van de SBEN, 1952 nr.4 p.42-43

According to A.Gore Napoleon spent the night in a house owned by Jean Joseph Aubrij, in rear of the farm of Le Caillou. Which house this would have been remains a mystery, but the event is not true. Cf. Gore, A. Explanatory notes etc. p.85

15. Saint-Denis, L.E., Souvenirs du mameluck p.110

Aerts, W. La nuit de Napoleon et la matinée du 18 juin 1815. Réfutation de quelques légendes. In: Bulletin van de SBEN, 1952 nr.5 p.14

16. Saint-Denis, L.E., Souvenirs du mameluck p.110

Delloye believes it was 9 p.m. Cf. Delloye, S. Napoleon dans sa dernière campagne. Special issue of the bulletin of the SBEN. 1996. p.44

Also see: Barral, G. Itinéraire etc. p.27

17. Report of d'Erlon to Ney of the evening of the 17th June (see below).

According to captain Duthilt (1st division), troops were on both sides of the Brussels road.

Cf. Duthilt, captain, Les mémoires du capitaine Duthilt p.

Another witness and member of the 28th regiment infantry of the line, speaks about positions near La Belle Alliance and on the heights of Rossomme. Cf. Canler, L. Mémoires de Canler p.25

This all also accords with the version of Beslay who says the 1st corps was in bivouacs which stretched between La Belle Alliance and Rossomme, with posts to the north. Cf. Beslay, captain. Historique du 45<sup>me</sup> régiment d'infanterie de ligne p.291

According to H.de Mauduit the 4th regiment of lancers under colonel Bro (division Jacquinet) in coming out of Genappe, was detached to the Nivelles road on the evening of the 17th of June.

Having followed this road for some time, it would have bivouaced near a farm situated along this road. There it was accompanied by the 1st regiment chasseurs à cheval and a squadron of the 1st regiment of lancers, led by chef d'escadron Hulot.

Not far from this bivouac, there would have been an allied park of artillery which colonel Bro intended to charge, but which he was not allowed to do by his superior.

This version of events is doubtful. First of all, they are not being confirmed by colonel Bro himself.

Additionally, the 1st regiment of chasseurs à cheval, being a part of the division of Piré, was near Genappe that night, while the 1st regiment of lancers, of Subervie's division, was on the heights of Rossomme. The farm mentioned may have been the one of Mon Plaisir, but there was certainly no artillery of Wellington's army there during the night of the 17th.

Cf. Mauduit, H.de Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.301-302

18. Account of general Durutte. In: Sentinelle de l'armée p.78

Captain Chapuis. In: Notice sur le 85<sup>e</sup> de ligne pendant la campagne de 1815 p.44

19. Account of general Durutte. In: Sentinelle de l'armée p.78

20. Cf. SHAT. C15, 1-5

Aerts, W. Etudes etc. (manuscript) p.136

Pontécoulant, F.G. de - Souvenirs militaires p.235 (he situates the report in the morning).

Duc d'Elchingen. Documents inédits etc. p.44

<sup>21</sup> This position is confirmed by chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment, division of

Durutte). Cf. his account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.374

22.In: Jolyet, J.B. Souvenirs et correspondance sur la bataille de Waterloo

Jolyet was chef de bataillon of the 1st light infantry (Jérôme's division).

Lemonnier-Delafosse, Souvenirs militaires etc. p.p.211

Colonel Trefcon confirms the presence of Lobau at Genappe. In: Carnet de campagne p.184

At least the 93rd regiment of the line (Foy's division) was in front of Genappe, to the right of the Brussels road. Cf. Chef de bataillon. In: Souvenirs p.116

Gilson confirms that Jérôme Bonaparte spent the night in the house of Roi d'Espagne. In: Genappe à travers les ages p.128

F.Marq, sergeant-major in the 6th corps. In: Description des campagnes de guerre.

Manuscript in collection of the prince Jean d'Orléans, duc de Guise. Published in the Bulletin of the SBEN, nr.29 (1997), p.48

According to Charras the 1st and 6th corps were in position between Plancenoit and the farm of Mon Plaisir, the 1st corps to the right and the 6th corps to the left, but this is incorrect. In: Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.252

There is a state dated 17th of June at Mellet [!] written by Roussel d'Hurbal of Kellerman's corps with the strengths of his division; this document remains a mystery as it would mean that at least he had his headquarters there. In: SHAT, C.15-35

23.Cf. Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.273

As one of his sources he uses the report of Ney of the 17th of June which has not been available to me.

Cf. Charras, colonel. Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.252

Private Pilloy (9th regiment cuirassiers, division Delort, corps Milhaud) mentions the presence of general Delort in a farm, but further information is missing. Cf.his letter dated 24th June 1815. In: Tattet, E. , "Lettres du brigadier Pilloy." In: Carnet de la sabretache (1907) p.505-520, 558-567

24.De Mauduit, H. Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.230

General Petit (commander of the 1st regiment of grenadiers). In: Moore-Smith, G.C. General Petit's account of the Waterloo campaign p.324

Lachouque, H. The anatomy of glory p.481

25. De Mauduit, H. Les derniers jours Vol.II p.231

General Petit. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. General Petit's account of the Waterloo campaign p.324

Journal of general Pelet (commander of the 2nd regiment of chasseurs). In: D'Avout, A., L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Carnet de la sabretache (1905), p.37

Account of colonel Christiani (commander of the 2nd regiment of grenadiers) In: D'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Carnet de la sabretache (1905), p.33-54, 111-112

J.F.Friant claims a position about half a lieue from Le Caillou, which is about the same. He also asserts that the last units arrived towards daybreak. Cf. Vie militaire etc. p.386

26.De Mauduit, H. Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.231  
General Petit. In: Moore-Smith, G.C. General Petit's account of the Waterloo campaign p.  
Houssaye, H. 1815. Waterloo p.324

<sup>27</sup> General Guyot in a letter to general Pelet, dated 27th of april 1835. In: Carnets de campagne p.395

28.De Mauduit, H. Les derniers jours etc. Vol.II p.231  
The oldest parts of this farm, which is also called the farm of Thirionet or Philippe, date from around 1400

29.Couquébeau. La Belle Alliance. Ode etc. p.15  
For further details on this farm, see separate note.

<sup>30</sup> Colonel Baudus. Etudes sur Napoleon p.224

31.St.Denis, L.E. Souvenirs du mameluck Ali etc. p.110  
One hour after Napoleon had entered Le Caillou, his servant Marchand arrived. He had been delayed as his carriage would have collapsed in the stream of people; apart from that he had also ridden as far as the sentries of the army in front. Cf. Marchand, L.J.N. Mémoires de Marchand. p.162

32.Marchand, L.J.N. Mémoires de Marchand etc. p. Sketch done by L.Laudy in: Fleischman, H. Le quartier générale etc. p.162  
Some of the furniture must have been removed to make place for the men. Cf. Marchand, L.J.N. Mémoires de Marchand etc. p.163

33.At Le Caillou a signs states the following persons must have spent the night there:  
Napoleon, Jérôme, Soult, Ney, Bertrand, Bailly de Monthion, Corbineau, Dejean, Drouot, Flahaut, Gourgaud, Labedoyère, Lebrun, Milhaud, Morand, Mouton, Pelet, Petit, Reille, Rogniat. Colonels: Bussy, De Forbin Janson, Laurent, Zenowicz, Maret, Radet, De Canisy, de Mesgrigny, Fouler de Relingue. Secretaries: Fain, Fleury de Chaboulon; surgeons: Larrey, Percy; Gudin, De Turenne, Coignet, Marchand, Ali. However, sources for all these assertions are lacking.

Colonel Forbin Janson claims he had that night a bivouac without straw. Cf. his letter dated december 1817 to Sir R.Wilson. In: Sir R.Wilson, Correspondence. In: BL, Add.ms.30.147 p.15-18

34.Fleischman, Th. Histoire de la ferme du Caillou etc. p.9-11  
Evrard, E. Le service de santé etc. p.656  
According to Evrard this was done on the morning of the 18th.

35.Cf. report of colonel Duuring. In: d'Avout, L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Carnet de la Sabretache.1905. p.33-54 and 107-128  
Pelet, general. Mémoires as cited by d'Avout, p.40

<sup>36</sup> The actual existence of this order can be derived from the order issued to Ney on the early morning of the 18th of June to Ney stating: "[..] à la position de bataille que l'Empereur a indiquée par son ordre d'hier soir."

37.Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France etc. p.120-121

And taken over by:

Hamilton-Williams, D. Waterloo.New perspectives etc. p.257

Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.283-284

F.de Bas mentions Decoster (see below). Cf.Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas VoIII p.40

Some even claim two reconnaissances with Bertrand, one from 10 till 10.30 p.m. and the other from 3 until 3.30 a.m. From 1.00 to 2.00 a.m. he would have had a meeting with his staff. Cf.

Barral, G. Itinéraire etc. p.27

Delloye, S. Napoleon dans sa dernière campagne. Special issue of the bulletin of the SBEN. 1996 p.44,49

38.Gourgau, C. La campagne de dix huit cent quinze etc. p.69-71

Marchand, L.J.N. Mémoires de Marchand etc. p.162-163

Saint Denis, L.E. Souvenirs du mameluck Ali etc. p.110

Colonel Duuring.. In: d'Avout, A. L'infanterie de la garde à Waterloo. In: Le Carnet de la Sabretache. 1905. p.33-54 and 107-128

Zenowicz, G. Waterloo, déposition etc. p.33-35

Master of the horses Jardin. In: Beaucour, F. - La campagne de Waterloo vue par Jardin L'Aîné, un écuyer de Napoleon etc. p.24-34

Marchand informs us that Napoleon sent out Gourgau at 3 a.m. to reconnoitre the field.

According to Saint Denis Napoleon spent much time receiving all kinds of reports and people asking for orders.

39.Gourgau, C. La campagne de dix huit cent quinze etc. p.69

Houssaye, H. 1815.Waterloo p.284

Löben Sels, E.van Bijdragen tot de krijgsgeschiedenis etc. Vol.IV p.570

Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas. Vol.II p.41

Navez, L. La campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.207

